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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

ENGLISH AFFAIRS

OF THE REIGN OF

ELIZABETH.

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

ENGLISH AFFAIRS

PRESERVED IN, OR ORIGINALLY BELONGING TO, THE

ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS.

Vol. IV.

ELIZABETH,

1587—1603.

EDITED BY

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE manuscripts calendared in this, the fourth, volume of Spanish State Papers relating to England of the reign of Elizabeth are derived from the same sources as those summarised in the third volume; namely, the correspondence and reports of Spanish ambassadors, agents, and other officers, existing in the Archives at Simancas and amongst the papers abstracted therefrom, and now preserved in the Archives Nationales in Paris, with the addition of a few documents from the British Museum and other national depositories, in cases where it was considered that they might fill a gap or usefully supplement the information contained in the main series.

A system of somewhat closer condensation of many of the manuscripts having been adopted, more precise marginal references than in previous volumes have been given; but as in nearly every case the original manuscript has been transcribed by the editor himself, it is hoped that no point of importance with regard to England has been omitted. This process of greater condensation has been rendered necessary by the fact, that all direct diplomatic relations between England and Spain having ceased, the references to English affairs are often contained incidentally in documents mainly relating to other subjects. Care, however, has been taken, whilst eliminating as far as possible such matter as referred solely to foreign countries, to retain almost literally everything of importance likely to interest students of English history. With exception of a small number of papers concerning Scottish history contained in M. Teulet's selection from the

Paris Archives, printed in French by Bannantyne Club, and a few others concerning the Armada which have been produced in Spanish by Captain Fernandez Duro, practically the whole of the contents of this volume are now printed for the first time.

So long as Bernardino de Mendoza remained Spanish ambassador in Paris his great knowledge of English affairs and persons, as well as his active hatred of the country from which he had been so ignominiously expelled by Elizabeth, caused all important correspondence and negotiations relating to England to pass through his hands; and his papers in Paris furnish full material for a knowledge of events. But in the spring of 1591 his great diplomatic career ended in disappointment and defeat, and thereafter the English papers at and from Simancas grow scanty. The editor has utilised such documents as he could find, especially the correspondence and reports between Spain and the Irish and Scottish Catholics, and the minutes of the Spanish Privy Council when it deliberated on British affairs; but a state of war existed between the two countries during the rest of Elizabeth's life; Spanish spies were jealously expelled from England, and such communication as existed was carried on through the Spanish governors of Flanders. In these circumstances it will be understood that the invaluable and copious Spanish diplomatic correspondence, which has done so much to illuminate English Tudor history, was practically suspended from 1590 to 1603, and to illustrate that period it has been necessary to search for stray papers amidst the multitudinous departments and in the confused bundles which form the famous Archives in the mediæval Castle of Simancas. Interesting and extremely valuable, therefore, as are the hitherto unknown manuscripts relating to the last years of Elizabeth's reign now published in this calendar, they lack

the continuity, and completeness which characterise the correspondence up to the end of 1590.

At the beginning of the year 1587, when the papers in the present volume commence, all the signs foretold the rapid approach of the great crisis towards which events had inevitably tended during the preceding half-century. The rise of Protestantism, which had alienated England from her ancient friendship with Spain and the House of Burgundy, had not for many years been accompanied by any change in the political community of interests which of necessity bound the two countries together. Spain had seen her commerce well nigh destroyed, her territories violated, her citizens robbed and murdered, and her ambassadors insulted, without daring to resent such treatment by declaring open war upon England, and so driving the latter country into the arms of France. Nor could England, notwithstanding the treatment of her Protestant subjects by Spain, afford to enter into any combination which should weaken her ancient ally, with the result of strengthening in Flanders the French influence, which was already traditionally paramount in Scotland. But the great religious upheaval of the Reformation and the spread of Protestantism was certain, sooner or later, to bring about a new grouping of political interests; and over the permanency or otherwise of these fresh affinities the armed struggle which was to decide the fate of Europe was necessarily fought.

The principal contributory cause which had precipitated the crisis was the proximate extinction of the male line of Valois, with the consequent heirship to the crown of France of the Huguenot Henry of Navarre. So long as

France remained a Catholic country it was certain that England would form no enduring alliance with her to the detriment of Spain, for England would suffer irreparably, both in Scotland and Flanders, by the concessions which would certainly have to be made to France in return for such an alliance. But the probability of France severing her connection with the Papacy by the accession of the Huguenot entirely changed the prospect. The reform party in England, led by Leicester and Walsingham, had on the strength of this probability forced the Queen into a more open national hostility to Spain than under the cautious guidance of Lord Burghley she had hitherto assumed; and her ostentatious protection of the revolted Netherlands was the first outcome of the changed aspect of affairs. With the Netherlands under her protection, and a Protestant king of France owing his crown largely to her aid, Elizabeth knew that she would have nothing to fear, and a great Protestant confederacy which united the Lutherans of Germany and Holland, the Huguenots of France, and the Calvinists of Scotland under the leadership of Protestant England would have been strong enough to dictate terms to the Papacy itself, and to render innocuous the might of Spain.

This was the looming possibility which threatened complete ruin to the laboriously constructed system of Spanish dominion, and drove sluggish Philip, after thirty years' hesitation, to fight to the death. He fought in a variety of ways, and made use of many instruments. The ambition of the Guises in France for themselves, and in England for their kinswoman Mary Stuart, was carefully and cautiously encouraged by the Spanish King for his own objects, leading him to the subornation of numberless plots which, at the end of 1586, had brought the Queen of Scots within sight of the block. The consummate

cunning with which Philip and his agents had lured the Guises into his toils by means of alternate smiles and frowns; how Henry III. had been paralysed by fears of Guisan encroachment from helping England in her hour of need; how the Scottish Catholics had been beguiled into a position which ensured the impotence of James VI.; and how, finally, Mary Stuart had been so dealt with as to induce her to disinherit her son, and bequeath her rights to the English crown to Philip of Spain, has been detailed in the third volume of this Calendar. Gradually all the lines which were intended to pull down the edifice of the Reformation, and perpetuate Spain's arrogant claim to overawe the world, had been gathered into the hands of the toiling old recluse in his far-away granite palace in the Castilian mountains. Each interest had been silently and separately dealt with, and tricked into the position which suited Philip's ends; for he would take no risks if he could help it, and aspired to imitate the action of natural forces in the slow and insensible accumulation of power which at the supreme moment might be used by the master hand to crush all opposition.

When at length the stealthy plotting had reached fruition; when Elizabeth saw herself isolated, with Henry III. and James VI. powerless; when the Pope and the Cardinals understood how the church and the painfully collected treasures of St. Angelo were to be the humble servants of Spain's political interests; when the Guises found that they and their kin were to be excluded from all share of the English prize; and even the English Catholics of the more moderate and patriotic sort awoke in dismay to the knowledge that their religion and their hatred of the Scots were being used as a stalking horse to forward a foreign conspiracy against the independence of their country; then each separate interest struggled, in

its own fashion, to free itself from the toils in which the diplomacy of Philip had involved it. The first two hundred and fifty pages of this volume are largely taken up by documents relating to these struggles to dispel the impending danger, and to Philip's efforts to maintain his plans and combinations intact, in the face of the unexpected delay entailed by his vast preparations for conquering England.

Father Allen and his seminary, as well as the English Jesuit organization under Father Robert Persons, had entirely gone over to the side of Spain; but the English Carthusians and Catholic secular priests, led by Dr. Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano, and the Carthusian bishop of Dunblane, had coalesced with the Guise party and the Scottish Catholics at the Vatican, with the object of persuading the Pope and the Cardinals that England might be brought into the Catholic fold under James VI., or perhaps even as some suggested by the conversion of Elizabeth, without a Spanish domination of the country which would alter the balance of power in Europe. It was the duty of Olivares, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, to frustrate the efforts of this party, and to keep the Pope up to the mark in fulfilling the pledges into which he had been so artfully entrapped by Olivares and the Spanish Cardinals. The process by which this was effected is vividly exhibited in the letters from Olivares to the King, on pages 1, 3, 9, 19, 38, and 43, and by Allen and Melino's * (Persons?) addresses to Olivares on page 41.

Whilst this intrigue for and against the patriotic English and Scottish Catholic view was progressing in Rome and

* Although I have not been able to prove it conclusively, there is but small doubt in my mind that Melino was one of Persons' numerous assumed names. Its use, however, was only continued for a very short time.

Paris, Elizabeth and Lord Burghley's party of Conservatives and moderate Catholics in England had also taken fright at the approaching peril, and were endeavouring to revert to their traditional policy, from which the Queen, greatly to her annoyance, had been forced by Leicester and the "Puritans." This was an extremely difficult and delicate task, for the hands of the Leicester party had been greatly strengthened by the Babington plot and Mary's connection therewith; Parliament and the public were in a fever of indignation, clamouring for the imprisoned Queen's head, and any open attempt on the part of Burghley and the Conservatives to appease the Catholics by sparing her life would still further have weakened the influence of the Lord Treasurer. It was therefore determined that Mary Stuart must be sacrificed to satisfy the demands of the now dominant extreme Protestant party in England; and the object of the Queen and Burghley was to consummate this sacrifice, whilst at the same time cautiously attempting to come to some *modus vivendi* with Philip, and preventing Henry III. of France and James VI. of Scotland from avenging the death of the Queen of Scots by joining Spain against England. The methods by which this complicated political manœuvre was attempted are most curiously illustrated in the letters now before us. First the almost hopeless effort to propitiate Philip was made by the release of Raleigh's prisoner Sarmiento de Gamboa, who was sent with all sorts of amiable messages to Spain (page 1); although the unfortunate emissary was captured and held to ransom by the Huguenots on his way through France, to the delight of Leicester and to the annoyance of Burghley. The greatest of pains, too, were taken to convince Philip, indirectly through Burghley's friend, Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in France—who was in the pay of Spain—that the Lord

Treasurer and his party were opposed both to the sacrifice of Mary Stuart and to the English national protection of the revolted Netherlands (page 7). Henry III.,—whose powerless condition is strongly reflected in his inability to rescue Sarmiento from the clutches of Henry of Navarre (page 5).— was cleverly disarmed by the sending of Sir Henry Wotton to him with irrefutable evidence that Mary Stuart had entirely embraced Spanish interests, and had made Philip her heir. Chateauneuf, the French ambassador in England, was a servant of the Guises, and him Elizabeth could safely flout,* whilst Henry's special envoy, Bellièvre, made it plain by his half-hearted pleading, that the French King would not, even if his cousin of Navarre had allowed him, lift a finger to avenge the death of Mary Stuart by helping to put a Spanish monarch on the throne of England. James of Scotland might be treated with less diplomacy than the king of France. The Master of Gray, his chief adviser, had sold himself to Elizabeth; and the traitor Archibald Douglas represented Scotland at the English Court. The Guisan agents and the Scottish Catholic nobles—servants of Philip almost to a man—tried to arouse James' indignation at the mortal peril of his mother in the hands of Elizabeth. But to James his mother was no more than a name, so far as filial duty was concerned. He knew that she had disinherited him, and that her restoration by Spanish

* As a further means of discrediting him and the Guises in the eyes of Henry III., a most elaborate pretence of implicating him in the so-called plot, of Moody, Destrappes, and young Stafford, to kill the Queen was made. The development of this intrigue may be followed closely by reading the references to it in pages 13, 17, 39, 59, *et seq.* As soon as it became necessary for Elizabeth to counteract the proposed reconciliation of Henry III and the Guises, and the dominance of Morton and the Catholics in the councils of James VI., she made a characteristic amende to Chateauneuf and confessed that she had been wrong in suspecting him (page 82).

pikes would mean his own deposition or death. The great inheritance of England, too, was artfully dangled before his eyes (page 29), and by the time the Master of Gray and Sir William Keith left London on their return to Scotland at the end of January 1587, Elizabeth was quite easy in her mind about James Stuart; notwithstanding Sir Robert Melvil's spirited protest (page 16) against the treatment of the Queen of Scots.

But whilst Burghley and his party were thus striving to appease Philip, and to conjure away the dangers into which the advanced policy of Leicester and the "Puritans" had drawn the Queen, the latter party were equally strenuous in their efforts to precipitate the great national conflict in which they eagerly anticipated a crowning victory for Protestantism, and the final overthrow of the inflated claims of Spain. The Queen, as usual, was fractious with them when it came to the point of spending national resources, and facing immeasurable responsibilities by openly declaring war against her life-long enemy; and Leicester had to proceed with much duplicity and finesse. Philip's own great preparations were now too far advanced to be concealed, and it was evident that some special effort would have to be made by England to frustrate them. In order that this might be done without further provoking Philip, Leicester and his friends again brought forward Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, of whom much was said in the third volume of this Calendar; and ostensibly for the furtherance of his claims, Drake's great naval preparations were made. How cleverly this fact was used, even by Burghley, Stafford, and the Howards, to hoodwink Philip, and yet to make him believe that they were opposed to Don Antonio's plans, may be seen in Mendoza's letter on page 8. Charles Arundell, who was the intermediary between the ambassador Stafford

and Mendoza, came to the latter with a message saying that the Lord Admiral's Secretary had arrived in Paris, giving particulars of Don Antonio's proposed expedition, which, however, it was believed was not destined for Portugal, but for the Indies. This apparent act of treachery against England, whilst gaining reward and gratitude from Philip, really deceived him, as will be seen, and only when it was too late for the information to be of any use was Cadiz even hinted at as the place to be attacked. The highly interesting document on page 20, purporting to be the plan of Drake and Hawkins, "entirely to ruin the Spaniards" by attacking the American settlements, is in all probability part of the mystification, and reached Mendoza through Stafford by the connivance of Burghley.

On the morning of the 28th February 1587 Charles Arundell came to Mendoza in Paris with grave news that had just reached Sir Edward Stafford, ostensibly from Lord Burghley. Leicester, and his party, with the "terrible heretic" Davison, he said, had carried out the execution of the Queen of Scots in the absence of Burghley (which was not true), and without the orders of the Queen. A consideration of the letters (pages 26, 31, and 48) will prove conclusively that the news was transmitted in this form for the purpose of exonerating Burghley and the Queen, whilst casting upon Leicester and his party all the blame of Mary's death. It also furnishes incidentally strong presumptive evidence of the existence of the infamous plot to make Davison the scapegoat, to which the Queen and Burghley must have been parties.* A decent attempt at indignation was kept up in the French court at Mary's execution (page 34). Bellièvre threatened Stafford with his master's revenge, and said that Elizabeth must think that

* For details of these transactions *see* Nicolas' "Life of Davison," and the biography of "The Great Lord Burghley" by the present writer.

monarchs heads were "laced on" their shoulders (page 31), but the Nuncio told Mendoza that Henry III. was not sorry for what had happened; "owing to his rancour against the Guises" (page 32), and Philip himself, in his dread and hatred of Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots, never believed in the sincerity of Henry III.'s wish to save Mary, and thus serve Spanish and Guisan interests (Philip to Mendoza, pages 11, 25). This, however, did not prevent Philip from making as much capital as possible for himself out of the execution. Both Henry III. and James VI. (the latter through Archbishop Beton, in Paris) were to be condoled with, and their indignation stirred at the wrong done to them by Mary's death (page 57). At the same time Beton himself was bought over to the Spanish side; and the long delayed subsidies demanded by the Earl of Huntly and the Scottish Catholics were definitely promised (page 58), in order that James might not lack support if he decided to avenge his mother's death; and so to divert Elizabeth at a critical juncture.

Philip expressed the greatest sorrow at the intelligence of Mary's death, and indeed it was a somewhat untoward event for him at the time, as it forced his hand in a matter of paramount importance which he desired to manage in his usual slow, stealthy way. An account was given in the third volume of this Calendar of the proceedings which led the Queen of Scots to bequeath to the King of Spain her rights to the crown of England. The proofs of this had now fallen into the hands of Elizabeth, who had taken care for her own ends to make the fact public, although she destroyed the actual will, and Philip was obliged now to vindicate more openly than he had done his claim to the English throne by descent as well as by bequest. Allen, Persons, and the English Catholic refugees in

Philip's pay had long been suggesting that their countrymen would welcome the King of Spain as their sovereign by right of his descent from Edward III. rather than submit to be ruled by a Scotsman; and as early as February 1587, before he had news of Mary Stuart's death, Philip instructed Olivares (page 16) to approach Sixtus V. cautiously, and obtain from him a secret brief declaring him, Philip, to be the rightful heir to the crown of England failing Mary herself, as "I cannot undertake "a war in England for the purpose merely of placing upon "that throne a young heretic like the King of Scotland, "who, indeed, is by his heresy incapacitated to succeed," although the blow was to be softened to the Pope by the assurance that Philip had no intention of adding England to his own dominions, but would settle the crown on his daughter the Infanta Isabel. But both Olivares (page 29), and particularly Allen and Persons, (pages 41 and 53) knew that Sixtus and the French and neutral Cardinals were already suspicious that the Armada was intended for the aggrandisement of Spain rather than the glory of God, and they begged that Philip's claim should be kept in the background until the "enterprise" itself was successfully concluded. Cardinal Carrafa, the papal Secretary of State, a Neapolitan subject and creature of Philip, was very cautiously primed on the matter by Olivares (page 52), and Allen was instructed merely to hint to Sixtus the recognition by the English Catholics of Philip's right to succeed. After the news of Mary's death reached Philip, however, he saw that he must show his hand at any cost in Rome, or the "political" Cardinals and the Guises might suddenly, behind his back, arrange for the conversion of James VI. and his recognition by the Pope. Philip accordingly wrote at the end of March to Olivares (page 58): "This new event makes more necessary than ever" the granting of the brief

acknowledging Philip's claim. But until this brief was obtained it did not suit Philip's plans to have the matter discussed in France, where he naturally feared intrigues would at once be set on foot to frustrate him. Mendoza, moved by undue zeal for his master's service, had warned Guise's brother, the Duke of Mayenne, "that if this King "(Henry III.) tried to persuade him that it would be good "to assist the King of Scotland in his English claims on "the promise of his conversion and marriage with a "daughter of the House of Lorraine, how disadvantageous "it would be to listen to such an idea, unless the King of "Scotland was entirely converted, because it would give "this King the opportunity of saying that the reason they "(the Guises) had taken up arms, ostensibly to prevent "a heretic from succeeding to the French Crown, was "simply a personal one, since, moved by a similar ambition, "they were ready enough to help another heretic to the "English crown. I was thus able to keep him from "deviating from the devotion they profess to your "Majesty, and from opposing your Majesty's right to the "English crown" (page 49). This and similar hints about Philip's claims to the Nuncio and others in Paris were rebuked by Philip (pages 60 and 107). "It will be best that "you should not speak of the matter at present or suggest "any such intention, in order not to awaken the evil action "that would be exerted in all parts from France if they "thought I was going to claim the succession. The only "thing that should be done is for Nazareth (the Nuncio) "prompted by his zeal for religion to write to Rome, pointing "out the evils that certainly would result if a heretic "succeeded to the throne; and saying that as the King "of Scotland is a heretic it would be well to deprive him. "The Nuncio might convey this to the Pope, but should "go no further." And somewhat later, the Pope being

still distrustful of Philip's aims, and unamenable to the persuasions of the "Spanish" Cardinals, Philip again warns Mendoza (page 83): "You must only speak of my "right to well-disposed native Englishmen, that they may "be informed of the truth and convey it to others of "their nationality, that it may thus spread and gain "ground amongst them. It will be unadvisable to treat "of the matter with Frenchmen and others, who will only "take it in hand to undermine it."

That Philip's prescience was keener than that of his agents is evident; for on the 20th May Mendoza conveyed to his master intelligence of that which the latter had foreseen as the probable result of the ventilation of his claims. The appointment of the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, Beton, as James' ambassador in Paris, and the restoration of their dignities to the bishops of Dunblane and Ross, had raised hopes of James' conversion, as was intended, and Mendoza indignantly informs Philip that the Queen-mother was egging on the Guises to help James to the English crown, since he was showing a desire to turn Catholic, which, she said, would be much better for the Guises than fighting heretics in France (page 86). Better unquestionably it would have been for France, for it would have preserved peace on her own soil and set her free to help England, if necessary, against conquest by Spain; but all Philip's plans were based upon setting the Guises and the Huguenots against each other and thus paralysing both from interfering with him in England, and the Guises were warned clearly that if they expected Spanish aid to their ambition in France, they must leave the Spaniards unhampered in England (pages 91, 100, 108). At the same time Robert Bruce was sent back to the Scottish Catholic nobles with money and encouraging promises from Philip and his nephew,

the Duke of Parma, in order that Scottish aid might be prevented from reaching Elizabeth in her hour of peril.

Spanish spies in England continued to report to Mendoza the elaborate preparations being made by Drake for the expedition ostensibly in the service of Don Antonio (pages 61, 64, 67, &c.), but the real destination of the fleet was cleverly concealed up to the last. "With "the exception of Drake himself, not a soul on the fleet "knows what the object of it is, but various surmises are "afloat; one to the effect that they are going to prevent "the junction of his Majesty's fleet in Spain and to destroy "a portion of it, as it will have to be fitted out in various "ports. Others say the design is to intercept the Indian "flotillas, and this seems most probable. Drake was "strictly ordered not to stay at Plymouth longer than "necessary, but to sail at once. It is not thought that "they carry troops adequate to attempt any enterprise "on land, or at most only to sack some unprotected place. "Don Antonio did not accompany them, although it was "said previously that he would do so" (page 66). This was written ten days after Drake had left the Thames for Plymouth (17th March, O.S.), and on the 2nd April, O.S. Mendoza positively informed the King on the strength of a personal report brought to him, that Drake's design was to "encounter your Majesty's flotillas" (page 67). The first hint given that Cadiz was to be the destination, was given a week later by Charles Arundell to Mendoza (page 69)." "The friend assures me that Drake has orders "to stay as short a time as possible at Plymouth, but that "no living soul but the Queen and the Treasurer knew "what the design was to be. The Queen would not have "even the Lord Admiral informed, as she considers him a "frank spoken man; but judging from general indications

" and the haste in sending Drake off, it would seem as if " the intention was to try to prevent the junction of your " Majesty's fleet, which had to be equipped at various ports, " and if they succeed in breaking up a portion of it, then " to proceed on the Indian route and encounter the flotillas. " To this end they have let out a few words to Drake about " Cadiz being a good port to burn shipping in if a good " fleet were taken thither." This advice was already too late, as it probably was intended to be by Stafford.

Drake arrived at Plymouth from the Thames on the 23rd March (O.S.), and the instructions given to him to hurry his departure were doubtless those of the Leicester party, strengthened by his own fears, that at the last moment the Queen and Burghley would attempt to limit or hamper his object. Leicester had gone to Buxton by this time, and Drake knew that in his absence Burghley and Raleigh would be all powerful. Drake needed, therefore, no prompting to hurry his departure from Plymouth. His first instructions were " to prevent or " withstand any enterprise as might be attempted against " her Highness' dominions, and especially by preventing " the concentration of the King of Spain's squadrons"; and in pursuance of this object he was to be allowed to " distress the ships as much as possible both in the " havens themselves and on the high seas." Drake's misgivings were fully justified. He knew that Borough had been appointed his second in command as a drag upon him, and as a check in his employment of the Queen's ships that formed part of his squadron; he was also aware that Burghley was in negotiation with the Duke of Parma for the meeting of an Anglo-Spanish peace conference, and a few hours after he left Plymouth (2nd April, O.S.) orders were sent after him to the effect that he was to " forbear to enter forcibly any of the said

" King's ports or havens or to offer any violence to any " of his towns or shipping within harbour or to do any " act of hostility on land." Drake took very good care that these timid orders never reached him, and went on his own way, notwithstanding Borough's warning. On the very day that Mendoza wrote from Paris conveying Stafford's belated hint at the real destination of the fleet, the great admiral sailed unmolested into Cadiz harbour, and made the Armada impossible for that year at least. " The damage committed there," wrote Philip to Mendoza, " was not great, but the daring of the attempt was " so." Drake's proceedings there, and subsequently on land at Faro, important as he reported them to have been in damaging the Spanish armaments and reducing Philip's prestige (pages 93 and 111), were a source of some embarrassment for the policy of the Queen and Burghley, who were busy formulating arrangements with Andrè de Loo for the proposed peace conference, and ostentatiously spreading the intelligence, especially in France, that a settlement of the difficulties with Spain was on the point of being arrived at, whilst Spanish agents were plied with suggestions that an alliance existed between England and France; the object being, of course, to distract Philip and to draw Henry III. closer to England, whilst counteracting the efforts being made by Catherine de Medici to persuade the princes of the League to a reconciliation with the King (pages 94–95). So Drake was re-called, and a great show of indignation made at his action, and at his capture of the great galleon, San Felipe*; whilst the Duke of Parma slowly and tentatively listened to the overtures for the meeting of the peace commissioners, still in doubt, as he was, as to

* See Burghley's reply to De Loo's remonstrance (11th July, 1587), Foreign Office Records, Flanders, 32.

Philip's real intentions, and more than half resentful of the want of confidence shown to him by the King.

It is curious to note how the vast national interests at stake in this supreme crisis of European history were complicated, and in some instances largely influenced, by secondary personal considerations. Philip himself was a coldblooded statesman above all things, and regarded men, however great, as simple pawns in the game he played for the predominance of his system and his country. The constant and natural efforts of his instruments—some of them men of much higher gifts than himself—to forward their personal ends, caused him, as will be seen in this correspondence, endless embarassment and frequently involved him in failure. In the case of Parma, a man of vast ability, a sovereign prince and a close relative of Philip, the discontent caused by the King's cool distrust was increased by the entire disregard of the rights of Parma's children to succeed to the throne of Portugal, which Philip had seized. There is no doubt that this feeling, together with the jealousy of a divided command, led Parma to look coldly, almost from the first, upon the plans for the Armada. He was a great commander, and saw the weak points in the scheme adopted by Philip, and he was determined, so far as he was concerned, to incur no blame for the failure which he foresaw, by exceeding the letter of the King's instructions. Similarly the pride of Guise was deeply wounded by his being kept in the dark with regard to Philip's arrangements through Mendoza and Bruce with the Scottish Catholics (page 109), and more than once threatened to break away and frustrate all the Spanish King's plans by championing the cause of James VI. in England. We have seen also how personal influences in England caused changes of policy almost from day to day, and how the deep distrust of Sixtus V.

and the unbought Cardinals in Rome constantly thwarted Olivares in his attempt to bend everybody and everything to his master's ends. The weakness and impracticability of Henry III., the genius and ambition of Henry of Navarre, the fierce bigotry of Allen and Persons, and the sanguine eagerness of Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, were all distracting elements in an already complicated situation. It is not, therefore, surprising that the preparations for the great Armada to conquer England proceeded slowly under Philip's dreary monopolous system in the face of the innumerable checks and side issues which had to be dealt with. The letters for 1587 in the present volume reflect these infinite complications upon almost every page, and more characteristically than in any other place display Philip's rigid unsympathetic methods of meeting such difficulties, ignoring as he did the human side of the men with whom he had to deal, and depending entirely upon sanctimonious appeals to the devotion they owed to the great cause, which most of them knew, as well as he did, was simply a convenient cloak to cover his vast political objects.

Side by side, again, with these larger personal influences, moving kings, princes, and great commanders, there was a still smaller set of motives swaying less important men, which nevertheless, as we see by the light of these papers, were not without effect upon great events. But for the rivalry of Leicester and the depredations of Drake, it is extremely likely that Burghley would have been able still to avoid war with Spain, as he had done for thirty years; but for the treachery and greed of the Portuguese who surrounded Don Antonio—of which there are abundant proofs in these letters—it is possible that his plans upon Portugal might not all have been forestalled and frustrated as they were. The over zeal of Mendoza in identifying

himself closely with the League not only earned the reprobation of his master, but tended powerfully to drive Henry III. into the arms of the Huguenots, and to bring about the murder of Guise: whilst the haughty insolence of Olivares to the Pope, finally alienated the sympathies of Sixtus from the Armada, leading him to withhold most of his promised support, and positively to rejoice in the defeat of the attempt to turn England into a Catholic country on the model of Spain.

One rather curious instance of these personal ambitions endeavouring—although in this case unsuccessfully—to turn public affairs to their own advantage will be found in this volume (page 101 *et seq*). In the spring of 1587, an English youth, who gave his name as Arthur Dudley, was apprehended in Guipuzcoa, and sent to Madrid as a suspected person. He was taken to Sir Francis Englefield, Philip's English secretary, and told an extraordinary story, which he afterwards reduced to writing. He was, he said, the son of Elizabeth and Leicester, and had been brought up by one Southern, a dependent of the Queen's friend, Mrs. Ashley; and being a Catholic he craved for Philip's support to obtain the crown of England for himself. The youth's story was an incoherent and improbable one, and, although he evidently knew much about the *personnel* of the English court, he was quite in the dark with regard to Philip's own claim to the crown, and spoke as if the King of Scotland was the only person to be feared. Even he, James, he thought might easily be put out of the way, and with the effrontery or ignorance of extreme youth appeared to consider it the most natural thing in the world that Philip should allow an unknown lad on his own statement to reap the benefit of his years of plotting and vast expenditure. It is evident that Englefield was not convinced of the truth of Dudley's story, but thought that the young man might

be a tool of Elizabeth or her ministers to sound Philip's intentions. There is no evidence that he was anything of the sort, but in any case it was obviously to Philip's interest to hold him tight now that he had got him, and we can imagine the King's grim smile when in answer to Englefield's recommendation that Arthur Dudley should be placed in a monastery for safe keeping, he wrote: "It "certainly will be safest to make sure of his (Dudley's) "person until we know more about it" (page 112). From this point the papers here printed are silent with regard to Dudley's fate, and I have come across no other mention of him; unless he be identical with the "Mr. Dudley" whom Father Persons mentions in his letter from Valladolid to Dr. Barret in 1590 (Hatfield State Papers, Part 4), as being one of several missionary seminarists who are proceeding from Spain to England.

No portion of the papers published in this volume are of more interest than those in which Olivares details with a cynical frankness, which throws a flood of light on Philip's real feelings towards the Papacy, the extraordinary manner in which Sixtus was cajoled into acquiescence in the Spanish political aims in England.

The caution with which the Pope was approached indirectly with hints of Philip's claim to the crown on the death of Mary Stuart has already been described; but as the time approached for action it became necessary to bring Sixtus to close quarters. In a conference between the Pope and Olivares on the 24th February 1586, the former had unsuspectingly been entrapped into a promise "to agree with whatever his Majesty thinks best in the "matter (*i.e.*, of a successor to Mary Stuart in case of "her death), and he will do what may be necessary." This was the lever which was subsequently used to force Sixtus unwillingly to accept Philip's views. In June,

1587 (page 112) the King instructs Olivares, when the time seemed opportune, to request the Pope to confirm the exclusion of James VI. from the English throne, and to repeat his promise to agree to the successor to be chosen by Philip. The latter was full of misgivings of the churchmen, and dreaded the influence of "French" Cardinals, who would persuade James VI. to profess Catholicism; but he knew that he could only bring the Pope to his views by proceeding warily, step by step, until Sixtus had been drawn into a position from which he could not recede. Olivares represents the Pontiff unmercifully as a greedy, garrulous, old man; and in truth, so far as can be gathered from the correspondence, the Pope's apprehensions were largely centred upon the money subsidy which he had promised. His anxiety to prevent Philip from obtaining a ducat, except on the conditions he had laid down of the prior success of the Armada, appears to have led him away from the scent of Philip's political plans, of which the Catholic Church was intended to be the tool. He found himself very soon in a position of powerlessness to avoid giving Philip a free hand, by reason of the growing intimacy between the king of France and the Huguenots, and the failure of Catherine de Medici to induce the Guises to lay down their arms.

Sixtus could not afford to countenance a king tainted with heresy, and in his impotent rage (page 114) was easily influenced by the clever diplomacy of Olivares. "With regard to the question of the successor," said Olivares to the Pope, "his Majesty assumes that his "Holiness will already have been informed of the well "known fact that when the Queen of Scotland was taken "a will was found, in which she left his Majesty (Philip) "heir to the crown, this being the reason of her death, and "of the approval of it by the King of France. Although

" this will has been concealed by *the Queen of England*
" his Majesty has an autograph letter from the Queen of
" Scotland to Don Bernardino de Mendoza . . . in
" which she announces her intention of making this
" disposition, in case her son should not be converted to
" Catholicism at the time of her death, as she feared.
" Both documents originated in the Queen's having
" understood the right to the crown possessed by his
" Majesty in virtue of his descent from the House of
" Lancaster, both by the line of Castile and that of
" Portugal,* his claim being a more valid one than that
" of any other claimant . . . beside the double dis-
" qualification of heresy and bastardy under which they
" all suffer" (page 117). Olivares then proceeds to beg the Pope to advise his master as to the course he ought to pursue. He assures the Pope that Philip does not desire to keep England for himself, but still a Catholic monarch *must* be found, or all their efforts would be useless, and so, with much sanctimonious profession, Sixtus is besought to aid the Spanish King in his conscientious perplexity. After much pressing Olivares obtained the appointment of Cardinals Rusticucci and Santa Severina, both neutrals, to aid Cardinal Caraffa, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Deça and Olivares himself to draw up the agreement between Spain and the Papacy. The three last personages were Spanish agents, and the capitulation was so worded that on the 30th July Olivares could write jubilantly to Philip sending him the Pope's conditional warrant for a million ducats, and saying:—
" One of the clauses was with regard to the new King
" (of England), and they tried to stipulate that he

* Philip's maternal Portuguese ancestor, King John I., had married Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt by his first wife, Blanche Plantagenet, and his paternal Spanish ancestor, King Henry III. of Castile, had married Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt by his second wife, Constance of Castille.

" should be chosen by common accord; but it was in the " end left to your Majesty, and the clause was so worded " that your Majesty might appoint the Prince or the " Infanta. There is no doubt on this point, and the " Cardinal is of the same opinion, although there was an " apparent desire to lead up to the Pope's recommending " one of his nephews or the Infanta. I let it pass, as the " general wording embraces the whole thing. . . . . " The matter of the investiture was so wrapped up that he " passed over it without cavil or difficulty. . . . His " suspicions were not aroused by the said clause, which " may be brought to induce him, the Pope, to give the " investiture to your Majesty, on condition of your at once " substituting another in your place, and this would be " important." But, however unsuspicious Sixtus may have been on this occasion, being more interested for the moment in the financial than the political side of the question, before many days had passed the "French" Cardinals had worked him into a fury of anger and distrust. Against his will he had been almost bullied by Olivares into making Allen a Cardinal, greatly to the annoyance of the majority of the Sacred College; but he learnt at the same time that Philip was arranging for the bestowal of the English bishoprics upon ecclesiastics of his own choice. For nearly a century the monarchs of Spain had been at issue with the Papacy in the matter of the supremacy of the crown over the Spanish Church, and bit by bit the hold of the Pontiff over ecclesiastical patronage in Spain had been wrested from him. But now that Sixtus learnt of Philip's attempt to extend even to England his power over the bishops, he fulminated against the Catholic King threats of divine vengeance, unless he repented of "his great sin." "The Vicar of Christ," he said, "must be obeyed without reply in questions touching salvation" (page 133).

It may have suited Philip for his own ends to profess abject lip-service to the "Vicar of Christ," but considering that Olivares with impunity jeers at Sixtus to his master as a violent-tempered, gossiping, old curmudgeon, who smashes crockery at table, and thinks more of ducats than devotion, it may be doubted whether the King of Spain was very deeply touched by the Pope's anger. Through the whole correspondence it is evident that Philip's only anxiety was to lull the suspicions of Sixtus to the extent of obtaining his money-subsidy, and prevent him from openly siding with the "French" faction until Spanish influence had become dominant in England.

In the meanwhile, during the autumn of 1587, the alarm in England was growing. Drake, the sailors, and the advanced Protestant party were urging the Queen to allow the English fleet to take the offensive, whilst Burghley and the Conservatives were doing their best to avoid a national war with Spain, for the attitude of James VI. towards the Catholics, and the shiftiness of Henry III., gave them pause. The capture of the Sluys, too, by Parma (pages 126, 135, &c.) was a blow to the Protestant cause which deepened Elizabeth's anger and apprehension, for it gave to Philip an alternative harbour to Dunkirk, from which an invading army might sail, and, notwithstanding "Puritan" opposition, the peace negotiations were earnestly pushed forward in London (pages 140–1, 149, &c.) It is, however, easy to see that the hope of Elizabeth and the Conservatives was partly founded on the idea that Parma might, after all, play false to his uncle, King Philip; and, for the sake of the sovereignty of Flanders for himself, consent to a peace with England, which should render Spain powerless (pages 140, 175, &c.). We have already glanced at some of the reasons which rendered this idea plausible, and

apparently Philip was not entirely without fear in this respect. In a most important letter dated, 4th September, from him to Parma, in which the final plan of the Armada is conveyed to the latter, the King, in an emotional style quite unusual with him, exhorts Farnese to zeal. "The "most important of all things is that you should be so "completely ready that the moment the Marquis (of "Santa Cruz) arrives at Margate, you may be able to do "your share without delay. You will see the danger of "any such delay; the Armada being there and you "behindhand: as until your passage is effected he will "have no harbour for shelter, whereas, when you have "crossed over he will have the safe and spacious river "Thames. Otherwise he will be at the mercy of the "weather; and if, which God forbid! any misfortune "should happen to him, you will understand what a state "it will put us into. All will be assured, please God, by "your good understanding, but you must not forget that "the forces collected, and the vast money responsibility "incurred, make it extremely difficult for such an "expedition again to be got together if they escape us "this time; whilst the obstacles and divisions which may "arise (and certainly will do so) next summer, force us "to undertake the enterprise this year or fail altogether, "which I hope will not occur, but that great success may "attend us by God's grace, since you are to be the "instrument, and I have so bountifully supplied you with "money. On other occasions I have written to you how "all our prestige is at stake, and how much my own "tranquillity depends upon the success of the under-"taking; *and I once more enjoin you earnestly to justify "me for the trust I place in you. Pray send me word that "there shall be no shortcoming in these respects, as until "we get such advice I shall be very anxious*" (page 137).

In England, we are told, the people at large were desirous of peace, but although the Commissioners were appointed to go to Flanders early in September, the efforts of Leicester in Holland and Walsingham at court, detained them in England until the middle of February 1588, during which five months the chances of the English fleet taking the offensive or the Peace Commission commencing its work fluctuated constantly as the influence of the Leicester or Burghley party swayed the Queen. The belief in the sincerity of Philip and Parma in undertaking the peace negotiations had now almost entirely disappeared in England; for a change in the influences surrounding James VI. had divulged the treacherous plot which had been concocted between Spain and the Scottish Catholics. Simultaneously, therefore, with the departure of the English Peace Commissioners for Flanders, strenuous efforts—of which full particulars will be found in these papers—were made to place England in a state of defence, and it was now obvious that the object of both parties was to delay the declaration of war for their own purposes.

It was known in England that the long delay in the sailing of the Armada, and the vast expense necessary to keep so great an armament afoot in Spain and Flanders, had strained Philip's resources to the utmost, and it was thought that further delay would add to his embarassment, whilst allowing the English to marshal their means of defence. On the other hand, Philip desired to be able to choose his own time for action; for his rigid system of centralisation caused the mobilisation and victualling of his forces to proceed with difficulty and slowness, and much still had to be done; besides which the Marquis of Santa Cruz had succeeded in convincing him of the danger of attempting his great stroke in midwinter. So far, therefore, as Philip and the English were concerned,

both sides thought they were tricking the other by the negotiations, and the only persons who anticipated or hoped for peace, were a few English Conservatives and moderate Catholics, and the Catholic Flemings by whom Parma was surrounded. Parma's own attitude at this juncture, and afterwards, has always been one of the riddles of history, which these papers to some extent solve for the first time. That he was sulky and discontented with Philip is evident, for he and his had been very badly used, and there is no doubt that he was fully aware of the English desire to settle the long quarrel by acknowledging him as semi-independent Catholic sovereign of the Netherlands—a position which he might with justice think that he had deserved.

But Philip was a hard taskmaster, and had a short way with persons whom he suspected, and whatever Parma's hopes may have been, it behoved him to be wary. It will have been seen by Philip's letter to him of September 4th, already quoted, that he was instructed to have his army ready at the ports, and to await the arrival of the Armada in September or October 1587. From various causes the Armada was delayed, and when it was evident that months more would pass before it could come, Parma, believing Philip's own words, that such a delay meant failure (page 137), lost all hope of a successful issue. Philip had laid down precise instructions for his action, and yet in December he wrote to Parma in the supposition that he might have acted independently, and have invaded England without waiting for the Armada. This letter seems to have filled Parma with indignation and dismay. He evidently thought it was a trap to ruin him, and began anew to doubt his uncle's sincerity, for he had long chafed at and resented the half confidence with which he was treated. In powerful words he sets forth the im-

possibility of his doing what the King suggests, surrounded as he was with difficulty and debt, his army dying by plague and dwindling by desertion, and the Protestants in England and on the Continent alert and now fully armed. The Armada, he knew, was forestalled and doomed to failure, except with an unheard of combination of favourable circumstances, and he did not hesitate to tell the King what he thought (pages 200–1), and urged him to allow him to make peace in earnest (pages 236–8), rather than risk the utter ruin of defeat.

It was evident to Parma, as to all the world, that no peace could be made with England that did not embrace some settlement of the question of Holland and Flanders, and he knew that the aim of the moderate party in England and Holland, as well as of the Catholic Flemings, was to secure for him the sovereignty of the Belgic provinces. It is, therefore, not surprising that he should look askance at his uncle's implied doubt as to his zeal, conveyed in the suggestion above referred to, and when he learnt that Philip was determined to persist in an attempt which was almost bound to fail, he, Parma, resolved to make himself safe by adhering to the strict letter of his instructions, without going a hair's breadth beyond them, whilst at the same time avoiding for himself an unduly conspicuous identification with Spanish objects.

Not only do his own vigorous letters in this volume bear out this view, but it is fully confirmed by the bitter accusations and violence of the Spanish officers against him after the failure of the Armada. He was able to justify his action fully to Philip, who made the best of it, but it is clear from these letters that he was determined to be on the safe side, whatever happened, and was able, thanks to his masterly management, to effect his object.

The death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, early in February 1588, once more threw the preparations for the Armada in arrear. The old Admiral, whose original vast plans were too costly for Philip to adopt, was from the first opposed to the arrangement by which the command was to be divided between him and Parma, and the expedition was to have two bases instead of one. Men and ships had to be brought to Lisbon from ports in Spain, Italy, and Portugul, and a great army concentrated in Flanders. The preparation and transport of the enormous quantity of stores needed were difficult and costly under Philip's system, and the old Admiral was in despair at the incompetence of his subordinates, and at the King's impracticable insistence upon sending the fleet on its difficult errand, half-manned, insufficiently provisioned, and badly armed, in the depth of winter. The King's undeserved reproaches and sneers at length broke the heart of Santa Cruz, and with his death the last hope for the success of the Armada vanished. Money was Philip's main difficulty. We have seen the straits to which Parma was reduced in Flanders (pages 201, 211, 238, etc.), but the need for funds in Spain was even more pressing. As time went on and the Armada still tarried in port, the Pope grew more doubtful and disinclined to part with his money, for the "French" cardinals, the Carthusians, and the secular priests, were for ever warning him against the political ambition of Philip and his tools, the Jesuits. Olivares pushed him as far as was safe, and exhausted every means to obtain an advance of the papal subsidy, but without effect. The methods he employed may be seen by his many letters to the King in this volume; but it is evident that Sixtus was now thoroughly alive to Philip's aims in England, deeply resentful of the King's claims over the English bishoprics, and inclined to listen to Dr. Owen Lewis, Bishop of

Cassano, and the French and Scots in their plans to avoid a political domination of England by Spain. How much this was the case at the time (the winter of 1587–8) will be seen not only by Olivares' letters, but by the importance attached by the Spaniards to the attempt to strengthen Philip's claim to the English crown by means of the testimony of Mary Stuart's servants present at her death; and particularly by a letter written by Mary to be sent to the Pope announcing her bequest of her rights to Philip.

Misses Curle and Kennedy, with Gorion, the Queen's apothecary, and other servants, came to Mendoza in Paris in October 1587 with Mary Stuart's last letter (printed in Volume 3 of the calendar), and minute verbal testamentary messages and presents (page 152). These directions were religiously fulfilled by Philip, and liberal pensions given to the servants, particularly Miss Curle, her brother, and Gorion, who could, and in due time did, give sworn testimony of Mary's having made Philip her heir. But what was considered of more importance still was the letter for the Pope, which Mary had entrusted to her physician (Bourgoing?) for delivery. Bourgoing does not appear to have been very zealous about it, and instead of going to Rome handed the letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow in Paris. The Archbishop had been completely gained by Mendoza to Spanish interests, and was easily dealt with. The intrigues by which Mendoza contrived to have this letter kept secret from the Nuncio, and the French and Scotch party, are curiously detailed in the correspondence; the object being to have it sent to a "Spanish" cardinal in Rome (Mondovi), who would deal with it as Olivares directed, and then, if possible, to obtain for Philip possession of the original letter, after it had been opportunely shown to the Pope. When the letter finally arrived in Rome in March 1588, Sixtus had got quite

out of hand (pages 233, 239, 253), and the effect upon him anticipated from the delivery of Mary Stuart's letter was not produced. So far from being acquiescent now it is clear that he was opposed to the Spanish plans, and went to the length of having Philip's name written in cipher in the translation of Mary's letter. Olivares characteristically advises Philip, indeed, at this point to ignore the Pope's authority in the matter of his English claims. "Frankly," he says, "it would appear to me "advisable to depend principally upon descent and "conquest" (page 253).

The death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz rendered vacant the chief command of the Armada, and placed Philip in a new difficulty. The Spanish officers were jealous of each other, haughty, and impatient of control, and the few seamen of experience in the fleet were resentful of the traditional superiority claimed by soldiers; who, mindful of the still recent days when the only fighting ships were war-galleys, looked upon mariners as drudges, whose sole duty it was to carry the soldiers into action. Under the circumstances, therefore, it was impossible to appoint a seaman like Martinez de Recalde or Martin de Bertondona to the supreme command of an expedition including the flower of the Spanish nobility and army; whilst no soldier or landsman could hope to secure the obedience of the sailors, unless he was of the highest rank and reputation. The only such man available was the Duke of Medina Sidonia, whose lordship extended over much of the Andalucian coast, and whose splendour of birth and fortune made him stand higher than any other noble in Spain. When his appointment to the supreme command was conveyed to him (February 1588, page 207) he despairingly protested his own insufficiency, and resolutely refused the honour. He

should, he said, certainly fail, "I do not understand it; I know nothing about it; I have no health for the sea and no money to spend." But Philip would take no denial (page 209), for the Duke's ignorance and ineptitude were for him a recommendation, because they would allow the recluse at the Escorial really to command the fleet himself, and to organise victory from his cell. It was this mania for working everything from a remote centre, in those days of slow travelling, that doomed the whole of Philip's plans to ultimate failure.

All through the spring the hollow negotiations for peace were proceeding near Ostend, whilst Parma was standing with his plague-stricken army and his flat-bottom boats, waiting for the coming of the great Armada, which his military experience convinced him must fail (pages 237–8). In his letter to the King of 20th March, he plainly states the almost insuperable difficulties of the undertaking, and lays down as a positive condition, that large sums of money must be sent to him, and, above all, that the 6,000 Spanish veterans he had always stipulated for, must be added by the Armada to his own mixed force before he would move. This point he reiterated on every occasion, and from it he would never budge. The Armada must give him 6,000 Spanish veterans to land on English soil, and must protect his passage across the Channel; and although Philip, in his usual way, seemed to acquiesce in his nephew's insistence, it is evident from the important series of instructions given to Medina Sidona for his guidance (page 245), that he did so with a mental reservation—a want of frankness which produced subsequently a plentiful crop of troubles. "If," he says, "*the Armada shall not have had to fight*, "you will let my nephew have the 6,000 Spaniards you "are to give him, but if you have had to engage the

" enemy, the giving of the men to the Duke will have " to depend upon the amount of loss you may have " sustained in gaining the hoped for victory." The instructions to Medina Sidonia, and the secret orders to be handed to Parma only in the event of his establishing a footing in England (page 251), are worthy of very careful study, as they throw a fuller light than has ever yet existed upon Philip's real designs towards England, and are also very characteristic of his methods and views. His invariable habit of coupling the success of his plans with the Deity, as if he, Philip, was, in a sense, a junior partner with Providence, is indulged in to the full. " In the first place, as all victories are the gifts " of God Almighty, and the cause we champion is so " exclusively His, we may fairly look for His aid and " favour." All blasphemy and evil carriage on the Armada were therefore strictly forbidden; and good conduct was to be enforced under heavy penalties; " in " order that the punishment for toleration of such sin " may not fall upon all of us. You are going to fight for " the cause of Our Lord, and for the glory of His name, " and consequently He must be worshipped by all, so " that His favour may be deserved. This favour is being " so fervently besought in all parts, that you may go full " of encouragement that, by the mercy of God, His " forces will be added to your own." With this preamble the Duke was instructed to sail, if possible, straight for the rendezvous off Margate, where he was to join hands with Parma, and, except in the case of tempest making a refuge necessary, he was not to enter port until he arrived there. Even if he learnt that Drake had sailed for Spain he was not to allow himself to be diverted from the voyage: " But if he (Drake) follows or approaches " you, you may then attack him; and the same in-

" structions will serve if you meet Drake at the mouth
" of the Channel with his fleet, because if their forces
" are thus divided it would be well to conquer them
" piecemeal, so as to prevent the junction of all of them.
" If you do not come across the enemy before you arrive
" off Cape Margate, and find there only the Lord
" Admiral with his fleet, or even if you find the united
" fleets of the Lord Admiral and Drake, yours should
" be superior to both of them in quality, and you may,
" in God's name and cause, give battle to them, trying
" to gain the wind and every other advantage, in the
" hope that our Lord may give you the victory."

For years Philip's spies and the sailors who had suffered from Drake's attacks had reported the handiness of the English ships and the superiority of their artillery practice; and although Philip and his officers had not profited by the lessons in the construction and arming of their vessels, yet at this late hour, when the Spanish ships remained slow and unweatherly, and were overcrowded with swaggering soldiers, who still swore by their pikes and harquebusses, and looked upon ships' cannons as a base arm, the King says:—" Above all it must be borne
" in mind that the enemy's object will be to fight at long
" distance, in consequence of his advantage in artillery,
" and the large number of artificial fires with which he
" will be furnished. The aim of our men, on the contrary,
" must be to bring him to close quarters and grapple
" with him, and you will be very careful to have this
" carried out. For your information a statement is sent
" to you describing the way in which the enemy employs
" his artillery, in order to deliver his fire low and sink
" his opponent's ships; and you will take such precautions
" as you consider necessary in this respect." This shows a perfect foreknowledge of the English tactics, and it

gives the measure of the incompetence of Philip and his advisers to carry out such an expedition as the Armada. They knew the English were superior in two vital respects, yet so conservative were they that they made no attempt to rival or excel their enemy in these respects, but simply endeavoured to overcome him by old tactics, and with vessels and arms which his enterprise had made obsolete. It was expecting too much of Providence to rely upon sanctimonious appeals and, to anticipate certain victory, as Philip did, after having himself neglected the very first condition which would contribute to success.

The only point upon which he appears to have been doubtful was the cordial co-operation of Parma and Medina Sidonia, and he solemnly exhorted both of them to loyal joint-action, which was mainly rendered difficult by his grudging half-confidence in his illustrious nephew (page 248). By the secret instruction to Parma—one of the most important documents in this volume—it will be seen that the latter was not to be informed of the King's real intentions towards England, unless he actually landed there; and consequently Parma never learnt, what we know now, was the minimum of concession upon which Philip would have made peace with England. If, after landing, Parma found he could not subdue the country, and peace negotiations became desirable, Philip only imposed three conditions which in case of need might be reduced to two or perhaps to one. 1st. That the free use and exercise of "our holy Catholic faith" should be permitted in England to all Catholics, native and foreign, and exiled English Catholics be permitted to return home. 2nd. That the Netherlands fortresses in English occupation should be restored to Spain; and 3rd. That a large indemnity should be paid by England. The third claim

was to be presented merely as a matter of form, and the second was opened to discussion, but as a last resource, in the event of the Armada being only partially successful, Philip would have accepted as a settlement the toleration of Catholicism in England; and perhaps the restoration to him of Flushing.

By the end of April the Armada in Lisbon was pronounced to be ready to sail, and interesting details of the strength, provisioning, armament, &c. of the great fleet, and of Parma's army will be found on pages 269, 274, 280–286, 290, &c.; and side by side with these particulars, the details of the English preparations as sent by Spanish spies, may also be read with interest. The minute orders issued by Medina Sidonia to the fleet prior to sailing are most curious, and reflect the King's influence in every paragraph. No point, however trivial, seems to have been overlooked; but though the orders are sanctimonious and prim enough to suit a convent school, (page 290) only a few days afterwards, when the Armada had barely left the Tagus, it was clear that far more important matters had been neglected or mismanaged. The Duke already speaks doubtfully about being able to give Parma his 6,000 men, and opines that it would be better to beat the enemy at sea first "and the rest will be safe and easy," which meant that Medina Sidonia wished to obtain the credit for the victory himself, and to leave Parma as little as possible. Then came the significant admissions that "the last "muster does not satisfy me, as there are always oppor- "tunities for evasion in port": the victuals were "shipped very stale," and "are spoiling and rotting fast" (page 302). Knocking about on the Portuguese coast and in the Bay of Biscay in a gale until the 19th June—nearly three weeks—still further reduced the provisions, and before the Duke entered Corunna on the latter date he confessed to the King (page 303) that the stores were bad and short

and the hulks slow. "The victuals are so rotten and stink-"ing that many have been thrown overboard to save the men "from pestilence." In great trouble and anxiety, orders were sent to seize all food that could be found on shore, and whilst the battered and crippled fleet was slowly repaired and concentrated again, the Duke quite lost heart. "Many men are falling sick," he wrote, "aided by short commons "and bad food, and I am afraid that this trouble may "spread and become past remedy" (page 315). Every day he grew less confident about giving Parma his 6,000 men, greatly to Parma's indignation, (page 316) and finally on the 24th June, Medina Sidonia writes almost tearfully to the King, recommending him to abandon the expedition altogether (page 318). Philip had, however, now gone too far for this. After thirty years of hesitancy, he had staked everything upon making England a Catholic country, for with the danger of a Huguenot king in France, the whole future of Spain depended upon this, and he dared not draw back. He could only, therefore, sternly command the timid Duke to fulfil his task without delay (page 326). The reports of the councils of admirals called by the Duke at Corunna (pages 321 and 348) show that he had now lost all prestige with those under him, and that the condition of things on board the fleet was even worse than he had dared to tell the King. But there was no help for it, and the Armada sailed from Corunna on the 23rd July (N.S.) with nearly its full strength (page 339), after all the men, soldiers and sailors, had been confessed and absolved by the friars, on an island in Corunna harbour; great precautions being taken to prevent desertion. "The friars tell me that they "have already confessed and absolved 8,000 of them. "This is such an inestimable treasure that I esteem it "more highly than the most precious jewel I carry on the "fleet" (page 338).

From this point the story of the Armada is told daily by those on board, from Medina Sidonia to the common sailors, as it has never been told in English before. Medina Sidonia's successive letters to Parma, and his reports to the King mark the rapid decline of confidence of all hands. After the first fight off Plymouth, the Duke's cool doubts about being able to give reinforcements to Parma degenerated into beseeching appeals for Parma to come out and reinforce *him*. The minute descriptions contained in the papers printed in this volume depict from all the points of view, the utter demoralisation that existed. On the 30th July (O.S.) Medina Sidonia wrote to the King that he dared not proceed beyond the Isle of Wight until he got into touch with Parma; and only two days afterwards he assured the latter that "it is my "intention, with God's help, to continue my voyage "without allowing anything to divert me until I receive "from your Excellency instructions as to what I am to "do, and where I am to wait for you to join me" (page 358). Pilots, ammunition, water, protection, instructions, were all plaintively begged for by Medina Sidonia. Parma was furiously indignant, and both to the King and the Duke he reiterated, again and again, that the Armada had come to protect his passage across, and clear the sea of enemies. He, with his flat-bottomed river-boats "that will not stand a freshet, much less a tempest," could not, and would not, stir until the Armada performed its part; and he and his army, reinforced by 6,000 veteran Spaniards, might cross in safety to the mouth of the Thames. From the relations of those on board the fleet, supplemented by the reports of the Spanish spies in England, especially those of the Genoese Messia, the whole history of the disastrous expedition may be gathered. In a certain number of narratives in private collections, such as that of Captain Cuellar, published by Captain Fernandez

Duro, some of the personal experiences may be related more vividly than is the case with the accounts in this volume, but picturesque incidents are plentiful, even in these papers; especially in Medina Sidonia's own letters and diary (page 394); the relation of the Chief Purser, Coco Calderon, (page 439) and the account of Juan de Nova of his adventures in Ireland (page 506); whilst the full particulars here published relating to the loss of the flag-galleass San Lorenzo, off Calais, and the adventures of the flag-ship Santa Ana, and the galleass Zuñiga, on the French coast, have hitherto been entirely unknown.

Philip was anxiously waiting and praying for the news of the expedition upon which he had staked so much; and the first intelligence that reached him came from Mendoza in Paris, who reported that the Armada had gained a great victory over Drake on the 2nd August (N.S.). Mendoza was a bigot, whose conduct in England, and his share in the plots against Elizabeth, had marked him out for the special hatred of the Protestants, and this first false news of victory has for three centuries been attributed to his invention, and brought endless ridicule upon him. It will be seen by his despatch (page 369), that the false news was transmitted to him from his agent at Rouen, and he must, therefore, be held blameless in this respect. When, however, he sent the news hurriedly of the arrival of the Armada at Calais, and of the battle of Gravelines, the day after its escape from the fire ships, and attempted to buoy up the King still with the idea that the expedition was after all a success (pages 376–8, 379, 381, 386, 388, 408, &c.), the King, who had eagerly thanked him for his former communication (pages 384, 385), scrawled on the margin of his letters cautions to the effect that "this will turn out like the first news he sent," and other impatient expressions (pages 389 and 453); for Philip deceived himself no longer, and knew that his laborious

efforts had failed, although the full extent of the catastrophe only reached him gradually. He was not unduly jubilant when he received the false news of his victory (page 385), and when the knowledge of his defeat reached him, he indulged in no reproaches or complaints against his officers. Mendoza, who especially disliked Parma, did not hide his opinion, that treachery had been at work, and the officers on the Armada and the spies were full of hints of Parma's falseness, of Medina Sidonia's cowardice and ineptitude, and of the frauds of the commissaries, but the King made no sign, and blamed no one. Parma's own letters of exculpation (pages 370, 406, and 502) appear to offer a complete answer to his traducers, inasmuch as he adhered to the letter of his instructions; but it is evident all through that he had no belief in the success of the expedition, and peace would have suited his personal interests better than war.

Although Philip ceaselessly urged Mendoza to send him more information from England, the reports of his spies were extremely full and interesting. The characteristic letters of the Portuguese traitor, Antonio de Vega, continued to report, although he was now suspected both by Walsingham and Don Antonio, such information of English armaments, and of the pretender's movements as he could gather, and his reports respecting the Armada, on pages 382 and 389, are full of interest, as also are those of the Genoese spy, Marco Antonio Messia, on pages 418 (where a very curious account will be found of the rejoicings in London), 422, 436, 450, 454, 479, &c.*

* He gives, on page 480, a very unfavourable view of the state of the English defences when the Armada appeared. The Council, he says, endeavoured to arouse the irritation of the people by giving out that the "Spaniards were bringing a shipload of halters in the Armada to hang "all Englishmen, and another shipload of scourges to whip women, with "3,000 or 4,000 wet nurses to suckle the infants. It is said that all "children between the ages of 7 and 12 would be branded in the face, so "that they might always be known."

This man makes many interesting references to the Spanish prisoners in Bridewell, and appears to have been in many respects a worthy person. He was another instance, like De Guaras and Fogaza, mentioned in previous volumes of this calendar, of the ungrateful way in which Philip treated his instruments; and his wretched story of debt and danger in the service of Spain, until his death as a doubly-false English spy in Madrid, is set forth quite dramatically in his letters.

There was hardly a man near the unfortunate pretender Don Antonio in England but played him false; and in many cases his adherents were sold both to England and Spain to spy upon both. It may be doubted whether the vain, boastful Antonio de Vega was so important a person as he tried to make out; for his frequent harebrained schemes to kill Don Antonio, and to effect diplomatic arrangements, and the like, never came to anything; but Escobar, the pretender's agent in France, Ferreira da Gama, one of his closest friends, and Manoel de Andrada —to whom reference will be made later—were able to render important services to Spain, and to frustrate all their master's efforts to regain his crown. We have seen that the preparations for Drake's dash upon Cadiz in 1587 were made under cover of Don Antonio's name, and the same course was followed in the earlier naval armaments to resist the Armada; but the peace negotiations with Parma filled the pretender with alarm, and he attempted to escape from England (March 1588, pages 240–1), but was politely stopped in the Downs and brought back, the Queen reproaching him quite coquettishly for wishing to leave her; for he was still a useful stalking-horse, and might, he himself feared, become a valuable asset to exchange in negotiations with Philip. Before the remains of the Armada had returned to Spain the English sailors, par-

ticularly, were burning to do what they had been urging upon the Queen for a year, namely, to strike a crushing blow at Philip in his own dominions. The Queen was still timid and uncertain; as yet unconvinced, as was nearly everybody but Winter and Drake, of the completeness of the Spanish defeat; and if the sailors were to be allowed to have their way, it must be behind the mask of Don Antonio. The latter was not scrupulous as to where he got help: these papers represent him clamouring for support to the French Huguenots, the Flemish Protestants, the Grand Turk, and the Sultan of Morocco; and no movement, no project even, was conceived by him that was not promptly reported to Mendoza and Philip by the false Portuguese. Elizabeth herself ostensibly held aloof (page 453), but subscribed largely to the joint stock company which was formed to undertake the expedition* (pages 482, 484, and 511). Amongst other Portuguese adherents, Andrada—otherwise David—was summoned by Don Antonio to England to take part in the attempt, and in accord with Mendoza, though not without misgiving, for he knew his master had cause to suspect him, he went to Plymouth as a spy, but cleverly avoided embarking in Drake's fleet. From him (page 522) and De Vega minute, and apparently trustworthy, particulars were sent to Mendoza of the fleet and army to be taken by Drake and Norris to restore Don Antonio to his throne; and Philip and his nephew, the Archduke Albert in Lisbon, were fully prepared to withstand the expedition. The attack upon Corunna was unpremeditated, and consequently was a surprise; but more harm was done there to the expedition than to Spain; and in the extremely interesting, and hitherto unknown account of the abortive voyage, given by Don Antonio himself on his

* The detailed history of this abortive expedition is contained in "The Year After the Armada," by the present writer.

return (pages 547 and 553–5) it will be seen that he confirms the reports of all other actors in it, that the indiscipline, delay, and drunkenness at Corunna, united to the unwisdom of Norris' land attack upon Lisbon without siege artillery, caused the disaster.

The man whose influence had first been exerted in favour of Don Antonio in the English court was the Queen's physician, Dr. Ruy Lopez, through whom much of the pretender's correspondence passed. Like the other Portuguese friends of Don Antonio, however, Lopez was quite ready to betray his prince; and after the failure of the expedition to Lisbon, apologised to Elizabeth for urging the cause of so troublesome a suitor. Even before this, Lopez's had been mentioned by De Vega to Mendoza as being willing to poison Don Antonio for a consideration; but in any case there is no doubt that after 1589, if not previously, Lopez was a protégé of the Cecil party, who were opposed to an adventurous foreign policy, and sought an opportunity of an agreement with Spain. Several references have already been made in this introduction to a certain Manoel de Andrada, a confidant of Don Antonio, who was a good linguist, and was useful in the pretender's communications with the revolted Flemings. This man, as we have seen, was one of Mendoza's most active and zealous spies in England; and early in 1590 he wrote some letters to Mendoza, informing him of Don Antonio's intention of crossing the Channel to seek the aid of Henry IV. against their common foe Philip, and detailing a plot which he, Andrada, had arranged for Antonio's capture. These letters were intercepted and Andrada was imprisoned (page 572). Through the influence of Lopez, enlisted by his brother-in-law, one Anes, who also offered his services as a spy and to kill Don Antonio if necessary, Andrada was released; and as

he tells the story (page 474), was brought into contact with Lopez, when the latter made an important suggestion to him. He had, he said, already shown his attachment to the Spanish cause by offering to kill Don Antonio, and by saving from the gallows many of the prisoners from the Armada, and "I might now tell Don Bernardino de "Mendoza that if he (Dr. Lopez) received his Majesty's "orders to negotiate an arrangement, this was the time. "He was sure, he said, that the Queen would concede any "terms that were demanded of her, as she was in great "alarm. It was not necessary to write about this, but "that I should go to Calais and write to him from there, "to the effect that, bearing in mind the clemency the "Queen had extended to me, I was discussing with Don "Bernardino de Mendoza subjects which would redound "greatly to the advantage of her country; and that if a "passport were sent enabling me to go backwards and "forwards freely (which he promised should be sent at "once), I could come and stay secretly in his house, "where Secretary Walsingham would come and speak "with me. He, Lopez, had no doubt that the Queen "would come to terms with his Majesty, and would force "Don Antonio to do likewise, on conditions that his "Majesty might think just. She would also cause the "Netherlands to agree, and he, Dr. Lopez, on his part, "would endeavour that everything should be done to his "Majesty's satisfaction. No one was to know, however, "that he had discussed this matter with me. He would "continue to let me know the decisions of the Queen's "Council; and when things were sufficiently advanced "towards a conclusion to his Majesty's satisfaction, per-"sonages might be sent to make the formal contracts. "He hopes that everything may thus be settled speedily "and advantageously for his Majesty. . . . If an

" arrangement be not arrived at, he promises that Don " Antonio shall be sent away from England or detained " there, as his Majesty may desire, and . . . . if the " present suggested arrangement fell through, he would " continue to protect his Majesty's interests in England."

It is certain that Lopez would not have taken such a course as this—or even that the Queen would have released Andrada to begin with—without the connivance of Lord Burghley, who, we have seen all through these papers, lost no opportunity of approaching Spain. Mendoza, however, and probably his master, who was now in the thick of his struggle in France, evidently did not believe in the possibility of the arrangement suggested, and it was agreed that, although Andrada should go to Spain and report to Philip, it was only that he might afterwards be able, under cover of the negotiations for an agreement, to go backwards and forwards and render account of what was going on in England (page 576); and Mendoza adds a request to Philip that he will fitly reward him, Andrada, for the services he has rendered so zealously, and at so much personal risk. This may account for the possession by Andrada of Philip's token-ring, of which so much was subsequently made. In any case, Andrada thenceforward became one of Burghley's agents with Dr. Lopez, and for the next three years went backwards and forwards as suggested, partly as a double spy; and, so far as Burghley and his party were concerned, in the interests of peace. That concurrently with this, the suggestion so often made to poison Don Antonio may have continued, is, of course, possible, although unlikely, for the pretender was powerless thenceforward; but the letters just quoted give a sufficient innocent reason for Lopez's admitted correspondence with the Spaniards, and explain Andrada's connection with it. In the meanwhile an enemy to peace

with Philip, more bitter and artful than any other in the world, arrived in England, and the subtle brain of Antonio Perez was at the service of hot-headed young Essex, to ruin, by fair means or by foul, the peace policy of the Cecils. Perez was a plausible rogue, and over the wine cup wormed out some hints of Lopez's negotiations. Some of the Portuguese agents and spies were taken with compromising papers in their possession, at Perez's suggestion. They were tortured and terrorised until Lopez's name was wrung out of them, and then the long suspended blow fell upon the Queen's physician. The Cecils, whose agent he was, fought hard for him; for they probably knew quite well that he was innocent of crime with which Essex and Perez charged him, namely, an intention to kill the Queen. The Queen herself at first believed Sir Robert Cecil's assurance that the jealousy of Essex was at the bottom of the accusation, and she flew in a violent rage with her favourite. But Essex was powerful, and Perez had the cunning of a malignant devil, and the toils were spun round Lopez. All the agents were doubly sold traitors, and Lopez himself was paid by both sides. Under torture and fear compromising admissions were obtained, and it was asserted even that Lopez himself had confessed his guilt, though he solemnly avowed his innocence on the scaffold. Popular feeling was stirred, and the Cecils did as they had done before on other occasions, abandoned their agent rather than risk a complete rupture with Essex on an unpopular issue. It would be too much to say that the letter quoted in this Calendar proves Lopez's innocence, but it goes very far to explain the facts upon which his guilt was mainly presumed.

Through the whole of the Armada period the conspiracy of Huntly and the other Scottish nobles, referred to in the last volume of this Calendar, continued.

For reasons assigned in Bruce's correspondence, the plan for an armed Spanish diversion in Scotland fell through—as, indeed, it would have done in any case after the Armada failed to sail in the autumn of 1587—and the consummate duplicity of James VI., encouraged the Catholic Spanish agents to address themselves to him direct, in order that he might control events to his own advantage. The whole of this obscure intrigue, in which James successfully hoodwinked the Catholics, and kept them quiet* at a critical juncture, can be followed here for the first time in the letters from Bruce to Mendoza (pages 144, 161, and 210), in those of Huntly to the Duke of Parma (pages 361 and 429), and in the references to the mission of Morton and Colonel Semple to Scotland. When the Catholic danger was over for James, and it became necessary to satisfy his English friends and his own subjects by making a pretence of punishing the treason to which he from the first had been privy, the arrest of Huntly and the sham proceedings against him were undertaken (pages 528, 548), only to end in the practical absolution of Huntly and his friends from a charge which his own letters in this volume prove to have been well founded, as the King knew. At a subsequent period (1591) a very curious account was sent to Spain, of events in Scotland at this time, including the narrative of a miraculous victory gained by Huntly over Argyll (page 588); and a further narrative, continuing the story to 1593 of the intrigues of the Scottish Catholics with Spain, will be found on page 603 *et seq.* This interesting document has especial reference to the mission of the priest John Cecil to Spain, for the purpose of negotiating for armed aid to capture James, and make

* It will be seen that Morton's rising in the autumn of 1588 was premature, and not intended by the Spanish party. It was quite unimportant under the circumstances.

Scotland a Catholic country; and the moving spirit of the plot in Spain itself appears to have been the indefatigable Father Persons in Valladolid (pages 606–8). The negotiation was continued in the following year, 1594, by the same envoy, in conjunction with Lord Balgarys and Hugh Barclay (pages 613–16), and in 1595 by Matthew Semple, whose statement (page 617) graphically illustrates the continued chicanery by which James managed to frustrate the whole of the Catholic plans.

It is quite plain to see, however, that the aims of the Scottish Catholics and those of Philip were entirely divergent, and there was never any chance of effective aid reaching them from Spain. Their idea was to make Scotland a Catholic country and to convert James, in order that, with Spanish support, he might succeed to the throne of a Catholic England. We have seen how this dream of the Guises long ago had been dispelled by Philip, and how for years the conversion of the shifty James for his own ends had been scoffed at by Spanish agents and the English Jesuit party, notwithstanding all the charming of the Vatican. Now that James' duplicity was obvious, and his interested leaning towards the English Protestants grew more decided, it was less than ever likely that Philip would raise a finger or spend a ducat to aggrandise him. But still, as will be seen in these papers, almost to the death of Elizabeth it suited the Spaniards to encourage the Scotch Catholics and to keep them in hand, to be used as a diversion in case of need on the demise of the English Crown.

A cause that appealed much more strongly to Philip and his successor was that of the Irish Catholics in arms against England, and the documents in this Calendar treating upon that subject are of exceptional value and interest, being in most cases for the first time transcribed,

and completing the information and intercepted letters printed in the Irish Calendars, and those in Pacata Hibernia and the Carew Papers. In August 1593, the Archbishop of Tuam was sent to Spain by Tyrone to seek the aid of Philip to the rising in the north of Ireland. The Catholic heir of Desmond and the other fugitives from Munster after the collapse of the Desmond rebellion were living at Lisbon on Philip's bounty, and in fervent words, seconded the prayer of the Ulstermen (page 608), and the King received the Archbishop graciously. All Ireland could, he was assured, be raised. Tyrone and O'Donnell, who had sent him, said the Archbishop, could hold the north and west; the Geraldines had only to land in Munster for the country to join them again, whilst Baltinglas and O'Connor would raise all Leinster outside the English pale. Minute details were given to Philip of the strength of the Irish Catholic chiefs. Here, he was told, was a country as Catholic as Spain itself, ready to acclaim him as King; and where for a trifling expenditure he could be a permanent thorn in the side of the Queen of England, who at her weakest moment might be attacked at his own convenience. Here he had no heretic King to deal with, as in Scotland; no Protestant population to divide parties, but a whole nation hating the English bitterly, and who, safe in their own fastnesses, were only panting for deliverance from the heretic Queen, whose insignificant forces they had already defied everywhere outside the fortified towns and the foreign pale. But Philip was slow to decide. His hands were still full in France, and his treasury was exhausted; if with small expenditure Elizabeth might be weakened, he would listen; but, as usual, he was avid for more information—more details—before he could move. "What they demand," he scribbled to his secretary, "is very much . . . You

" talk to him (*i.e.*, the Archbishop), and get to the bottom " of it all, and then we will see what is the very smallest " aid that will be needed. If it be so small that we can " give it, we will help them " (page 610). Whilst the slow process of investigation by spies and others was proceeding, loving letters were sent to the Ulster chiefs in arms, in which Philip exhorted them to stand firm. For a time Tyrone carried all before him, in hope of the Spanish succour which arrived not. Swift "pataches" sailed backwards and forwards from Galicia to Ulster, carrying fervid appeals from the chiefs and taking back blessings and vague promises from Philip. But at last, in March 1596, Tryone began to lose faith. He was master of the greater part of Ireland, and could make good terms with the English, who had already consented to a truce. So he sent his confessor with an ultimatum to Philip. Either help must be sent in plenty, especially artillery, or he will make peace, and Spanish influence in Ireland will be at an end (page 617). This, at last, was sufficient to arouse Philip, who despatched one of his ensigns, Alonso Cobos, to examine and report fully upon the military position, and especially to persuade Tyrone to stand firm. He arrived only just in time to prevent the peace from being concluded, and gives (page 619) an interesting account of his negotiations. He carried back with him to Spain letters from the chiefs, still pressing for prompt help and promising to hold out until it came. A month later (May 1596) other experienced Spanish officers were sent to advise Tyrone, and to report still more fully as to the military needs; and their reports (pages 621 to 627) are also most interesting. On their journey back they were nearly captured by the English, but eventually escaped, and brought assurance of Irish success if help were sent at once. If not, said the chiefs, the visit of the

captains will do more harm than good; and Count Portalegre, the Governor of Galicia, from whose territory the communication with Ireland was carried on, almost as urgently as the Irish chiefs, prayed that they might not be abandoned in their struggle. Portalegre himself was in mortal apprehension of the possible descent of an English fleet on the coast of Spain, to prevent the threatened junction of Spanish ships for the purpose of succouring the Ulstermen (June 1596), or to carry out the more ambitious suggestion of a descent from the Spanish base in Brittany upon England itself. Count Portalegre, who almost alone amongst Philip's officers appears to have at this time feared the advent of an English fleet, was justified in his apprehension, although Essex and Howard did not appear at the point he expected, for the day after Portalegre wrote that, "he was more anxious about it than ever he was in his life about anything," Essex's fleet sailed from Plymouth to sack Cadiz, and, for the second time, to ruin Spain's navy.

The enterprise of the Scottish and Irish Catholics, and the growing feeling amongst the English secular Catholic clergy and laity,* that on Elizabeth's death England might quietly become Catholic without a Spanish domination, did not altogether please the Jesuit and extreme party, which had been thrown somewhat in the shade by the failure of the Armada. Philip, himself, was old, sick, poor, and disillusioned; he had, probably, long ago lost hope of being able to conquer and hold England as a semi-dependency by force of arms; and, moreover, the matter was of much less importance to him, now that

* Many even of Philip's old English pensioners—the Pagets, Morgan, and many others—had abandoned the idea of a Spanish sovereign of England, and were working for a Catholic England under Arabella Stuart or James VI. (*See* Morgan's examination, page 563.)

Henry IV. had gone to Mass, and France was a Catholic country. But there was still a certain number of zealots, led by the indefatigable Persons, who were determined, if possible, once more to get into their hands the direction of English affairs. An exceedingly interesting series of papers, mostly in the handwriting of Father Persons, dated in the autumn of 1596, will be found on page 628 *et seq*, in which the views of this section are persuasively set forth. Philip was making desperate, and not very successful, efforts to rally a naval force under the Adelantado of Castile, of which the destination was believed to be either Great Britain or Ireland. It was impossible for Persons and his party openly to oppose the giving of aid to the Scottish and Irish Catholics, but they were anxious that it should only be granted as part of a plan for bringing England itself under the rule of Catholics of their own type. Their tone, however, in one respect had changed vastly since 1586–7, when they represented the majority of the English nation as yearning for the coming of Philip as the sovereign by right of descent. They were only desirous now that Philip should contradict the "lies of the heretics," by making known to the English (apparently by a book to be written by Englefield) that he had no intention or desire of adding England to his dominions; but that his daughter, the Infanta, might be selected by the English Catholics themselves for their Queen on the death of Elizabeth. Persons and his friends—including the widowed Duchess of Feria, Jane Dormer—represented that English people of high rank were looking to the future with apprehension, and that if a representative board of English refugees of position, such as Sir William Stanley, was appointed in Flanders with large powers, negotiations could easily be opened with their countrymen at home, which would

ensure the peaceful acceptance of the Infanta on the Queen's death.

Persons was at the time about to start for Rome, not without some fear on the part of his friends that treachery was intended towards him there; (page 634) but he left in these documents ample proof that, though he did not fail to see that Philip was now an impossible King of England; his, Persons', own views and objects had not greatly changed. He was still for excommunicating the Queen, for harrying the English coasts and shipping by pirates recruited in England and Flanders, for sending to England ready-made bishops and cardinals, and for restoring to the church some of the confiscated property, which, even Philip, Mary, and Pole had not dared to return forty years before.

Persons left behind him, at Madrid, a younger and less bigoted English priest, Father Creswell, who saw clearly enough that the time had gone by for Persons' methods to be successful with his countrymen, and urged upon Philip's ministers a policy of conciliation and mildness; and an appearance, at all events at first, of religious toleration in England (page 635).

Philip knew better than Persons and his friends that he was in no position to attack England with another Armada; whilst the persistence of the Irish chiefs and their constant emissaries to Spain had persuaded him that, with but comparatively small support given to Tyrone and O'Donnell, he might be able to establish a firm footing in Ireland, after which his further policy towards England might be decided from that point of vantage. The indispensable Captain Cobos was accordingly again sent in September 1596 with letters to all the principal chiefs in arms, and instructions to assemble the latter, and assure them, in Philip's name, that effective

Spanish aid should be sent to them. Cobos landed at Killybegs harbour at the end of September 1596, and the meeting of chiefs took place in the monastery of Donegal on the 6th October. "They thank God and your "Majesty for this, and promised to die, if needful, in His "service. Each took me aside separately to assure me "that he and his folk would be the first to join the force "when it arrived. I took O'Neil and O'Donnell apart, "and said that at last the hour they had longed for had "arrived, and before the winter set in the succour they "had so often requested would be there. I urged them "to set about what raids they could, to show their zeal; "and also to make the necessary arrangements secretly "for the reception of our force. They thanked his "Majesty, and said they were always ready and waiting "like the faithful vassals they were. . . . They had "been playing fast and loose with the enemy for a long "time, awaiting his Majesty's aid; and a fortnight ago "the English came with 1,500 footmen and 600 horse "into their lands to force them to make peace, but they "had met them, and Norris left off fighting and tried to "make terms, but all they would consent to was a truce "for a month and a day. All this was only to await your "Majesty's succour, whilst they prevented the Queen "from sending more forces" (page 638).

Cobos learnt, however, when he was at Killybegs that O'Neil had sent to Norris Philip's letter, which Cobos had brought on his previous visit in the spring, and had attempted to make capital out of it. O'Neil was voluble in his excuses and explanations, and wrote a fervent letter to Philip himself on the subject (pages 638 and 642); but Cobos evidently half-distrusted this correspondence with the "heretics," and "warned them (O'Neil and O'Donnell)

to keep their promises better for the future."* When Cobos returned to Spain he carried with him a perfect sheaf of letters, petitions, and claims from the Irish chiefs, each of whom, apparently, wanted his own ends served, especially Cormack O'Neil and Hugh Boy O'Davitt. He also carried a curious appeal from some Spanish soldiers who had remained in Ireland since the wreck of the Armada (page 641).

O'Neil naturally expected prompt and effective aid to reach him within the month, but to his intense indignation nothing came until March 1597, when two small ships with some money and gunpowder put into Killybegs. O'Neil had been loudly proclaiming all the winter his loyalty to Elizabeth, for he had almost lost faith in slow Philip's fine promises, and the "Irishry" were already saying "that they loved the worst Englishman better than the best Spaniard." When the insignificant help came to him in March, he told the Spanish officers who brought it that "they were but a deceitful nation and "had cosened the Irish. After all his promises the king "of Spain had sent them nothing but a little powder." He would, he said, depend upon the King's help no longer. Neither O'Neil nor the English guessed at the utter state of demoralisation in which Philip's service was at the time. We can now look behind the scenes by reading Lopez de Soto's letters here summarised (page 646), and we see the complete confusion that existed. Spies reported in England the great naval preparations being made under the Adelantado of Castile, but after five months of intermittent spasmodic activity in the ports,

* Reference to the Irish Calendar will show that O'Neil's explanation about the letter was true. He had sent the letter by Captain Warren to Dublin on a distinct pledge that it should be returned, but the Council refused to return it, and this was a constant source of grievance to the chiefs.

Soto could only write at the beginning of July, to the Council of War: "Everything is in confusion; uniforms "for the men are lacking, and the cavalry is unfit for "service. There is no money to provide anything, no "meat, no wine, no siege artillery, hardly any guns for "the ships themselves" (page 646), and the Adelantado, himself, in his rough outspoken way at the same time, July 1597, told one of Philip's ministers that "there was "no fleet or any possibility of going out and facing the "enemy" (page 647). Matters were nearing a crisis with O'Neil. He had kept the English in negotiations, on and off, the whole winter, and the chiefs in May had sent Thomas Lalley to Spain with fresh appeals and petitions (page 644), as fruitless as the previous ones. If only O'Neil could delay decisive action until the arrival of a new Lord Deputy, he thought that a favourable arrangement with the English might be made, but Lord de Burgh was determined to strike a crushing blow at the "base beast," as he called him, without delay.

A plan of operations was settled with Sir Conyers Clifford, and De Burgh routed and pursued O'Neil in June, and in the middle of July forced the passage of the Blackwater. Fresh despairing appeals went forth to the King of Spain; but Philip was nearing his grave, and broken-hearted: all he desired was peace, and, at least, toleration for Catholicism, before he died. He was coming to terms at last with Henry IV.; and his nephew, the Archduke Albert, who was to be married to his favourite daughter Isabel, and jointly with her inherit the Netherlands, was even urging the King to allow him to make peace with Elizabeth (page 649). Essex with an English fleet, moreover, in the autumn of 1597 was on the coast of Spain, and the Adelantado's ships dared not move from Ferrol; so, again, the hopes of the Irish chiefs of Spanish

support were doomed to disappointment. Philip, on his deathbed (August 1598), received news of the victory gained by O'Neil and O'Donnell over the English at Portmore, and the subsequent acceptance of the viceroyalty of Ireland by Essex; and once more the Irish chiefs became clamorous for the long promised aid. Under the foolish and corrupt rule of Essex the rebel cause again became hopeful. Munster and Connaught were overrun by O'Neil; and Essex himself, thinking only of his personal ambition and party rancour, treacherously entered into negotiations with O'Neil* (page 656). This surely was the opportunity when a strong Spanish force would have turned the scale; but young Philip III. was in greater poverty even than his father had been, and once more reports and inquiries had to be made before help could be sent. At the beginning of 1600, therefore, the Spanish archbishop-elect of Dublin with an experienced soldier, Don Martin de la Cerda, were sent to negotiate with O'Neil, taking presents of gold chains, portraits, arms and ammunition. "As the oft promised aid from Spain was "hourly expected," wrote the archbishop to the King, "when we arrived with empty hands only again to repeat "the old promises, they were overcome with sorrow and "dismay, especially as they had news of the enemy in force "both by land and sea." The archbishop did his best to re-assure the chiefs, who promised to hold out for five months longer at most, and sent back by Captain de la Cerda the glowing report of the loyalty and devotion of the Irish. O'Neil and O'Donell again wrote to the King praying for aid (page 656), and protesting their loyalty. Sixty Irish chiefs had met the Spanish emissaries at Donegal, and received the King's presents with great

* For further evidence of this, see the Life of "Sir Walter Raleigh," by the present writer.

ceremony, "saying they would wear no other chains or "yoke than those of your Majesty" (page 663). After much deliberation by the King's Council in Madrid, it was at length decided to send at once a supply of money and food to the rebels, whilst a powerful fleet was to be fitted out to carry an army of 6,000 men with arms and supplies to Ireland, and fix upon the country the sovereignty of Spain, which O'Neil represented could be had for the taking. Money and time were short, but Philip III. was young and devout, and in an interesting holograph note (page 667), shows himself to be a true son of his father, and the preparations were continued with some attempt at activity.

But in the meanwhile the English Jesuits, and even the Scottish Catholics (pages 652, 667, 677), were jealously intriguing to obtain for their respective parties Philip's support and countenance on the death of Elizabeth, which could not be very long delayed. Father Persons was in Rome, but there he prompted the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Sessa, to address to the King and his council a report containing the views and desires of English Catholics, to secure the succession of the English crown to the Infanta Isabel, whilst Fitzherbert, the King's English secretary, forwarded the intrigue in Madrid (page 650). Whilst the council in Madrid was laboriously and copiously discussing what might be done in England on the death of the Queen, and at the same time by their inflated pretensions of superiority for Spain rendering abortive the peace negotiations with England (page 659), the succour for Ireland was at last slowly assuming shape in the Galician ports. With infinite effort several small supplies of money, arms, and a few experienced officers had been sent to Ireland; but it took over a year before the main re-inforcement was ready. At the beginning of September 1601 the Spanish fleet of 33 vessels, under

Diego Brochero, with 4,500 Spanish soldiers commanded by Don Juan del Aguila, sailed from Lisbon; but when they were already near the Irish coast the Admiral Brochero with eight of his ships were caught in a tempest, and driven back to Spain with a large number of the soldiers. Short of men and stores, del Aguila himself took refuge in Kinsale, and there fortified himself against the English, sending back to Spain urgent prayers for support and re-inforcement. The story of the defeat of O'Neil and O'Donnell, the death of the latter in Spain, the capitulation of Kinsale, and the abandonment of the O'Sullivans and the O'Driscolls, is told in pathetic fashion by the letters in this Calendar, which henceforward must be read side by side with the papers in the Carew Calendars and in Pacata Hibernia.

Hoping against hope, the Irish refugee chiefs and priests in Spain still fervently prayed for help for the Catholic cause in Ireland. How impossible it was to give it to them is now seen for the first time, by the reports of the councils to King Philip. In secret conference the hollowness of Spain's great pretensions was sorrowfully admitted by the King's minsters, and a pathetic attempt made to keep up appearances, in order, if possible, still to have an hand in English affairs on the death of the Queen. But it was a falling off indeed in the 15 years since the haughty bluster of the Armada. In November 1602 Father Creswell, on behalf of the English Catholics, again presented a formal request to Philip III. that he would at once take measures to intervene in England on the death of the Queen. The council sadly admitted to the King that a regular armed intervention of importance would be quite impossible, but early in 1603 exhaustively discussed and considered the whole question. The Infanta and her husband had no desire to undertake what they knew was

the impossible task of ruling England according to Spanish ideas. Philip's penury made it idle to dream of imposing a sovereign on the country; and at last Count de Olivares boldly stripped the matter of all pretence, and advised that the goodwill of the English people should be gained by supporting any native candidate for the succession who might be chosen by the English Catholics. The arrangement was to be carried on from Flanders, whither a large sum of money was to be sent, and where a considerable force was to be raised to aid, if necessary, the new Catholic sovereign of England. Father Creswell was in close communication with the Catholics in England, and it is certain that this was the foundation of the plan entertained by so many important political personages in England to raise Arabella Stuart to the throne. All the evidence points to the fact that Sir Robert Cecil was from the first cognisant of these negotiations, whilst he was in secret communication with James VI. for the purpose of frustrating them when the moment arrived. There was, however, no great fear, for promptitude was of all things essential, and promptitude, either of payment or action, could never be expected of Spanish councils. In vain Cresswell clamoured desperately for the fulfilment of the promises made to the heads of the plot in England (pages 739–741), that distinct assurance should be given that they should not be left in the lurch if they proclaimed Arabella, and that sufficient armed force should at once be mustered in Flanders to support them if necessary. But whilst he was clamouring, and the fatuous Spanish council was making fine speeches, the blow fell, and Elizabeth died. Robert Cecil was ready if no one else was, and before the final reply was received from Spain, James was King of England with the acclamation of a people pleased that the succession should pass anyhow without war.

This was the impotent conclusion of fifty years of Spanish effort to obtain a dominant influence in England by means of religion. Through the whole of the papers contained in the four volumes of this Calendar the intrigue runs unbroken. Diplomacy, cajolery, threats, subornation of murder, incitement of rebellion and open war had each been tried in turn, but in every case tried too late. The blighting centralizing system of Charles V. and of Philip II., with its wooden immobility and its sluggish want of sympathy with its instruments, had been no match for the alert, vigorous methods and intensely human passions which moved the great English queen and the men of action and council who surrounded her. Spain had been beaten to a large extent by her own shortcomings, which made the task of such energetic opponents comparatively easy. But the very qualities which proved useless to her when pitted against the great Elizabethans; the haughty, deliberate, presumption which had been pierced, buffeted, and derided by men who took nothing for granted; by the Queen herself, by Drake and the sailors, by the Puritan party, which always prevented Spain from being taken by her own valuation: these qualities, with less real power behind them now than ever, brought timid, shifty James to his knees, and sent him truckling and cringing to the boasted power of Spain, which Englishmen of the worthier age of Elizabeth had proved to be a phantom.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS,

SPANISH.

ELIZABETH.
1587—1603.

1587.

2 Jan. **1.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

Estado, 949. The English prior in Venice perseveres in his solicitations to Allen, saying that it would be well to endeavour to convert the Queen of England to the faith by fair means. I have told Allen not to break the thread, but to avoid pledging himself to anything until we can learn whether your Majesty desires to make use of the man, whom Allen praises as a very appropriate instrument for deceiving the Queen, whilst being himself deceived.—Rome, 2nd January 1587.

8 Jan. **2.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566, 22. I learn from Irun that the Huguenots have captured Pedro de Sarmiento* in the Landes near Bordeaux. I assured him that the way by Nantes, although longer, would be the safer, but he resolved to go by Bordeaux with an experienced courier from here who knew the road. As this will prevent him from speedily giving your Majesty an account of the Queen of England's instructions by word of mouth, I will set down the substance in writing, as he repeated them to me. The Queen told him that she greatly desired peace with your Majesty, and wished him to tell you so. The Treasurer repeated this to him, and as Sarmiento is a sensible man, he asked him in what way peace was desired, to which the Treasurer replied, that if old scores were forgotten, and your Majesty would be a good friend again, the Queen would withdraw the English from Holland and Zeeland. Sarmiento asked for this in writing, which the Treasurer said could not be given in the Queen's name, but he asked him to convey it to your Majesty verbally, and if he, Sarmiento, did not wish to follow up the negotiation, an ample passport should be given to him, so that any other person your Majesty might wish

* Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the founder and governor of the Spanish settlement in Patagonia, had been captured by one of Raleigh's ships on his voyage to Spain. He had been kept in England for some time, and had been approached by some of Elizabeth's Councillors with suggestions for a peaceful settlement between the two countries. After an interview with the Queen, he was sent to Spain with instructions to submit informally to Philip certain proposals for peace. *See* Volume III. of this Calendar.

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to send about it could come to England freely. Sarmiento carries this passport with him.

He had several conversations with Walter Raleigh, the Queen's favourite, and signified to him how wise it would be for him to offer his services to your Majesty, as the Queen's favour to him could not last long. He said if he (Raleigh) would really look after your Majesty's interests in that country, apart from the direct reward he would receive, your Majesty's support, when occasion arose, might prevent him from falling. Raleigh* accepted the advice, and asked Sarmiento to inform your Majesty of his willingness, if your Majesty would accept his services, to oppose Don Antonio's attempts, and to prevent the sailing of expeditions from England. He would, moreover, send a large ship of his own, heavily armed, to Lisbon, and sell it for your Majesty's service for the sum of 5,000 crowns. In order that he might learn whether your Majesty would accept his services, he gave Sarmiento a countersign, and wrote to a nephew of his who is here (*i.e.*, in Paris) learning the language, telling him that the moment I gave him any letter from Sarmiento he was to start with it for England. I let him (the nephew) know that Sarmiento had been taken by Huguenots, and he replied that he would instantly go to England and tell the Queen and Raleigh, who, he was sure, would write to the Prince of Bearn asking that he should be set at liberty. I greatly approved of this, as it will be the easiest and cheapest way of getting Sarmiento out of prison, and he is a person who can render great service to your Majesty in the Indies, which country he knows well.†—Paris, 8th January 1587.

10 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1566, 26, French.

3. CHARLES ARUNDELL to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Your natural humanity, joined to the special kindness you have so frankly extended to me, make me wonder how God can have designed to bless me with such a friendship in these fickle times, when honour is commonly neglected by persons otherwise estimable. I know, however, from past experience how greatly you are my well wisher, and it would be superfluous for me to ask you for other new proofs of your favour, as it would equally be to profess my obligation to his Catholic Majesty, in whose service I will never fail, as it is of all things in the world that to which I am most attached, body and soul. I doubt not that Don Bernardino's letters will have reported as much of me, since all the important news he receives from England come through me, and none else.‡ He has promised to tell you this, and you will thus learn, as well as from the letters

* Against Raleigh's name in this letter the King has written, "I thought this was the "man who someone told me was dead, but it cannot be true, as the news does not come "in the letter."

† In a letter of same date from Mendoza to Idiaquez, the former says that the Huguenots are saying they will only let Sarmiento go in exchange for the son of M. de la Noue. Greatly regrets Sarmiento's misfortune, as he seemed a zealous, honest gentleman. He insisted upon going by that road against advice.

‡ Charles Arundell appears to have been the intermediary between Mendoza and Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, who, as is proved in the last and present volumes of this Calendar, was secretly in the pay of Spain.

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I have written to Englefield, how valuable my services are, and how necessary it is that I should be able to continue them, as I would unless failure of means through non-payment to me of the King's allowance should force me to leave this place.* As I am the sole source of any trustworthy information furnished in the King's interest, I must frankly avow that my state cannot endure either the reduction already made in my allowance, the delay in the payment of it in future, nor the deduction made here by way of tax. I only complain of it to say that in your hands alone lies the remedy for these shortcomings. If no remedy be found, affairs will very shortly change for the worse in such a way that it will be impossible for me to conduct them as they have hitherto been conducted. I would go to Spain at once only that I fear to importune his Majesty too much, and feel that I should be unable to perform any adequate service there. I can assure you that the honours and favours which his Majesty has bestowed upon me have been so conspicuous that they have been the means of bringing many persons of quality to correspond with me; but, on the other hand, they have greatly increased my expenses, and have, indeed, plunged me into an infinity of disasters. I beg you will maturely consider what my position must be, unsupported by the pension promised to me. My will is good, as you know; pray consider it so, and allow me to employ it effectually. Signed Charles Arundell. —Paris, 10th January 1587.

12 Jan. **4.** ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 27. The Scottish ambassadors† with a great company of Scots will arrive to-night. It is not known where they will be lodged.

It is said that the earl of Leicester will not return to Flanders, but that lord Grey, who was Governor of Ireland, will go in his place.‡ This, however, is not yet certain.

M. de Belièvre is leaving for France.

There is not much talk now of hastily arming ships, but Drake is slowly repairing some of his vessels.

17 Jan. **5.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 949. Since I last wrote to your Majesty about England I have discovered that the archbishop of Glasgow, the Pagets, and the rest of their party which is trying to help the queen of Scotland separately from Allen (with objects which I explained to your Majesty in the statement I sent on 26th October by the archbishop of Cambrai), have endeavoured to place the Queen's interests in the

* It will be seen by reference to page 690 of Volume 3 of this Calendar that nine months' pension, at 80 crowns a month, were owing to him at this time.

† The Master of Grey and Sir Robert Melvil.

‡ Lord Grey of Wilton. He was one of the judges of Mary Stuart, and in the following February also took an active part in the trial of secretary Davison. On the 11th June 1587 he earnestly entreated Elizabeth not to send him to Flanders.—Hatfield papers, vol. 3.

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hands of cardinal Mondovi.* I asked the latter confidentially about it, and he told me frankly what was going on, expressing his willingness to address the Pope on matters of State, which they all avoid doing. I encouraged him, and told him that in the course of the negotiations he might find opportunities of serving your Majesty. I thought best thus to keep this door open, in order that I might learn what was being done, and direct matters in your Majesty's interest with all necessary caution. It was therefore agreed that the Cardinal should accept the commission and act as I should desire, giving me advice of all that passed.

I began to undeceive him with regard to the ideas they have put into his head about the King (of Scotland), and the hopes that he (the King) will change his course. My views of the matter will have been confirmed by the news the Cardinal has since received, that the King was trying to arrange that the son of his favourite, the duke of Lennox, should stand next in succession to the Crown, and marry a daughter of the heretic head of the house of Hamilton; the succession being secured to this daughter by means of murder and forced renunciations.

This is an atrocious thing, and it is, besides, quite monstrous that a man of the King's age should be so far from the idea that he will have children of his own as to arrange for the succession of others.

They (*i.e.*, the archbishop of Glasgow, the Pagets, etc.) are asking the Cardinal to beg the Pope to send the Scotch Carthusian friar, who was bishop of Dunblane,† and is now here, with a brief from his Holiness to the king of Scotland, exhorting him to adhere to the Catholic faith; and the bishop is to be instructed to bring back news of the disposition in which he finds the King. The Cardinal intended to petition the Pope to this effect, hoping that his Holiness would accede to the request, as the bishop offered to pay his own expenses. I told the Cardinal that this was not a task to be entrusted to a person upon whom so little dependence could be placed, and recommended that he should manage to have it given to the jesuit, Edmund Hayhoe, who is known to him, and is a person of weight, even if they still desired to send the friar as well. The jesuit concurs in the opinion that the King (of Scotland) will never be a Catholic or a good King, and adheres to those who made the proposals contained in my letter to your Majesty of 10th August. I can, therefore, through Melino‡, arrange for him to write what may be considered convenient.

* This was the party of Guise, and the Scots who were unwilling that Spanish influence should become paramount in England and Scotland. Their plan was to convert James VI., forcibly or otherwise, to Catholicism without making him a tool of Spain. It will be seen in the correspondence that Allen and the jesuit party (and subsequently the archbishop of Glasgow) were brought to the Spanish view by various means. Most of the English Catholic refugees being in the pay of Philip, and averse to a Scottish king, also espoused the Spanish cause, whilst the Guises, the Scottish refugees, and the Pagets were opposed to it. Cardinal Mondovi had charge of Scottish affairs at the Vatican. He affected to be on the Spanish side, but his sympathies were really with the Scots.

† Chisholm, the titular bishop of Dunblane, who was a Carthusian monk.

‡ Father Melino was the agent of the Guises at the Vatican, but had been gained by the Spaniards.

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The news of the movement of troops in Sicily, etc. is giving rise to continued suspicion here of the "enterprise." The Pope has not mentioned the matter further to me, nor I to him. He has already 500,000 crowns towards the million, but he tells Juan Agustin Pinelo* that he does not wish to touch that sum for the contribution. Pinelo can find the money, for he is clever at it. He does not care how.—Rome, 17th January 1587.

18 Jan. **6.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 28.

Two months since some letters were brought from Portugal for Don Antonio by a man of 35 or 40 years of age named Lucas Suarez. He came disguised as a beggar, and as such, he says, he came to my door to ask for alms, which I ordered to be given to him, and spoke to him myself.

Three other Portuguese have also brought letters from Portugal. One of them, called Augustin Ferreira, was a servant of Duarte de Castro. The others are named Manuel Luis and Joao Pereja Pastrana, from the neighbourhood of Lisbon. These three came by way of Toulouse. The duke de Joyeuse welcomed them, and made them come hither (*i.e.*, to Paris) with his household, when he gave them 50 crowns to carry them over to England.

24 Jan. **7.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 31.

[EXTRACT.]

I had to see the King about a Dunkirk ship that had been seized at Havre de Grace and I took the opportunity of informing him of the arrest of Pedro de Sarmiento, begging him to write and have him set at liberty. He said he would write and ask his mother to use her influence with the Prince of Bearn about it. I pressed that this should be done with all the weight that his authority could give it; whereupon he said he wished to God I could make those of the "religion" (*i.e.*, the Huguenots) give him up. These words really moved me to pity to see the state in which the King confessed himself to be, for they meant that the Prince of Bearn and the Huguenots had taken Sarmiento as their own prisoner, and would not give him up except in exchange for M. de Teligny the son of M. de La Noue. They say they found on him (Sarmiento) a great quantity of papers and descriptions on parchment of English ports, which are in truth the marine charts of the Straits of Magellan, and plans of the cities which he had settled there by orders of your Majesty. The papers they mention are the instructions he carried to that effect, which he showed me when he was here, the English pirates having taken them from him and Master Raleigh restored them.—Paris, 24th January 1587.

24 Jan. **8.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 32.

With regard to England, I have to report that the officers of this King (*i.e.*, of France) state that the ambassadors sent by the king of Scotland to see the queen of England about his mother, had told the Queen that if she made any change in her treatment of the

* Giovanni Agostino Pinelli, the Pope's banker.

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queen of Scotland, he would open the back door of her kingdom to the person who was for ever pressing him to do so, and would place so many foreigners in England as should make her repent having forfeited his friendship*. The news, however, is not true; because the last letters from England, dated 14th instant, report the arrival of the ambassadors only the previous day, and that Belièvre was leaving, so that no audience had been granted to the ambassadors up to that time. M. de Belièvre is expected here to-morrow, and one of the gentlemen who accompanied him, and has already arrived in Paris, says that the queen of England had, in consideration of the request of this King, granted the life of the queen of Scotland; but without pledging herself not to proceed to extremities with her if she continues plotting as she has hitherto done. It was understood that she was to be brought to the Tower of London, and no person was allowed to speak to her, except through two gratings, like a nun; and at so great a distance from her that it was necessary to speak very loudly, so that every word should be heard by others. She is treated with the same severity in all things. She was allowed to choose two women to cook her food, to ensure her against being poisoned. I send these particulars to your Majesty, because there is positive confirmation of their truth, and I can depend upon them. The certainty is that the Queen (of Scotland) is in a castle called Framingen (Fotheringay) in the county of Northampton, that they have taken down the mourning hangings from her rooms, which are now hung with tapestry again, but they have not restored her canopy. My informant up to the 14th instant did not know what arrangements in future would be made for her custody and household, nor whether she would be kept at the same castle. The seizures of English property in Rouen by the king of France continue, and part of the merchandise has been ordered to be sold to recoup the robberies which have been committed by Englishmen against the French.—Paris, 24th January 1587.

24 Jan. 9. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 33.

With regard to the queen of Scotland I can only say for certain that Charles Arundell tells me the English ambassador showed him a letter from the Lord Treasurer saying that M. de Belièvre had not shown signs of being so clever a man as was expected in this negotiation; and that unless some friend there had enlightened him (by which Cecil evidently indicates himself) he would have given even less satisfaction to the Queen. He was advised to ask for a private audience without the presence of the resident ambassador, and he did so; being closeted with the Queen, who was only accompanied by four persons, and consequently what passed at the interview was not known but that he (Cecil?) assured him (Stafford?) that the queen of Scotland's life would be spared, although she would be kept so close that she would not be able to

* Whatever may have been the tone of the Master of Grey's public utterances to Elizabeth, it is known that privately he expressed no objection to the execution of Mary. Camden says that he frequently used the expression "Mortua non mordet"—The dead bite not.

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carry on her plots as hitherto. This is what I have always assured your Majesty was desired by the queen of England, as well as by the king of France and his mother, namely, that the queen of Scotland should be kept in close confinement.

Cecil also says that although he had constantly shown himself openly against the queen of Scotland, the earl of Leicester and secretary Walsingham, his enemies, had tried to set the Queen against him by saying that he was more devoted to the queen of Scotland than anyone. But she had seen certain papers in his coffers which had told greatly against Leicester, and the Queen had told the latter and Walsingham that they were a pair of knaves, and she saw plainly now that, owing to her not having taken the advice of certain good and loyal subjects of hers, she was in peril of losing her throne and her life by having burdened herself with a war which she was unable to sustain or carry on. She said if she had done her duty as a Queen she should have had them both hanged.

Cecil also informs this ambassador* (who is a creature of his and deeply in his confidence) that the Prince of Bearn had written to the Queen, saying that the duchess of Guise was aware of certain of his (or her) private affairs which could not possibly have reached her except through this ambassador (Stafford); and Leicester and Walsingham had taken the opportunity of attacking him (Cecil) again, but that he had undeceived the Queen about it. He says this is a fine way for Bearn to repay him for all the favours he has done him. Charles Arundell tells me that Stafford flew into a terrible rage at this, and swore he would never be satisfied until he had been revenged on Bearn and the other too, no matter by what means; and that now was the time for your Majesty to make use of him (Stafford) if you wished any service done. He pressed Arundell to ascertain from your Majesty in what way he might serve you, and you should see by his acts how willing he was to do so. This was with reference to my request on many occasions to Arundell that he would press the ambassador to enter frankly into relations with me. His answer was, that he himself was quite willing to trust me, but the Queen was so much set against me that it would be most unadvisable. I caused Arundell to tell him that your Majesty had been informed of his resolution; and that, in consequence of it, you had had a cipher sent to Arundell, by means of which he might advise your Majesty direct of what Arundell said. By this device the ambassador has been led to communicate to Arundell everything he learns, under the conviction that not a word reaches my ears. This ambassador is much pressed for money, and even if he had not made such an offer as this, his poverty is reason enough to expect from him any service, if he saw it was to be remunerated. To this must be added also that he is a creature of Cecil's, who, as your Majesty perceives, preserves in his breast an attachment to the cause of the queen of Scotland, and is not sorry that your Majesty should learn that he is not of the same opinion as his mistress in taking the Netherlands under her protection. I beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to tell Arundell to reply to

* Sir Edward Stafford.

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the ambassador. If we are to continue negotiations with him, he is so poor that a good present must be given to him. The ambassador has told Arundell to write to your Majesty assuring you on his word of honour that no naval force is at present being equipped in England, and that not a ship will be fitted out there of which he will not send full and timely advice.

Just as I was about to sign this, Charles Arundell has come in to tell me that the ambassador sent for him in a great hurry last night (as I had caused Arundell to say he was writing to Spain), to inform him that a secretary of Lord Admiral Howard, his brother-in-law, had just arrived here from England to treat of a business of which your Majesty must be apprised instantly. Don Antonio recently had shown to the Queen fresh letters from Portugal, assuring him that if he appeared on the coast with a fleet, eight thousand men would immediately join his standard; and Leicester and Walsingham with Lord Howard had persuaded the Queen that she should on no account miss such an opportunity of troubling your Majesty, as otherwise she would not be safe in her own country. She had therefore been induced by them to advance to Don Antonio three years of his pension of 2,000*l.* a year, as well as 18,000 sun crowns, four of her own ships, five of the largest merchantmen in England, two smaller ones, and thirty armed flyboats and canal boats from Holland and Zeeland, which Leicester had arranged that the rebels there should provide. They are to come fully armed and victualled, and they would be ready in ten days to put into any English port the Queen might order. This secretary comes hither to give to the ambassador a verbal account of it, and to ascertain from him whether the French Huguenots can arm three or four great ships to join this fleet and accompany Don Antonio to Portugal. It was to be kept extremely secret, and the ambassador replied that, if the Queen wanted Huguenot ships, the secret would come out immediately, as they would be sure to talk about it; which he thought was the best way to prevent them from asking for ships here. The secretary said that if such were the case his orders were not to proceed further on that point.

The ambassador told Arundell to advise your Majesty of this instantly, which he said would serve as a sample and hansel of his goodwill; and within a fortnight or three weeks he would report whether the despatch of the fleet was being persisted in, together with the exact number of ships, men, stores and all other details of the project. He said that, although the professed destination was Portugal, it appeared to him that such a force was totally inadequate to deal with that country, so that he thought if the business was carried into effect, it would be rather for the islands or the Indies.

As it is so very important that your Majesty should have prompt advice of such armaments, although the ambassador appears ready enough to give intelligence on that, or any other point in your Majesty's interest, it will nevertheless be advisable to send him 2,000 crowns with which to buy a jewel. The money can be given to him as an earnest, and with the promise that his services shall be adequately rewarded.

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Zeal for your Majesty also impels me to say that it will be well to consider whether, in the case of the Englishwoman taking this step (which, as your Majesty will recollect, I foretold), she should not be assailed on the Scotch side. The taking of Brille by the duke of Parma in the way I suggested should also be kept in view, as that captain who made the offer is so willing and sincere in the matter.* It is certain that until the Englishwoman is made to play a game in which her own pieces are at stake she will always find opportunities of retarding a direct invasion of her country with a powerful armada by your Majesty. The news of this is so current that not a letter comes from Spain that is not full of the great preparations that are being made for the armada. This makes the Englishwoman careful not to denude her own coast of ships, desirable as she may consider it to trouble your Majesty. Most of the vessels of this fleet of Don Antonio's are accordingly from the Netherlands.—Paris, 24th January 1587.

24 Jan. Paris Archives, 1566. 86.

10. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Encloses a petition for a worthy English gentleman named Dr. Nicholas Wendon, whom he is particularly desirous of serving, knowing him to be truly zealous in the service of God and his Majesty. He was formerly provost of St. Gery, in Cambrai, and the duke of Parma, at the intercession of the writer and of Juan Bautista De Tassis, granted him an allowance of 20 crowns a month. This was more than a year ago, but he has not received anything on account of the pension yet, owing to the many pressing demands in Flanders. Dr. Wendon therefore humbly begs his Majesty to grant him such an allowance payable here. He is clergyman of advanced age, great personal worth and virtue, a great jurist, and is afflicted with deafness. Begs Idiaquez to favour the petitioner and put him on the same footing as the other English gentlemen receiving allowances.—Paris, 24th January 1587.

The original petition of Dr. Wendon, referred to in the above letter, is in the Paris Archives, K 1566. 55.

27 Jan. Estado 949.

11. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

We have received news here of the great danger which threatens the queen of Scotland. In my interview with his Holiness he expressed an opinion that the king of France would exert his influence with the queen of England to save her life. I replied that it was most important that this should be done, and unless the King (of France) secretly worked in an opposite direction, I had no doubt that she would escape (death). I said if she was sacrificed he (the Pope) might be quite certain that it would be by the knowledge and consent of the king of France, as it was most unlikely that, depending as she did entirely upon him to save her from his Holiness and your Majesty, the Queen of England would venture to offend him in so important a matter. He admitted this.

* Captain Vibrant Birnstra's offer to betray Brille.

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With regard to the question of peace, I told him (*i.e.*, the Pope) that although I did not withdraw what I had said in undertaking the "enterprise" on your Majesty's behalf, yet it was always understood that your Majesty acted under the supposition that France should not be in a position to interfere. His reply showed that he remained firm in his disapproval of peace being made.*

Allen and Melino have written to me. They are well informed of affairs there (in England?) and moreover are spurred on by necessity, which is a hard driver. They therefore find in everything that happens a fresh reason for saying that the appropriate moment has arrived, both for the main business and for the elevation of Allen, and they look upon every hour's delay as a great evil. And it is quite true that failing the queen of Scots, or if she remains in her present condition, which comes to the same thing, it is the more necessary for them (the English Catholics) to have some great personage upon whom they may fix their eyes and hopes, and who may console them and prevent them from giving way to despair.—Rome, 27th January 1587.

28 Jan. **12.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 97.

By the letter from the duke of Parma, and your own, I am informed of your opinions with regard to Robert Bruce's affair.† Your remarks thereupon are very apposite. I always considered the matter of importance, and every day makes it appear more so, provided, however, that it is taken in hand at the proper time and not undertaken out of season. It is therefore advisable that the three personages should be kept in hand and encouraged to expect the aid they require;‡ but as the necessary forces are not now readily at hand, and for other reasons which you yourself will foreshadow, they must not be rash but must hold firm until they are advised that the time has arrived. They must be pledged to take up arms, and fulfil their promise as soon as the word is given to them. You will direct your efforts to this end. The only thing that may make it necessary to vary this course is the pension which you say the queen of England has offered them, threatening to have them expelled the country if they refused to accept it. This may make it impossible for them to delay their rising, and I have referred the point to the duke of Parma, so that after he has discussed the matter with you he may decide whether it will be well, if they are pressed thus, to allow them to feign to be in agreement with the English until the hour has arrived for successful action. Their conscience and honour will be intact, because it will always be licit for them to separate from their company, and their action will be looked upon with approval by all right-thinking persons. In order to gain time you may write at once to the duke of Parma, giving him your opinion; but of

* That is to say an arrangement between Henry III. and the Huguenots.

† *See* correspondence in Vol. III. of this Calendar.

‡ Namely the earls of Huntly and Morton and Lord Claude Hamilton, who had requested Philip's armed assistance to raise a Catholic revolution in Scotland. Philip's intention was only to use them as a diversion when his invasion of England was to be attempted.

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course it is understood that if the three personages can be kept in their present position without drawing closer to the English, even feignedly, it will be best, and the other alternative is only mentioned in the case of their being forced to a declaration before the aid is ready for them, and to prevent them from losing heart and giving way altogether if such an event should occur. You who are so well versed in the matter will consider it, and let me know what is done.

I also note the three services offered by George Vibrant (Birnstra), and two of them, at all events, are of the highest importance, particularly that about (the surrender of) Brille, if the place can be held afterwards, in which the principal difficulty lies. The only thing that could be done was to send the man and his proposals to the duke of Parma, and he will doubtless act for the best. I have written, telling him that I approve of the suggestion, and that he is to carry it forward.

You did well also in advising the Duke of the good disposition of the Irishman, Colonel Stanley, now in Holland, in order that it may be seen whether anything can be done through his means. As for Antony Pointz, who you say has arrived in Paris from here, and was going to Flanders, passing through England, you must look out that he does not deceive us. Advise the Duke, as we do from here, to keep a sharp eye upon him, and proceed with great caution in all that concerns him, as a very bad opinion was held of him here by all the most trustworthy English catholics. So that care must be taken that he play us no trick, even if no good be got from him.—Madrid, 28th January 1587.

28 Jan. **13.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 99.

I am grieved, as you may imagine, at the trouble in which the queen of Scotland was; and her valour and deep Christian feeling only increase my sorrow. I trust God will have helped her, as he always does help His own people in times of such affliction. If they have not made away with her, but still keep her in prison, it will perhaps be advisable to try to prevent them from going any further, by whispering somehow to the English ambassadors in France, that, failing her, I have the best right to succeed to the crown of England. If you think the fear of this will make the Englishwoman less ready to strike, you may try it, but otherwise it had better be kept quiet.

As you say, it is probable that Belièvre's instructions on the mission to England were not confined to his intercession for the queen of Scotland, and it is of great importance that we should know what they agreed upon. You will, therefore, make great efforts to get at this, and if you succeed report to me the fullest particulars. It cannot fail to have reached either the Scots ambassador or Muzio,* or some others from whom you may learn it. If they (the English and French) have entered into an alliance try to discover the conditions of mutual aid, and all other particulars. When we first heard of Drake's going to Holland, we

* This was the cipher name of the duke of Guise.

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thought it could be with no other intention than that which you now mention, of seeking some ships to augment their naval strength. Although hulks are not considered fitting ships for the Indian voyage, the other designs nearer home attributed to them,* will hardly be attempted. Still I shall he glad to learn how this matter of the Dutch ships ends; and also about the rebel deputies who, you say, have gone to England with the earl of Leicester. Above all, I wish to know whether Drake was granted the license he requested, what ships are being fitted out, their strength, and what is their alleged destination. To discover this you will employ such sources of information as are left to you, as it is evident by the recent news you send that you still have some profitable ones. Do your best to keep them, and gain others. It is most important that I should have the earliest possible information.

Pedro Sarmiento has not arrived. He was stopped on the road and taken to Mont de Marsan, where he now is, in the hands of men belonging to the prince of Bearn. If he arrives here, which by indirect means we are trying to arrange, we will hear what message he brings from there (*i.e.*, England), although we know how little we can trust them (the English). If any means occurs to you to get Sarmiento released, please try it.

The two letters in Portuguese you send have been noted. In order not to imperil Antonio de Vega in England, you did well in preventing Montesinos from coming hither.† We have understood the matter just as well through you, whilst avoiding the danger. You may correspond confidentially with Vega, and if he is in any doubt about my grace and pardon reaching him through Portugal, you may assure him of it, and of reward commensurate with his service. Don Juan de Idiaquez will answer about Montesino.—Madrid, 28th January, 1587.

28 Jan. **14.** SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 101.

The two letters from Antonio de Vega were received. The longer of the two, which came under cover to Geronimo Lopez Sapayo, contains the following words in effect:—"My uncle‡ is accompanied "by very few people, and, if it be wished, the bearer can be spoken "to about something which he will explain. He may be implicitly "trusted." The uncle is Don Antonio, and the bearer Montesinos, and it appears to be suggested that this anxiety should be put an end to once for all. This may be done without scruple, as Don Antonio is a rebel, and as such, and for the crimes he has committed, he has been condemned to death, first by ecclesiastical judges, by virtue of a brief from the Pope, and subsequently by civil judges in due form of law, after the matter had been well discussed

* The invasion of Portugal in the interests of Don Antonio. The real design, of course, was the surprise and attack upon Cadiz.

† Antonio de Vega was a Portuguese spy in Spanish pay attached to the Portuguese Pretender, Don Antonio. He had sent one of the brothers Montesinos to Spain with proposals to murder Don Antonio. Montesinos had been stopped in Paris by Mendoza, but Vega's letters had been forwarded to Philip. *See* Vol. III., page 378. It will be seen by the following letter from the King's secretary, Idiaquez, that Philip accepted Vega's offer to have Don Antonio put out of the way in England.

‡ Vega always referred to Don Antonio as his uncle.

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and decided by theologians, as you are aware. You will, therefore, thank Montesinos for the other information, and afterwards, as if on your own account, introduce this topic; which you may say you know Antonio de Vega has suggested to us here, and has intimated that it may be discussed with him (Montesinos). If you find him the man for it, you will tell him to get it done at once, and will suggest that if he can do it by giving him a mouthful of something it would be less dangerous to the people concerned than if it were done by steel. If he undertakes the task you may promise him, after it is done, a sum sufficient to tempt him, not exceeding 25,000 ducats, or even up to 30,000. You know how important it is, and I need not urge you to advise me of all that is done. I will conclude this letter by saying that we all have souls; and a very saintly and learned man has said that we do worthily by acting as we are ordered. This is the reason why I write this, and why you must carry it out. Antonio de Vega's other points will be dealt with elsewhere. In the meanwhile you will encourage him, and forward the principal one.—Madrid, 28th January 1587.

NOTE.—In a letter from the King to Mendoza of the same date as the above, on French affairs, he rejoices at the news conveyed in Mendoza's letters of 8th and 24th January, that hopes were entertained that the queen of Scotland's life was safe. He is in great anxiety about her.

7 Feb. **15.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 43.

In my last I reported the arrival of Belièvre from England. In order to gain time he requested the resident French ambassador to send after him the Queen's letters to this King. He sent them by a French gentleman named Trapes, who, with a companion, was arrested at Dover, and the despatches taken from him.* The Queen at once sent a courier to her ambassador here, with a letter written in her own hand. This courier arrived on the 27th ultimo, and the substance of the letter was to order him, the ambassador, as a good subject and servant, instantly to request audience of the King, and inform him that she had ordered the arrest of the gentleman from the French ambassador, and the opening of his despatches, and to beg the King not to take it in evil part until he received fresh advices from her, giving him reasons for her action, which he (the King) would acknowledge were a sufficient justification. When the ambassador received this letter, and information that the English ports were closed, he sent to Secretary Villeroy, the King being absent, and told him the reason why he desired audience. Villeroy

* The arrest of Destrappes arose as follows: William Stafford, the brother of the English ambassador in France, sent to Chateauneuf, the French ambassador in London, and told him that a prisoner for debt named Moody had a communication of importance to make to the ambassador in the interest of the life of the queen of Scots. Chateauneuf sent Destrappes, one of his secretaries, to Newgate to hear what Moody had to say, and on his arrival there the emissary was met with a proposal by the prisoner, in the presence of Stafford, for the assassination of Elizabeth. The offer was at once rejected by Destrappes, and Stafford was forbidden to enter the embassy. Stafford then tried to blackmail the ambassador without success, and subsequently accused him of complicity in a plot to murder the Queen. An attempt to get Destrappes out of the country failed as stated in this letter.

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was much put out about the despatches having been opened, and warned him that the King would be very angry. In the hope that some news might be received from the French ambassador, Stafford's audience was put off, and he could do nothing. On the 4th instant Waad (who was the man the Queen sent to your Majesty) arrived here as an envoy from the Queen, to inform the King of the reasons for the arrests. A brother of the English ambassador here and a son of the Queen's mistress of the robes (neither of whom, however, have spoken to him for years owing to his bad conduct) pretended to be a Catholic, and frequented the house of the French ambassador with whom he was on close terms of intimacy. It appears that he signified to the ambassador his intention of killing the Queen on religious grounds, and in order that the queen of Scotland might ascend the throne. He proposed to place barrels of gunpowder inside his mother's apartment, which is underneath the Queen's bedroom, and she could thus be blown up. The ambassador discussed the matter with him, and pointed out the objections to its execution, particularly that he could not do it without killing his mother, as she and the Queen both slept in the same room. To this Stafford replied that, as he did not approve of this plan, he would kill her (the Queen) by stabbing. He told this to Trapes, who is in prison, and also to one Moody, an Englishman, who was an intimate in the French ambassador's house, and informed them that he had discussed the matter with the ambassador. A few days afterwards Stafford himself divulged to the Queen what had taken place, and he, with Trapes and Moody, were arrested. Their confessions were taken and were found to agree, and the Lord Treasurer, with the earl of Leicester and Lord Hunsdon, were sent to speak to the French ambassador. The latter frankly admitted that Stafford had told him his project, and the Queen sent Waad to complain to the King of the ambassador in consequence. She writes by him also to the ambassador (Stafford) saying that, although she does not doubt his loyalty and innocence in the matter, yet, as the delinquent is his brother, she thinks better that the communication respecting it should be undertaken by another envoy, who would give him a full account of it, and be accompanied by him in his audiences. He will not get an interview with the King until after the carnival.

I understand that the Queen says that the packet sent by the ambassador was not opened; but that Waad brings it intact that the King may have it opened in his presence, and after taking those addressed to him, hand to Waad the letters directed to private persons here, which the Queen knows are contained in the packet.

Waad says that the talk in England is that, although I was there for six years, the Queen could never bring home any plot to me, but only suspicions, whilst the French ambassador was discovered in the first one in which he was concerned. He, the French ambassador, has sent his secretary, without a letter, to give the King a verbal account of events. I am told that on Villeroy's excusing to the King the conduct of the ambassador, who is his brother-in-law, he replied that he had not behaved well, because, not only had he made a

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confidant of such a man (as Stafford), but had actually admitted that he had been informed of the design.

As soon as Parliament learnt of the matter the members went to the Queen, and said that whilst the queen of Scotland lived she would never be free from such conspiracies, and, consequently, she ought to order her execution. They protested that if she did not do so, they would revoke the votes for supplies they had given.

The queen of Scotland is still at Fotheringay, and no one is allowed to speak to her except in the presence of Paulet, who has returned to his charge, and another man who is with him. They have allowed her servants to return to her, except her secretaries.

Belièvre asked the Queen to show him the original will, closed, that the queen of Scotland had written in her own hand, declaring your Majesty her heir, in case her son should remain a Protestant. She replied that she considered the queen of Scotland to be such a bad female that she was sure she had managed somehow to get it conveyed to your Majesty; which was only an answer intended to prevent your Majesty's claim from being strengthened by the production of such a document. I am told from a trustworthy source that when the queen of England had the will in her hand, Cecil told her that, all things considered, it was not advisable to preserve the paper, but that she, herself, should burn it, which she did.

I send your Majesty enclosed a copy of the speech which Belièvre delivered to the queen of England in defence of the queen of Scotland. Many people consider it to be less weighty than the subject demanded, and not to deserve publication. It is valuable, as showing in the preamble their real feelings towards your Majesty, saying that they look upon the enemies of the queen of England as their common enemies.*

Letters from England of 28th ultimo report that Drake continued his preparations, on the pretext that Don Antonio was going in the ships.

Since closing the above, I have learnt from a good source that the ships being fitted in London for Drake and others cannot be ready to sail to the west country within a month, and that they are very short of sailors. Altogether, with Drake and the merchants, they are arming 30 ships. To these they expect to add the 30 from the Netherlands, so that Don Antonio is to have 60 vessels altogether. —Paris, 7th February 1587.

10 Feb. **16.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 45. Reports the surrender of Deventer to the Spaniards by Colonel Stanley. There is no positive confirmation of this, but knowing Stanley personally as he does, he is sure that the warning which he, Mendoza, advised the Duke of Parma to address to him† (*see*

* A summary of the speech will be found on page 690, Vol. III. of this Calendar. Another short summary is printed by Mignet, in "Marie Stuart."

† The King has written against this "He ought to have put what it was. I do not recollect."

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Letter 532, Vol. III.) would be effectual; and consequently he has no doubt of the truth of the surrender.

11 Feb. Estado, 949. **17.** The KING to COUNT DE OLIVARES. [EXTRACT.]

You will cautiously approach his Holiness, and in such terms as you think fit endeavour to obtain from him a secret brief declaring that, failing the queen of Scotland, the right to the English crown falls to me. My claim, as you are aware, rests upon my descent from the House of Lancaster, and upon the will made by the queen of Scotland, and mentioned in a letter from her, of which the copy is enclosed herewith. You will impress upon his Holiness that I cannot undertake a war in England for the purpose merely of placing upon that throne a young heretic like the king of Scotland who, indeed, is by his heresy incapacitated to succeed. His Holiness must, however, be assured that I have no intention of adding England to my own dominions, but to settle the crown upon my daughter, the Infanta.—Madrid, 11th February 1587.

12 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 46. **18.** Document headed:—"ADVICES from LONDON, 12th February 1587, translated from English to Spanish."

The deputies from the States arrived here on the 28th January to beg for a decision. They have become more urgent now that the surrender of Deventer and the fortress of Zutphen is known. They are talking here of Lord North's being sent thither instead of Leicester, and on the 10th instant a proclamation was made that any soldiers or officers who had come back from Flanders were to return thither in four days, on pain of death for disobedience. The deputies have asked for an immediate decision, as they heard the Queen was trying to come to terms with his Majesty, and they would wait no longer. In order to give herself more time and keep them in hand, whilst she arranged with his Majesty, the Queen sent Lord Buckhurst to Holland and Zeeland to assure them that she had no such desire; and to treat with them and certain of the towns on some conditions which are in doubt, which conditions had already been conceded to the deputies here. The object of Buckhurst's mission is simply to procrastinate and delay. The deputies are accompanied by a man whom the earl of Leicester sent to the king of Denmark to learn whether he was trying to bring about an agreement between the States and his Majesty.

The Scots ambassadors left here three days ago, and on their taking leave they told the Queen, as their master's decision, that as the queen of Scotland was his mother, he would endeavour to exact satisfaction from any person who assailed her honour or her safety; and with that object would appeal for help to all Christian monarchs. The Queen was ill pleased with this message, and in conversation with one of the ambassadors named Master Melvin,* she told him that if she had a councillor who gave her such advice as he (Melvin) gave the king of Scotland, she would have his head

* Sir Robert Melvil. There is no doubt that any honest attempt on the part of the ambassadors to save Mary's life came from Melvil, who apparently was not connected with the Master of Grey's double dealing, or the treachery of Archibald Douglas.

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off; to which he replied that if he were her councillor he would rather lose his head than fail to give her such advice. This arose out of the Queen's having been told that Melvin had advised the king of Scotland to break with her, and had assured him that he would have the support of all princes in so just a cause as his. The Queen has sent a gentleman of hers to the king of Scotland.

On the 3rd instant orders were given for the sailing from here of 10 of the Queen's ships and two pinnaces, to cruise in the Channel, and for the equipping of 20 more vessels, which is being done in all haste. They are to be ready during this month. The 10 ships before mentioned have not left yet.

Feb. 14. **19.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566, 58. Leiton writes to Don Antonio's people under date of 14th, that the country opposite Calais was up in arms and the beacons had been lit in consequence of certain hulks having been sighted in formation. The earl of Pembroke, governor of the province, mustered 20,000 men, but it turned out a false alarm. This shows the fright the English are in. Orders have been proclaimed by heralds, for all colonels, captains, and soldiers to return to Flanders under pain of death for disobedience, and fresh levies are being raised. They say that Leicester is going back with lord Grey and two other personages.

No answer has been given to the deputies from the Netherlands, but they are expecting it daily.

Don Antonio is very short of money and overburdened with debt. Rogier, the King's valet de chambre, has returned from England, very much displeased with the queen of England and her behaviour.

Feb. 26. Don Antonio's agent has presented a letter to the duke de Joyeuse asking him to keep him in the good graces of the king of France. A great fleet is fitting out (in England) which is to be commanded by the Lord Admiral. They do not mention the destination or when it will sail, but as they know that his Majesty's armada is intended for England, they say that the English are determined to go out and fight it at sea.

No decision has yet been taken about Don Antonio, as they wish to settle with the deputies from the States first. Don Antonio is deeply in debt and is seeking money. The English are putting him off with words. The English ambassador tells Don Antonio's agent here (*i.e.*, in Paris) that the Queen is dissatisfied with M. de Chateauneuf and is asking this King to recall him; to which his Majesty will not listen. When the Queen was asked in the name of this King to liberate the lawyer de Trapes, whom they arrested when they seized the King's despatches, she said she would not do so except in exchange for Thomas Morgan who is in the Bastile here, and even then she would be doing a great favour to the King, in exchanging a Frenchman who had conspired against her life, for one of her rebel subjects whom the King was bound to surrender in any case.

The Queen was raving about the seizures in France, saying that although she was a woman and her profession was to try to preserve

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peace with neighbouring princes, yet if they attacked her they would find that in war she could be better than a man. Don Antonio was starving, and although they say that the fleet is to take him to Portugal, it is nothing of the sort; and if Don Antonio could escape from England he would do so. He has 150 persons in his house, all in great need.

Money is very short in England and the Queen's needs are pressing. If the States do not help her she will be pinched. Drake is not in such high favour as he was, and they will not trust him with another fleet, as the last one he took to the Indies did no great things. It is understood that they will not give him any other command, except over seafaring men. An arrangement between the Queen and your Majesty was being strongly advocated, so that she and her subjects may not have to give up everything your Majesty may demand in retribution for the losses brought by them upon your subjects. Don Antonio hears all this and is much grieved, being constantly unwell. The English Ambassador and Waad told Don Antonio's man here that the Queen had agreed with 18 English merchants, to whom she had granted license to make war upon your Majesty and your subjects in any way they pleased. These ships, in company with some belonging to the Queen, would shortly sail for the Straits of Gibraltar and there await the arrival of the galleons from Italy with the munitions for the fleet. The Queen had summoned Parliament about these seizures in France, and all had offered their lives and property in aid of their rights.

The Queen tells Don Antonio that she had not been able to decide about his affair, owing to the events that have happened to the queen of Scotland. She puts him off from week to week. Don Antonio had not received his Christmas quarter's payment, until he could see how the Queen was going to treat him. The quarter's allowance is only 2,000 crowns and he owes 15,000 in England.

Feb. 28. Custodio Leiton writes that the Queen counted upon her subjects arming 200 ships, not against France, for there was no thought of war against that country, but to defend England against Castile if she be assailed as they feared. There are 52,000 parishes in England and each one offers to maintain a man in the war; and in each place (*sic*) a ship of 200 tons ready for sea and fully victualled. They are preparing as best they may all things needful for their defence.

Feb. 18. **20.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 49. On the day I last wrote to your Majesty about England, the 7th instant, I learnt that this King had dispatched 18 couriers to every port in the realm, with orders to arrest all English ships. It was proposed in council that Waad, the English envoy, should not be heard as was sent by the Queen to complain of the French ambassador; and your Majesty had refused to receive him when he went to Spain, to explain my expulsion from England. Advice of this should at once have been sent to your Majesty, but as things change so rapidly here, I thought well to wait. I also wished to see whether the seizure of the English ships simply meant their

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detention or confiscation; and the day following orders were despatched that they were only to be detained. As for Waad, audience was granted him at once with the ordinary ambassador, and after listening to his complaints and seeing his evidence against the French ambassador, the King replied that he could not believe the allegations, as they were so entirely in opposition to the ambassador's letters, and that, clever as the English were generally, they did not show much cleverness in this matter. This is the only answer given hitherto, as the King is awaiting the return from England of two of his valets-de-chambre whom he has sent to his ambassador. Waad, in the Queen's name, demands the withdrawal of Chateauneuf * and it is understood that the King is determined not to accede to this request. Villeroy says that if the Queen wishes to break off negotiations with them they will withdraw their embassy altogether, Chateauneuf being a brother-in-law of Villeroy. All the ministers have urged the King that his reputation is at stake, and that he must retain Chateauneuf there and not withdraw him at the request of the Englishwoman.

It is asserted here that Chateauneuf is under arrest in his own house, and I hear that Stafford explains this by saying that as the king of France fearing that some attack might be made upon the ambassador by the people, after the matter was cleared up, he (Chateauneuf) sent to ask Hattón, the captain of the Queen's Guard, to send some halberdiers to guard him. Hatton replied that the subjects of the Queen were so obedient that the step would be unnecessary; but to avoid any inconvenience the ambassador and his household had better keep indoors for a few days. The English ambassador here says this was not a command but only a piece of advice.

The Queen had decided to send to this King by Waad the packet seized from the French ambassador; but she altered her mind and had it opened, the letters for the King being returned to Chateauneuf intact, and the rest of the contents being examined. When this was known here they had the packets from the English ambassador treated in the same way in Calais and Dieppe, all his private letters being taken. The passage is thus closed until they see whether the queen of England will allow free passage to those sent thither by this King. This is the present position, but considering the gentleness with which they are proceeding on both sides, there is not much appearance of the matter becoming serious.

Belièvre assures this King that the queen of England is very anxious to make friends with your Majesty, and she was very suspicious of Scotland; having heard that the King had sent a man to your Majesty. News comes also from the French King's agent in the Netherlands that persons are secretly treating with the Duke of Parma for an agreement with the queen of England.

I hear that Drake's and other preparations are going on at the usual pace, and no order had yet been given on the 3rd instant for the raising of the seamen and troops who were to go with them. Leicester was pressing the Queen to despatch the 30 English ships

* In the King's hand—"This must be the ambassador." It was so of course.

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and 30 Netherlanders with Don Antonio to occupy the islands, and other parts of your Majesty's dominions, as otherwise, he says, your Majesty would come to England with the armada you were fitting out. Deputies from the rebel States were expected in England to treat of this matter.

I send herewith a new statement given to the Queen by Drake and Hawkins for the instruction of the ships which she might send to assail your Majesty's territories.

The Scots ambassadors had audience of the Queen but there was not so much defiance as was asserted here. The Queen has not yet dismissed them.

Lord Buckhurst had been sent by the Queen to Holland and she publicly told him when he left to bring back to her a true and sincere account of the condition of things in that province, without contemporising with, or considering, any thing but her interests. In addition to this it was believed that Lord Buckhurst was sent to keep the rebels in hand with hopes, and prevent them from pressing the Queen, as they have done, to assume the sovereignty of the Netherlands. He is also to see whether the 30 vessels promised by the provinces to accompany the English expedition were so well armed and found as Leicester asserts. I have just received news that deputies have arrived in England from Holland to say that if the Queen do not fulfil her undertaking to maintain an army there, they will come to terms with your Majesty. The Scots ambassadors had left, ill pleased with the Queen. 18th February, 1587.

Feb. 7 **21.** DOCUMENT headed "Translation of a statement furnished to
Paris Archives, K. 1566. 10. "the Queen of England by Francis Drake and John Hawkins
"as to undertaking a voyage entirely to ruin the Spaniards."

All the ships of Spain may be taken every year by 12 ships of war. Every year there come from various places to Durses Bohore harbour, which the English call Baltimore, ships to the number of 50 sail to fish. The capture of these would be worth a great deal, as they would be full of good fish, salt meat, Cordovan leather and tallow; so that a hundred ton ship will be worth 2,000*l.* English.

At the beginning of September, or any time from then to February, go to Cabo Blanco on the coast of Africa, north of Cabo Verde, where you will meet a large number of Spaniards, and you can catch them as best you may, thus furnishing yourself with victuals. From there you will go to the Western isles, coasting around them and dismantling all their (*i.e*, the Spaniards') ships, and taking away their sails. To do this you must have six good small brigantines with sails and sweeps. You will pass the ports of Cartagena, Nombre de Dios, the Honduras or Bay of Mexico, and arrive at the island of St. John de Lua (Ulloa) opposite Vera Cruz in February, when all the Mexican ships are on the beach, and you can take them easily; or else you may sight Cape St. Antonio to the west of Cuba towards Yucatan, as their ships always sight that Cape on their way to Havana from March to May, as do all those from Cartagena, Nombre de Dios, and the Honduras. You may leave the Indies from June to the middle of August, and go to Newfoundland where

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you may get victuals, and capture a great number of Spaniards, Biscayners and others.

From there go to the great Bay, where you may take very many Biscayners who fish there. By calculating the times and places set forth above, you may capture so many ships and Spaniards that they will not recover the loss for years if you take care to deprive them of their sails.

It is very dangerous to go to the West Indies by Cabo Blanco, Cabo Vera Cruz, and the Isles of Cabo Verde before September, owing to the hurricanes and heavy sea.

It is necessary also to pass the Gulf of Florida at the very latest in July, as the hurricanes are heavy there in August.

If you come by way of Spain and Cabaye (*sic*) in Ireland, you will find after Michaelmas many ships from France there loaded with wine, and with a great deal of money on board, as they will have sold their linens. These ships return from Cabaye (Galway ?) loaded with hides and tallow, which are forbidden goods.

For a voyage to the West Indies the following things are necessary,—

1st.—You must begin your voyage so as to be at the Canaries at the beginning of September, before the bad weather sets in.

Then you go to Cabo Blanco where you may store your ships with wine, oil, bread, and fish, bought from Spaniards and Portuguese.

Then to Cabo Verde, where you will find plenty of French ships, some of which perhaps may accompany you.

Thence to the Cape de Verde islands where you will get fresh water, goats, dried meat and rice; and it will be worth while also to take as many negroes from there as possible, to barter in the Indies.

Thence you may sail to Trinidad, 10 degrees north latitude, where you will again get fresh water and provisions.

From there you go to Margarita where you may provide yourself with a quantity of pearls and silver, and then go to the waters of Burdoro, where you can visit those who are at the entrance of Valentina Nova, 23 miles on the other side of the mountains. This is a very rich town and may be assailed with 200 soldiers. You may keep your ships there and return with your brigantines to Cratus, 20 miles from Burdoro, where you will find two towns, one on the seashore, and another two leagues inland. They are very rich and you may sack them both with 200 men.

You will take your ships from Cratus to the waters of Burdoro and thence to Curisau (Curaçao) where there are usually a quantity of ships; but there are very many warlike Indians in this island. You can take the place by force, however, with 150 men.

From thence you go to Ruba, where you may take fresh water and provisions, as there is a great abundance of beans, casena (cassava ?) and hides. You may master the island with 80 men.

Then you go to Corrus (Coro), which is a very rich town 20 leagues from the waters of Burdoro towards Cartagena. The town may be sacked with 200 men.

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Your next place will be Cabo de la Vela where the Spaniards fish for pearls in October, November, December and June (January ?).

From there you go to Rio de la Hacha where you will find the treasurers, who would be good prisoners; you must do everything here by force of arms.

Then to Santa Marta which must be dealt with like Rio de la Hacha. This town is very rich in gold, and there are very few Spaniards, so it may be sacked by 40 men.

You will then with your own boats go up the River Grande, and six leagues from the mouth there is a treasure-house full of riches which may be sacked by 40 harquebussiers.

Thence to Cartagena where there are 200 Spanish houses. The town is walled towards the water, and has a great quantity of artillery on the same side, of which I (*i.e.*, Drake) brought a part. It is one of the richest towns of the West Indies, and you must depend more upon cunning than strength to take it.

Thence to Felove, a very rich town, which may be easily sacked with 100 men.

Thence to Nombre de Dios where with 500 landed you may sack the town at your pleasure. But the best way is not to let them see your ships, but so arrange as to arrive an hour before dawn at the place where they have their artillery, and you may capture Spaniards and negroes, who, if properly examined, will confess where the riches of the town are, and will guide you to their river galleys.

You may then go in them to Parana (Panama) in the southern sea, where, if you land 800 men and leave your ships well armed, you can sack Pearl island, where you will doubtless find incalculable riches.

Thence you may go to the River Chagres, 18 leagues from Nombre de Dios, towards Yucatan, and about 10 leagues up the river you will find a depôt for the Rorea whence they bring their merchandise overland to Nombre de Dios. There is a guard of 50 Spanish soldiers here.

Thence to the Honduras, and afterwards to Tressia, where there are 50 soldiers and 100 households.

From thence to Porto Caballo where there are two large ships, but you may sack and capture them with 200 men, and the house up the river as well.

(Here follows a description of the various islands and towns in the West Indies, their defences, population, resources, etc.)

In order to rob the Portuguese flotillas coming from Calicut, you can sail in September, October, or November, and go to an island called St. Helena, which is an African island in the ocean at latitude 6 S., 400 leagues from the mainland. The Portuguese stay here on their return voyage, and as they are tired with their long voyage they may easily be robbed.

Note by John Hawkins and Francis Drake.

At the end of June with an easterly wind you may run across from Bahama to Cabo San Antonio. If the westerly wind is blowing you can go by St. Juan de Porto Rico to a port called St. Germans

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at the west end of the island, where you can wait till July or August, and then sail home; but you must be careful to coast along the south coast of the island until you are inside Saint Domingo.

You may see the Port of Jamaica from there without going out of your course, and may run thence to San Antonio, Cuba, Havana, and so to Spain. This is the only course for a fortunate and prosperous voyage.

If your Majesty will give me permission to do this I will put my life in peril from the enemy, and will pledge myself in all my property and that of my friends to your Majesty, as a gage that I will conduct the expedition to a very fortunate issue, with the aid above-mentioned; and I therefore humbly pray that my zeal for the welfare of my country may be accepted in good part. I beg that your Majesty may be pleased to order me to make preparations for this voyage now that the fine weather is approaching and the state of affairs demand it.—Unsigned.

18 Feb. **22.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 48.

[EXTRACTS.]

Confirms the surrender of Deventer. Congratulates himself upon his knowledge of Colonel Stanley's character, and the advice he (Mendoza) gave as to his being approached on the subject.

When Walter Raleigh, the Queen's favourite, heard of the arrest of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, he was so anxious for his release that he sent two of his gentlemen here with letters from the Queen to Bearn. The letters are very pressing, and say that although it may appear as if this were a matter which interests Walter Raleigh only, it really concerns her, and she is anxious that Sarmiento should instantly proceed to Spain. She prays Bearn to have him set at liberty. Raleigh told these two gentlemen to come to me, and assure me how earnestly he was endeavouring to get Sarmiento released. As they (Raleigh's envoys) arrived here during the time of this dispute between the French and English, the ambassador has detained them here for some days, and consequently they found themselves short of money. They brought me a letter from a Portuguese merchant in London called Bernardo Luis,* saying that he had told Raleigh that I would let them have a letter of credit for 100 crowns if they wanted funds for their journey, as Walter Raleigh, not being friendly with the English ambassador here, he did not wish them to appeal to him. I told the gentlemen that the merchant had acted very foolishly in saying such a thing, and I should be equally foolish if I gave them money on an order from him, or supplied funds to people who brought letters from the queen of England whilst she was at war with your Majesty; but, I said, if Raleigh himself, or any person belonging to him, asked me for anything from my own purse, I would give it to him out of consideration for his courtesy about Sarmiento. They replied that what they asked of me was to lend them 100 crowns in Raleigh's name for the expenses for their voyage, and the moment their letters

* This was the brother of Montesiros, who had offered to kill Don Antonio.

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arrived in England an order for repayment of the sum to me here would be sent. They offered me an undertaking to this effect, which I took, and gave them the money, as I thought it wise in every respect to reciprocate Raleigh's action, and acknowledge his courtesy in trying to get Sarmiento released.

The Scots ambassador has handed to me the letter I now enclose from the king of Scotland, and has asked me to supplicate your Majesty, so far as justice will allow, to despatch the Scotsman for whom the King intercedes and whose name is Gilbert Lomb, who the ambassador assures me is a Catholic, and has been a member of his own household.*—Paris, 18th February 1587.

18 Feb. **23.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K 1566. 50.

[EXTRACT.]

I write in the general letter about Raleigh's efforts to get Sarmiento released; and am assured now that he is very cold about these naval preparations, and is secretly trying to dissuade the Queen from them. He is much more desirous of sending to Spain his own two ships for sale, than to use them for robbery. To confirm him in his good tendency I came to the help of his two gentlemen who asked for some money under the circumstances related in the other letter. This will give him hopes that your Majesty will accept his services, and will cause him to continue to oppose Don Antonio, who is upheld by the earl of Leicester. †

I enclose copy of the duke of Parma's reply to me about Scotland. He also tells me that I am to say to M. de Trielle and Hugh Frion.‡ that your Majesty will pardon and employ them. As soon as the road is opened to England I will send Hugh Frion thither and the other man to Holland to see what ships are being equipped.—Paris, 18th February 1587.

18 Feb. **24.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 51.

He continues in constant ill health.

From the news contained in my letter to the King, about the way in which the king of France is behaving towards the Englishwoman, it might be thought that they would fall out in real earnest, but I can assure you nothing is further from their thoughts.

Pray let me have my credits without delay as these Englishmen are needy, and are constantly pestering me for their money; and I cannot go on for months without my own salary. Do not forget to send me the money for my English supplementary accounts.

I forgot to tell his Majesty that they are saying here that the queen of England is trying to come to terms with his Majesty through the grand duke of Florence and others.

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* The King has written in the margin against this "I do not know whether this the "man we were talking about to-day. If not, tell me who he is." *See* Vol. III. of this Calendar, page 690.

† The real reason for Raleigh's persistent opposition to the Portuguese plans, and attacks upon Spain generally, should probably be sought in his deadly hatred of Essex, who was the principal promoter of them.

‡ Two Flemings who had offered to spy upon their countrymen and the English for Philip and to betray Cambrai. *See* Vol. III., page 642.

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This King (of France) has done nothing but dance and masquerade during this carnival without cessation. The last night he danced till broad daylight, and after he had heard mass, went to bed until night. He then went to his Capuchin Monastery* where he is, refusing to speak or see anyone. His carnival madness was, it would seem, the greater, in order that he might be able to accentuate his asceticism afterwards.—Paris, 18th February 1587.

27 Feb. **25.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 55. [EXTRACT.]

The steward of the French ambassador in England has brought letters from there dated 18th instant. He reports that the Queen refuses to receive the ambassador, although he had requested audience to deliver the message taken by the King's valets. This King, therefore, refuses audience to the English ambassador, and Wand, who is here and has pressed for an interview.

This steward affirms that Drake continues his naval preparations, and as the ports are closely guarded, the steward alone was allowed to leave with a special passport.

The Queen was sending the earl of Cumberland and Hatton,† the captain of her guard, as an embassy to the king of Scotland.—Paris, 27th February 1587.

28 Feb. **26.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 105. The new correspondent whom you have obtained‡ to keep you informed on English affairs is very appropriate. You may thank the intermediary§ from me and urge him to continue in his good service. Give the other one the 2,000 crowns, or the jewel you suggest of similar value, although it may be more secret and he may prefer that it should be given in money, through the same intermediary.

If the correspondent does not know that the news passes through your hands, you can arrange with the intermediary what is to be said to him as to the course he has adopted for sending it. You will manage it as you think best, and say you doubt not that the reward will be commensurate with the service. This will encourage them to do their best.

The news of the English armaments you received through this source will by this time have been supplemented by information as to their continuance. I am hourly hoping for this intelligence. Pray be careful to send me all you can learn about this.

As it cannot be believed that Belièvre's visit to England was only for the purpose given out, you will try by the above means, and others, to discover what was done, if anything, with all the particulars you can obtain. I have not forgotten the Scotch affair, or about Brille, of which you remind me, but as I have already written to you on those points, I need say no more.

* This favourite retreat of Henry III. stood adjoining the garden of the Tuileries, near the site of the present Rue Castiglione. Another monastery of reformed Bernardins was adjacent to it.

† The envoy she really sent Robert Cary, son of her cousin, Lord Hunsdon.

‡ Sir Edward Stafford.

§ Charles Arundell.

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The steps you took through Raleigh's nephew to obtain Pedro Sarmiento's release were very wise. Raleigh's action in this matter will be an indication of what may be expected of him in future, and as you have opened the road with the nephew, do not neglect when he returns to accept the offer his uncle made to Pedro de Sarmiento, with regard to preventing armaments in England and counteracting the designs of Don Antonio. Assure him that his aid will be very highly esteemed and adequately rewarded.—Madrid, 28th February 1587.

28 Feb. **27.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 57. [EXTRACT.]

The English ambassador received a dispatch last night, dated London 22nd; and as no English boat would take the courier from Dover or Rye, they being liable to seizure as soon as they arrived in France, he had to wait until he could get a French fishing smack. He says that on the 22nd the Queen was to give audience to Chateauneuf and the King's valets de chambre who had gone from their master with letters.

Don Antonio was at Court with the Queen, and the ships which he was to take out were being equipped, the common talk being that it would be a fleet of 12,000 men. The English ambassador is begging most earnestly for a speedy audience. If I can learn what passes therein I will report to your Majesty.—Paris, 28th February 1587.

28 Feb. **28.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 56. The English ambassador sent the confidant (*i.e.*, Charles Arundel) to me this morning to say that as it was so important that your Majesty should be informed instantly of the news he had received last night from England, that he sent to tell me of it, and openly to confess me his anxiety to serve your Majesty. He offered himself entirely through me, in the assurance that your Majesty would not order him to do anything against the interest of his mistress the Queen, who however, he could plainly see, had not long to live now that she had allowed the execution of the queen of Scotland. It happened in this way. The Lord Treasurer being absent through illness, the earl of Leicester, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Admiral Howard and Walsingham, had represented to the Queen that the Parliament would resolutely refuse to vote any money to maintain the war in Holland, or to fit out a naval force to help Don Antonio, unless she executed the queen of Scotland. Under this pressure she consented to sign a warrant, as they called it, that the Parliament might see, but which was not to be executed, unless it were proved that the Queen of Scotland conspired again against her life. As Secretary Walsingham was ill this warrant was taken to the Queen for her signature by Davison, and after she had signed it she ordered him not to give it to anyone unless she gave him personally her authority to do so. Davison, who is a terrible heretic and an enemy of the queen of Scotland, like the rest of the above-mentioned, delivered

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the warrant to them.* They took a London executioner and sent him with the warrant to the justice of the county where the queen of Scotland was. The moment the justice received it, on the 18th, he entered the queen of Scotland's chamber with Paulet and Lord Grey, who had charge of her, and there they had her head cut off with a hatchet in the presence of the four persons only. The Queen orders her ambassador to inform this King of it, and assure him, as she will more fully by a special envoy, that the deed was done against her will, and although she had signed the warrant she had no intention of having it carried out. She cannot avoid blaming herself for having trusted anyone but herself in such a matter. The ambassador is begging earnestly for an audience and is keeping the matter secret until he tells the King. In order that no time may be lost in informing your Majesty, I send this special courier in the name of merchants, by way of Bordeaux, whence he will go post to Irun; and as God has so willed that these accursed people, for His ends, should fall into "*reprobrium sensum*," and against all reason commit such an act as this, it is evidently His design to deliver those two kingdoms into your Majesty's hands. I thanked the ambassador in general terms for his offer, saying that I would give an account thereof to your Majesty. As I have formerly said, it will be most advisable to accept it, and pledge him to give us notice of any machinations here and in England against us. He reports that the fitting out of ships continues but in no greater number than he previously advised, although the rumour is current here that there would be 60 English, besides the Hollanders, but that the crews, etc. were not raised and no time fixed for the departure. The ambassador says he will have full information on the point when a gentleman of his has arrived whom he had sent to England to gain intelligence, as Cecil only writes now to say that the execution of the queen of Scotland has been against his will, as he, the ambassador knew; and that the King, her son, was in great danger of suffering a similar fate. The execution was known in London on the 20th when the executioner returned, and great bonfires had been lit for joy all over the country-side. They did not even give her time to commend her soul to God.†

The Scottish gentleman (*i.e.*, Robert Bruce) who went to your Majesty and whom you sent to Muzio (*i.e.*, the Duke of Guise), and afterwards to the duke of Parma, has returned to Paris and found letters awaiting him from Scotland, in which the Scots lords tell him to

* Davison's explanation of this transaction and the defence at his trial will be found in Sir Harris Nicolas' "Life of William Davison." There can be but little doubt that Davison was deliberately tricked into the position of a scapegoat in order to relieve the Queen of the odium of having executed Mary. The above letter is interesting as showing that Stafford had even thus early received instructions to make public the Queen's version of the affair. A curious memorandum in the Hatfield Papers, Vol. III., p. 223, dated 17th February, sets forth, in Burleigh's handwriting, "The state of the cause *as it ought to be conceived and reported* concerning the execution done upon the Queen of Scots"; which agrees in the main with Stafford's representation to Mendoza.

† This was not the case. A very full contemporary account of the execution will be found in Jebb's book called "De vita et rebus gestis serenissimæ principis Mariæ Scotorum reginæ," Paris 1589.

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ascertain, in any case, whether your Majesty will help them or not, and that he is to go back for certain with an answer next April, as they say it is impossible for them to wait or hold aloof any longer than that.

This King (of France) has written offering his warm friendship to the king of Scotland, out of fear that he may come to terms with your Majesty, seeing the position he is in towards the English-woman. This fear will be greatly increased when he (the king of France) learns of the death of the queen of Scotland. I told Bruce what the duke of Parma had written for communication, that in great affairs like this decisions could not be adopted in a moment, especially respecting such distant places. I humbly beg your Majesty to instruct me what I am to say to him and how I am to treat the English ambassador.—Paris, 28th February 1887.

Feb. **29.** DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 40.,

[EXTRACT.]

Whilst I was considering what answer I should send you about Scotland, the gentleman (*i.e.*, Bruce) arrived here and was able to give me such minute information, altogether so different from that furnished previously, in writing, as fully satisfied me, and I decided to tell him that I entirely approved of his Majesty aiding them as they desired in so just and righteous a cause. I said I would write to him to that effect, and he (Bruce) might convey my message to the gentlemen concerned, in order that they might stand firm and gather courage to execute so godly a resolution as theirs whilst my report might reach Spain and the necessary measures were taken to afford them effectual support in so arduous and important an enterprise. Bruce displayed satisfaction at this, and departed to go to the duke of Guise, in order to discuss with him the next steps to be adopted in the promotion of the project. I inform you of this as he will address himself to you in future, and I wish you also to advise his Majesty. I gave the reply I did as it will afford time to write to his Majesty and receive the order he considers best for his service.

2 March. **30.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 950.

As soon as news comes of the men being landed from the armada the utmost efforts shall be used to make the million available by the duke of Parma with all speed. Juan Agustin (Pinelo) will do his best, as he has promised, but he will not pledge himself for the Pope. Until the men are landed it will be impossible to get anything out of his Holiness. As it is known where the duke of Parma is, and that the whole of the nobility is going in the armada, everybody believes that the real object is to make peace, and nothing will shake the Pope's belief in this respect. The small trust that can be placed in him may be judged by the little trust he places in us. Your Majesty will also have sent orders with regard to the time for the loan. The Pope will not be very liberal in this respect either. I can assure your Majesty that few persons in Rome believe that anything will really be got for the enterprise here, and when it is

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made public that a contribution of a million is to be sent, although there are so many good reasons for it, it will be looked upon as monstrous.

His Holiness consented to grant the jubilee, and I hope he will order it in the first consistory so that the more solemnity will attend is as it will be at the beginning of Lent. I had not mentioned it to him before, as I had no orders to do so until news came that the enterprise had been commenced. It was necessary for your Majesty to instruct me that no details are to be entered into in the jubilee, because in accordance with your Majesty's letter of 26th August I had caused Allen to draw up a statement of the justifications for the enterprise. It will, however, be useful for the Legate's bull, unless your Majesty orders to the contrary.

Not a word shall be said about the succession and investiture (*i.e.*, of the crown of England) until your Majesty orders. As soon as the articles are ratified in the consistory people will be convinced that your Majesty has no intention of retaining the crown for yourself, and the inconvenience which would arise from the prevalence of a contrary impression will be avoided. It might perhaps be better to defer any further action in this respect until your Majesty decides to announce to whom the Infanta is to be married. In accordance with your Majesty's orders enough money shall be given to Allen for his journey to Flanders, as speedly as possible; and if possible his Holiness shall be persuaded not to give him the character of Legate until he arrives there, so that he may go the quicker, in which case the Canterbury appointment may also be left in a like manner.—Rome, 2nd March 1587.

4 March. Paris Archives, K 1566. 65. French.

31. LETTER written from England to a Councillor of the King of Scotland.

I am sorry to hear that execution of the mother of your King will produce such results as you affirm will ensue upon the publication of the news in Scotland, and that the peace and friendship of the King and Scots for England should be changed thereby, as here the great desire has been to cement the friendship. We hope that on mature consideration, and with your wise Council, the King will see that the past cannot now be undone, and that any action on his part would be to his own prejudice.

If he wishes to make war upon England he must consider these things:—

1st. Will the war appear just in the sight of all persons.

2nd. His means of sustaining it.

3rd. The probable result of it, and particularly as touching the succession here.

It will be said here that he is warring against the decision of a Court of Justice, and consequently against divine justice itself.

If he depends upon his own resources, he must see that Scotland is not strong enough to cope with England; whilst France is now more united to England than to Scotland.

The delay and difficulty of employing foreign forces, moreover, are very great, and give rise to serious and unexpected complications.

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It is clear then that such a war could only end in disaster; and the King's moderation and wisdom, which have gained for him the admiration of all, will, I hope, bring him to deal with the matter prudently. The old enmities between the countries would be aroused by a war, and the English would then never accept a Scotsman for their King.

The queen of Scotland was legally sentenced by the three estates of the realm, and if the King impugns their judgment he will understand how they will be set against him.

What remedy, moreover, can he expect to gain from foreign princes? Any help he got would certainly not be rendered out of love for him; and neither France nor Spain will help him except for their own ends, which will not add to his popularity in England It is, moreover, the traditional policy of France to prevent the union of all the island (*i.e.*, Great Britain) under one sovereign; and France is in no condition to undertake a foreign war.

The king of Spain's age and ill health would probably lead him to listen to overtures of peace rather than enter into such a war; but, if he consents to aid, his ambition and claims will make him a dangerous ally. His right to the succession of the English crown is maintained by many persons, with a great show of authority, and his usurpation of Portugal is a sample of his ambition.

All this proves the danger of the king of Scotland's appealing to Spain for help; but if he do so, it will only be given in exchange for his abandoning the protestant faith, which God forbid, as it would mean his utter ruin both in Scotland and England.

If he seeks revenge it must be against all the estates of the realm in England, who have agreed upon the offence, and he will see how much better both his dignity and interests will be served by treating the matter with wise moderation, rather than adopt such a position towards a nation over which he hopes to reign. You may see how desirous I am to preserve the friendship of the two countries, by my writing so long a harangue as this. I had no intention of doing so. I had collected the arguments set forth, and others which I conceived to be for the good of both countries, in order that they might be transmitted to you by Mr. Douglas; but as I found him anything but forward in the matter, I have decided to put them in writing and send them to you direct.—Greenwich, 4th March 1587.

Note.—The above letter in the original is extremely diffuse and obscure. It is published nearly at length in French by the Bannantyne Club in their collection of letters in the Paris Archives relative to the history of Scotland. The editor, M. Teulet, thus comments upon it:—"Cette lettre renferme une serie de raisonne-
" ments que me semblent d'une grande habilité politique et que les
" évenements ont justifiés. Il est facile de suivre et de comprendre
" ces raisonnements dans leur ensemble; mais il n'en est pas de
" meme dans les details. Ecrite on traduite par un étranger qui
" savait mal le francais, la lettre presente souvent des expressions,
" des phrases, et meme quelques paragraphes, qui sont presque
" inintéligibles."

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March 6. **32.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 67.

As the English ambassador could not obtain audience, and feared the news (of the queen of Scotland's death) might reach the King through another channel, he therefore went to Belièvre with a letter from his mistress, asking him to convey to the King that at the persuasion of her people she had signed the warrant for the execution of the queen of Scotland in virtue of the sentence which had been pronounced, without any intention of having it carried out, but her councillors, without her consent, had executed the sentence. In order to set forth this fully she would at once send a person of rank to the King. Belièvre was much perturbed, and said the King would rightly resent such an act and he (Belièvre) would so advise him. He said surely his (Stafford's) mistress must think that monarchs' heads were laced on, to have done such a knavish thing as to dare to lay hands on the queen of Scotland. There is a good deal of talk about these words, as Belièvre has much influence with the King, and is usually a man of very slow and moderate speech.

When Secretary Brulart heard of it, he said he would never enter the Council again if the King did not fittingly avenge the murder of one who had been his sister-in-law and a queen of France Notwithstanding all this talk, and the great sorrow of the nobility, there are no signs that the King means to do anything, only the immediate dispatch of a courier with the news to his mother; and it is not yet known whether he will go into mourning or not, or how he will proceed with the Englishwoman. The heretics have rejoiced as much as the Parisians have sorrowed; and a preacher at St. Eustache who discoursed upon it was greeted with so much sorrow and lamentation from his hearers that he was obliged to descend from the pulpit without finishing his sermon.

The English ambassador and Waad, who is with him, are in great alarm that these demonstrations may lead the people to make an attack upon them.

The queen of England received the king's valets de chambre, but she would not allow them to be accompanied by Chateauneuf.

It is rumoured here that Don Antonio has secretly left England and gone to Barbary. Sampson* has been unable to discover what truth there is in this, but as the last news reported that Don Antonio was at the Court with the Queen on the 22nd ultimo, it is probably unfounded.—Paris, 6th March 1587.

6 Mar. **33.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 68.

As the English ports are still closed, I have nothing to say about England beyond what I say in the general letter. I was with Nazareth† yesterday, who told me he had been informed that the

* This was the cipher name of Antonio de Escobar, Don Antonio's agent in France, who was secretly in the pay of the Spanish King. The news about Don Antonio's going to Barbary was untrue, but afterwards his second son, Don Cristobal, was sent thither as hostage for a projected loan from the Sheriff, which however was never advanced.

† This was the papal Nuncio in France, Fabio Mirto Frangipani, archbishop of Nazareth, a Neapolitan Spanish subject, and a creature of Philip. *See* Vol. III. of this Calendar, page 618.

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King was not sorry for what had happened to the queen of Scotland, owing to his rancour against the Guises, and his wish to be revenged upon them. This made him secretly favour the Bourbons who were the sworn enemies of the queen of Scotland.

. . . . . .

In conversation with Nazareth about the queen of Scotland, I said that although her son, by birth, was her heir, he was incapacitated by his heresy from succeeding, and your Majesty took his place so far as regards the crown of England, you being the next heir failing him. I told him it was well he should be informed of the matter so that he might convey it, as if on his own account, to Cardinal de Bourbon* and the duke of Guise; as it was just as important to them that the principle of heresy incapacitating should be acknowledged, so far as the crown of France was concerned, as all their cause rests upon the point.

Nazareth approved of the idea, and I refreshed his memory about the descent by virtue of which your Majesty claims the English crown. I avoided mentioning to him the following point, however, until I get your Majesty's instructions. It is, that although your Majesty may have acquired a legal right to the two crowns of England and Ireland by the death of the queen of Scotland, her son being incapacitated from succeeding her according to natural right, it will be necessary, before your Majesty can enjoy your possession, that your claim should be declared by a competent judge, who will pronounce the incapacity of the king of Scotland to succeed, he being the son of a catholic mother. My precedent for this opinion is that before a creditor can proceed on an overdue obligation, his right being unquestionable, he must obtain a judgment. I think this point is of importance, and it was suggested to me by my reading years ago that it was not provided for in the bull of Pope Pius V. against the queen of England.† I have not been able to get a copy of the bull as mine was burnt with the rest of my papers in England, but if your Majesty's theologians and jurisconsults think there is anything in it, you might have his Holiness approached cautiously, to induce him to make such a declaration as that desired, excluding the king of Scotland for heresy, by which act your Majesty becomes legal heir, and can enter into possession of your rights, without anything to that effect being said in the bull. It must be managed with great secrecy, so that the king of France shall not hear of it, as he would, of course, strenuously oppose it. It will be unnecessary for a regular process to be raised against the

* Cardinal de Bourbon was the uncle of Henry of Navarre, so that in the event of the latter being incapacitated from succeeding to the crown of France for heresy, the Cardinal, as the next catholic successor, became heir to the crown of France. On the murder of Henry III., the Cardinal was adopted as King by the Guises and Philip; and until his death was treated as such by them.

† This complaint had been made in 1570 by the English Catholics after the failure of the rising of the northern nobles. Sanders in his Anglican Schism says:— "Reliquis Catholicis propterea quod adhuc per Papam non erat publice contra Reginam "lata ex-communicationis sententia nec ab ejus ipsi absoluti viderentur obedientia se "non adjungentibus." As a matter of fact the Bull of Pius V., like those of Paul III. and Paul IV., disinheriting Henry VIII.'s issue by Anne Boleyn, assumed the heresy, but did not pronounce authoritatively upon it. There is little doubt that Mendoza obtained his idea from Father Sanders' book quoted above.

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king of Scotland, as he has not publicly professed heresy after being a Catholic, but has only generally been acknowledged as a heretic, and has never submitted to the Holy See. His Holiness can easily make this declaration, with the speed rendered necessary by your Majesty's design on England, and the importance of keeping the king of France in ignorance. If the latter heard of it, he would certainly induce the king of Scotland to intimate to the Pope that he would be converted and marry a Catholic. I can see no objection to your Majesty's helping the Catholic Scottish lords, as they may be instrumental in converting the rest of the people. If the King himself should become a Catholic, the marrying of him to a wife of your choosing, or the gaining over to your Majesty's side of most of his nobles, will prevent the force of Scotland being cast on the side of the English heretics. Even if the kings of Scotland were not (as their chronicles show) all fated to die violent deaths, it may well be supposed that those who have brought about the death of his mother will compass his own, now that he is in the hands of the Scottish-English faction who are in league with Leicester and the rest of them.

The Scottish gentleman (Bruce) has again shown me letters from the lords urging him to get a reply from your Majesty. They say the King himself would have sent to ask for aid against the queen of England, but for the fear that he would be refused on the score of religion.

The archbishop of Glasgow, the queen of Scotland's ambassador here, is naturally grieved at the fate of his mistress. I sent to see him, and he is so good a prelate and Christian that the moment he saw me he said that he had received from me the 8,000 crowns I had paid him for his mistress from your Majesty. In consequence of the bad money current when I paid him the first 4,000, and the absence of communication with the Queen owing to Babington's arrest, he had paid that instalment to the queen of Scotland's treasurer here to dispose of to the best advantage and give him (the Archbishop) gold, when he had an opportunity of sending to the Queen. He said I knew that no such opportunity had offered, and the 4,000 crowns of the second payment he had still intact, and would return to me, and also the first 4,000 he had handed to the treasurer, when possible; the money being the property of your Majesty now that his mistress was dead, and his conscience not allowing him to touch a groat of it. I said I would give your Majesty an account of it; and I now humbly suggest that you might favour him and me by making him a present of the first 4,000 crowns, as it could only be got back through his hands and at such a pace as the treasurer might think fit, the French being hard to part from money when once it is in their possession. The Archbishop has lived here for 23 years, serving his mistress faithfully, and during the whole time has been in close communication with your Majesty's ministers. He was the only channel through which Tassis could correspond with Muzio (*i.e.*, Guise) after he had left the King, and his (the Archbishop's) servants carried all the dispatches, and my letters continued to come by the same means. He is

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65 years of age, and the good prelate is so poor and defenceless that I shall look upon a favour done to him as if it were done to me. His wages from his mistress now fail him, and the heretics have destroyed his abbacy in Poitou, robbing him a few months ago of 500 crowns which were being brought to him of the revenues of years back. All this is in addition to the service he constantly renders to your Majesty, and the advisability of keeping him in hand in regard to Scotch and English affairs, as his influence and dignity are very great in that country (Scotland). The day upon which the king of Scotland shows any signs of a desire to become a convert to the Catholic faith, his Holiness will certainly be obliged to promote the Archbishop to a cardinalate, in order to guide the King and bring about a conversion of the rest of the country. This renders it desirable for your Majesty to pledge such a man to your interests, as there is no other upon whom his Holiness could cast his eye. Your Majesty might even give him a good pension charged upon one of the Spanish bishoprics. Nazareth has already begun to bewail to me how great a loss it will be to both of us if he (Beaton) have to leave here. I beg your Majesty to send me instructions as to the two sums of 4,000 crowns which I have mentioned above.—Paris, 6th March 1587.

6 March. **34.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 69.

[EXTRACT.]

The Jesuit fathers who are labouring in Scotland have been blessed by God with grace to produce notable fruit for the good of religion. They have asked me to renew the petition I sent in former letters of mine that his Majesty should be pleased to give them alms for church ornaments and similar things, without which their progress cannot be continued. I beg you will mention this to the King when opportunity offers; and I am quite sure you will be reminded of it also by some religious father.—Paris, 6th March, 1587.

7 March. **35.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 70.

The delay of this courier has given me time to write to your Majesty what I have heard since writing my despatches yesterday. The King (of France) has publicly appeared in mourning for the queen of Scotland, as have the Queen and all the nobles at court. As the ladies in waiting were not in mourning the King told them to dress in black serge, as the inconvenience caused by the war would prevent him from giving them the customary mourning dresses which he furnished on the death of royal personages. It is also decided that the obsequies are to be held in the cathedral here (Paris) and the King will be present. I am told by a person who heard him that the King in his own chamber said he had received letters from his ambassador with a detailed account of the beheading of the queen of Scotland. It was to the effect that Beal, the Secretary of the Privy Council, Walsingham's brother-in-law, carried down the warrant and the executioner from London, and in the presence of Paulet and Grey, at 9 o'clock on the night of the 17th ultimo, told the queen of Scotland that the queen of England had

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ordered her to be beheaded. She heard the intelligence quite unmoved and did not even change colour; replying that since that was so, she would be glad to have some persons near her to prepare her for death. Two of the devils they call Bishops then were presented to her and she asked them whether they were Catholics, to which they replied that they were Christian Bishops.* She said she was a Catholic as her forbears had been, and meant to die in the faith, so that they (the Bishops) could go, as they had no concern with her. She then withdrew and remained all night in prayer, with a crucifix in her hand, consoling her servants who were with her with the greatest bravery and firmness. She pointed out to them how signal a mercy God was showing her in rescuing her from the power of so bad a woman as the queen of England. The King affirms that she communicated that night, having years before obtained license from the Pope to retain the Holy Sacrament by her, and a priest being with her. When I was in England I know she had a priest disguised as a layman by her side, for I know him personally, and if amongst the few servants they left another such remained, it will have been a great mercy to her from God. The next morning she asked for one of her best dresses, as since she had been in prison she usually dressed in hodden grey cloth. She put it on and left the apartment, ordering her chief steward to lead her by the hand; and told him that as she had not been able to recompense him for his services, he was to go to the King, her son, and carry her blessing to him.† With this they entered another room in which was a scaffold covered with black, and about 40 persons assembled. She protested that she died a Catholic and confessed that she had tried by every means in her power to gain her liberty, but had not sought the death of the Queen. Her sins deserved even a more cruel death than that she was about to suffer, but she was innocent of the particular crime named. The executioner approached her for the purpose of turning down her collar, but she told him to remain quiet and she would call him when she was ready. When she herself had loosened her collar she called a lady to her to bandage her eyes. She then knelt down and summoned the executioner, crying out aloud three times, so that all could hear, "*In manus tuas Domine, etc.*" Her head was then cut off, and shown by the executioner to two or three thousand men who were collected round the house. In London they were not satisfied with ringing all the bells for joy, and lighting bonfires everywhere; for the King says his ambassador informs him that the people forced him to provide fuel, which they took out of his house for the purpose of building a very large fire opposite his door. This is a piece of insolent intolerance such as has never been practised on an ambassador, and especially on the ambassador of so great a King.

* The Protestant ecclesiastic in attendance on Mary was Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, the Englishmen present at this interview in addition to Beal being the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent (Reginald Gray) Paulet and Drury. In addition to Jebb's contemporary account already mentioned, *see also* the English contemporary relation of the execution in Cotton Caligula IX. published in Ellis' letters, Vol. III., second series.

† Sir Andrew Melvil.

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It would have been bad enough to make him find means to celebrate some victory, but it is much worse to force him to rejoice over the death of a queen of France who entered the country on the faith of the queen of England's safe conduct, which has been violated against all right, human and divine, and the Queen kept a prisoner. I am hourly expecting reports from Englishmen as the news I quote above has come to the king of France. His ambassador also writes that on the 22nd the queen of England summoned to the palace the two valets-de-chambre who had been sent by this King, and they expected they were to have audience; but when they arrived they were referred to the Council, on the ground that they were not persons of sufficient quality for the Queen to receive, but that if the King sent a person of rank she would listen to him.

The King speaks publicly of all these things but gives no indication as to what measures he will take to resent them.—Paris, 7th March 1587.

9 March. **36.** SAMPSON'S ADVICE from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 71.

The Queen had given leave for the ordinary posts to leave for France and come from there, but the seizures and detentions on both sides would be dealt with at leisure, so that a satisfactory arrangement might be arrived at. The French ambassador was still in his house and had not seen the Queen. Parliament opened on the 4th instant, and Hatton made the speech for the Queen, setting forth the grievances against her, alleged by your Majesty as reasons for making war upon her, for which you were preparing a great armada. 1st.—As to the taking of Holland and Zeeland, the Queen could not do otherwise than aid and protect them, as they belonged to her religion. 2nd.—The sending of ships to Peru and the Indies was mainly for the purpose of the recovery of English property, which had been seized in Spain without cause. 3rd.—The help she extended to Don Antonio was granted him, because the kingdom of Portugal belonged to him, and had been usurped by the king of Spain. For these reasons she asked Parliament to vote supplies to enable her to defend the realm.

Don Antonio had been at Court since the 1st March until the 9th, and was earnestly pressing the Queen for a decision. She was caressing and making much of him at Court because she feared he wanted to leave the country.

The deputies from Holland were discontented at being unable to get any decision from the Queen.

Merchants are equipping 12 ships which will be manned entirely by Londoners. Don Antonio's people say these ships will be ready at the end of March and are victualled for a year. The Commander chosen by the merchants is not known yet.

14 March. **37.** MEMORIAL presented to his Holiness setting forth the advisability of making Dr. Allen a Cardinal.—14th March, 1587.

Estado, 949.

The reasons why it is important for the service of God and religion that the elevation of Dr. Allen should not be delayed. In the first place the imprisonment of the queen of Scotland, the leader

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of the cause who was recognised by all Catholics, and directed the negotiations for the conversion of England, which has had the effect of encouraging the heretics and casting down the Catholics, and has snapped the thread of the internal negotiations which were carried on by the Queen. Many have therefore lost heart and even the faithful are divided, as there is no one fit person whom they can all acknowledge as their leader.

If the enterprise can be undertaken speedily it will be necessary that some preparations be made beforehand, which will be suspicious if undertaken by other hands, and will have no force or authority if he be simply a private individual. If, on the other hand, it be needful to defer the enterprise, his prompt elevation will be even more necessary, as it will be a balm to the wound, and will confirm the afflicted flock in the faith, when they have proof that his Holiness sympathises with them and is thinking of a remedy for their distress.

Promptness is also necessary in order that his authority may be firmly established and his elevation known to all, great and small, by the time the expedition arrives.

It is also desirable that he shall have attended one of the sittings of the sacred college, and have made the acquaintance of the members and know something of the ceremonial.

Personally Dr. Allen possesses all the qualities which can be desired. He is unbiassed, learned, of good manners, judicious, deeply versed in all English affairs, and the negotiations for the submission of the country to the church, all of the instruments of which have been his pupils. So many amongst them have suffered martyrdom that it may be said that the purple of the cardinalate was dyed in the blood of the martyrs he has instituted.

His Majesty assures his Holiness, on his responsibility, that the prompt elevation of Dr. Allen is necessary in the interest of the affairs of England, and that, if it be delayed, important evils may result, whether the enterprise be undertaken at once, or deferred. He also assures him that personally Dr. Allen is extremely fit for the position, and for these reasons he begs his Holiness to trust to his recommendation, as he (the King) is so deeply interested in the success of the undertaking, and is well versed in English affairs, owing to his own reign and residence there, and to the fact that he has necessarily had to keep in constant touch with them. The enterprise has been discussed often before, but God has mysteriously been pleased to ordain that it should be undertaken in the time of his Holiness.

His Holiness very justly says that he will allow no consideration of time to stand in the way of so great a cause as the cry of the flock of Catholics for a leader, who shall, as far as possible, supply the Queen's (of Scotland) place, whilst raising up from out of the queen of England's subjects a powerful and open enemy to her, and at the same time greatly and fitly rewarding a man who deserves so well of the Holy See.

His Holiness need have no anxiety with regard to his maintenance, as the abbacy which his Majesty gives him is sufficient for the

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wants of a poor Cardinal, and it is not advisable at first that there should be much ostentation. When the time arrives for greater splendour to be desirable, his Majesty will provide accordingly; his Holiness having no responsibility but to promote him. His Holiness and his Majesty will thus share between them the merit, which God will acknowledge, for it is His service alone which moves them to elevate this man.

The reply of the Pope, written by Cardinal Carrafa in Italian, is appended to the above memorandum, and runs as follows:—

His Holiness replies that as soon as his Majesty is ready for the enterprise, his Holiness will be ready to create Dr. Allen a Cardinal. He does not consider it desirable to do so unless the enterprise is carried out simultaneously, in consequence of the declaration which would have to be made if he were created a Cardinal out of season and in contravention of the constitution.*

(Signed) ANTONIUS CARDINALIS CARRAFA,
By order of his Holiness.

15 March. **38.** CHARLES ARUNDELL to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 73. French.

Following my previous course I have omitted no effort to effectually serve the interests of his Catholic Majesty in these parts, as you will have been fully informed by Señor Mendoza. It will be impertinent and tedious for me to reiterate my services, of which you have ample knowledge, but I cannot refrain solacing my poor spirit by writing you a few words about myself, so that when you see the smoke afar off you may the more easily guess at the heat of the fire which is hidden deep at the bottom of my seared heart. Pray weigh me not by my power, utterly broken now, as you know, but rather look to my affection to you, which is, perhaps, not second to that of any person of my quality. I know from Mr. Englefield and Señor Mendoza how careful you are for my welfare. Notwithstanding the state of our miserable country, I am not utterly despairing that some marvel be not reserved for my master the King, in whom the hope of all our patriots rests, to bring us the happiness to which we look forward, both on his own account, and because of the will of the late queen of Scotland; besides which the most favourable opportunity possible now presents itself for his obtaining his inheritance, and for fully avenging all the wrong and injury committed against him by the most monstrous and barbarous creature of her sex that ever bore crown or sceptre. If I tried to say how Catholics in England and abroad are doomed, so to speak, to a perpetual longing worse than death itself for the day to come, I should far exceed the limits of a letter.—Paris, 15th March 1587.

16 March. **39.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 949.

When Juan Agustin Pinelo, the Pope's banker, tells me that his Holiness says (as he does to everyone) that he is going to give your Majesty a million, I try to discover, in case it be possible to get the

* This was the understanding subscribed by Sixtus that Cardinals should only be made at the Ember-tide of December. When upon further pressure from Philip the Pope elevated Allen, he replied to the objecting Cardinals that "necessity knew no law."

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contribution for the Flanders business, what arrangements could be made to anticipate the payment. He made great difficulties about paying it in various different places instead of only one. I have given the papers about the succession to Cardinal Deça, upon whose secrecy I can depend. I have not moved in the matter hitherto, but I will make a commencement to-morrow. I tremble, however, at the Pope's lack of secresy. Your Majesty's order that the matter should be kept secret I presume applies to myself, and shall be obeyed; but, as I have frequently written, it is impossible to impose secresy upon his Holiness, besides which I much doubt that he will give the brief without consultation. Those whom he will consult are sure to raise difficulties out of envy of your Majesty's greatness. I do not propose, however, to begin by asking the Pope for anything, because (amongst other reasons) nothing can be got from him until he feels certain that the enterprise is really to be carried through. I shall first give him an account in your Majesty's name of the right which it is ascertained your Majesty has (to the English crown), and promise him great moderation in asserting it with his concurrence; and shall then express a hope that his Holiness will extend his help and favour to the claim. I shall afterwards be governed by his attitude.

With regard to Allen's hat I gave the Pope the statement of reasons enclosed, but neither my efforts nor those of Caraffa have persuaded him to grant it at once. When we pressed him with the argument that, even if the enterprise were not affected the elevation of Allen was necessary in order to sustain the English Catholics, he replied that this was a good reason why he should have promoted him last Christmas, without seeing that he thus threw the blame upon himself. The news has arrived here that your Majesty had received about the last plot against the queen of England, which they wanted to lay at the door of the French ambassador in England.* This gave an opportunity for the French ambassador here to say that it was a good juncture for your Majesty and the king of France to unite in the enterprise against the queen of England. I thought well to hint to the Pope that some stratagem might be hidden under this, with the object of discovering whether any negotiations were being carried on relative to such an enterprise between his Holiness and your Majesty, and in such case to try to frustrate it, and to give the king of France and the queen of England a pretext for arming, to your Majesty's prejudice. As I had not time to speak to the Pope personally about it, I conveyed it to him through Rusticucci,† from whom I have not received any reply. I will continue to work in this direction, because if the suspicion turns out true my action will justify itself, and if not it will make the Pope shy of the French.

* Moody and W. Stafford's proposals to Destrappes and Chateauneuf. By the time this letter was written the two Frenchmen were absolved and it was acknowledged by the Queen that the plot had mainly been an attempt of William Stafford to blackmail Chateauneuf.

† Cardinal Rusticucci, one of the Papal Secretaries of State. He was not generally favourable to the Spanish interests as was his colleague Cardinal Caraffa.

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I have diverted Cardinal Mondovi from the sending of that Scottish bishop,* and have persuaded him to close his ears to the praises the Scotsmen are singing of their King. He has agreed to make use of that jesuit, Edmund Hayhoe, who is the kind of person we want, as the Pope is the man who will seize upon any branch.

Father Robert (Persons) here, thinking from what has passed that Allen's elevation is still distant, is worrying me to death to get the Pope to make him archbishop of Canterbury, which he says will in a great measure make up for the want of the cardinalate. He greatly exalts the dignity of the office and urges the desirability of the hat going with it. I have not countenanced this as it would divert the Pope from the matter of the cardinalate.

I venture to remind your Majesty of the condition imposed by the Pope in case Italian troops are to be sent on the enterprise.†

I await your Majesty's instructions as to the time when Allen is to begin to write something, as to his going and the pretext for it, the announcement of the enterprise in the consistory, and the course to be pursued by the nuncio in France. I will only remark again that your Majesty must give up all hope of secresy from the moment the Pope signs the warrants for the money, however much he may swear to say nothing. The worst of it is he cannot help it. Other Popes might drop hints but he simply lets it all out, whether he wants to or not. As it is impossible to deny what he says, seeing its probability and the quality of his person, I have to adopt the course of saying that I am writing all he says to your Majesty, without further discussion. His reputation as a man of his word is so small that people think it is nothing but talk.—Rome, 16th March 1587.

17 March. **40.** ADVICES from SCOTLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 74.

As the despatches were being closed the following advices from Scotland came to hand, dated 17th March. The ship that brought them arrived on the 21st.

When the execution of the Queen was known in Scotland the earl of Morton had crossed the English border on the west, with a number of troops, and had burnt many towns and villages, taking much plunder. He had been joined by gentlemen of the province, and especially those of the name of Graham, who have much influence there. Some of them have accompanied the Earl into Scotland.

The King says he is not sorry for what the earl of Morton has done, but only that anyone but himself should have been first to break the peace with England. He has given orders for the whole country to be ready with the men they are obliged to provide, and await instructions which may be sent to them at any moment. If any ambassador from England crosses the border, he is to be instantly hanged. All the nobility are ready to serve the King in

* Chisholm the Carthusian monk, Bishop of Dunblane.

† The condition inserted in the agreement to aid the armada, to the effect that if Italian troops were utilised by Philip in the expedition, the Pope might contribute them in place of money.

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the war, except the earl of Angus, who has not yet declared himself.

19 March. Estado, 949. Latin.

41. WILLIAM ALLEN to the KING.

Exhorts him to undertake the enterprise against England, his unhappy country. The catholics are all clamouring for him, and he urges him to crown his glorious efforts in the holy cause of Christ by punishing this woman, hated of God and man, and restoring the country to its ancient glory and liberty. He vindicates Philip's claim to the crown after the queen of Scotland, as a descendant of the house of Lancaster; and pronounces a fervent blessing on the enterprise, for which he foretells complete success. (Signed, your faithful servant and subject. WILLIAM ALLEN.)—Rome, 19th March 1587.

18 March. Estado, 949. Italian.

42. Document headed "Considerations why it is desirable to carry "through the Enterprise of England before discussing the "Succession to the Throne of that country, claimed by his "Majesty."

Delivered by MELINO to COUNT DE OLIVARES, 18th March 1587.

The evils and obstacles that might result from it:—

It must be presupposed that this matter cannot be communicated to his Holiness without its reaching the ears of other persons, by some channel or another, either through the natural want of secrecy in this Court, the facility with which his Holiness usually communicates his affairs, the talk of officials or ministers, who are much given to divulge such matters, and finally because his Holiness will probably not venture to decide the matter privately, and without taking counsel, the case being so important.

By whatever means the matter became public, great prejudice would thereby be caused, not only to the enterprise, but to his Majesty's claim to the succession, for the following reasons:

The Pope himself, or various Cardinals, might perhaps conceive suspicions of his Majesty's proceedings regarding this enterprise; and the result of such vain thoughts and discourse might be that the Pope would help less liberally in favour and money, on the assertion that his Majesty was forwarding the enterprise mainly out of regard to his individual advantage. For the same reason the other Christian Catholic princes might be moved to jealousy, for reasons of State, of the greatness of Spain, particularly the king of France, who with very good grounds would, with his friends, try to frustrate the affair. The Italian princes would do the same, especially the seigniory of Venice, who, we are informed by Monsignor Bergamo, the new nuncio in France, are already somewhat jealous. The princes of the house of Guise and Lorraine also will be much displeased, although they might easily be induced to join in the enterprise if the suspicions of France be not aroused.

The same will happen with the Scots, who will be of the greatest importance in the enterprise, and they may be easily brought over to our side if this claim of his Majesty is kept secret. Cardinal Farnese and the other friends of the prince of Parma's children, who

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are likewise descended from the house of Portugal, might also be disturbed if this question were discussed at the present time, although we have never heard from them that they would make any claim.

It is obvious that the queen of Scotland also might have her suspicions aroused, and doubt if due consideration were being paid to her person and cause. There would certainly be no lack of politicians of the party of the French and Scots to persuade her that such was the case, and the same may be said of the English Catholics both at home and abroad, as they have no leader to direct them.

The very fact of this Spanish claim being made would greatly aggravate heresy in England, as his Majesty's participation in this enterprise would thereby become odious to all other princes, heretics and Catholics alike, with the idea that Spain wishes to dominate all Europe, and so the cause of the heretics would be more favourably regarded, on the ground that the enterprise was undertaken for reasons of state, and not for the sake of religion. This would draw them close to the Scots, and the English Catholics themselves would take the oath under such circumstances, which would be a grave prejudice. France also would be drawn to them and influence would be brought to bear upon the Pope and other princes; besides which the Scotch and French party in Paris and elsewhere, who have hitherto secretly opposed the proceedings of Messieurs Allen and Melino, would find good reason in these circumstances to arouse the suspicions of the Queen of Scotland, the English Catholics, and other princes, by saying that all the aid that Mr. Allen has received, and is receiving, from his Majesty, either for himself or the seminary, has been given simply with this object. This would arouse great prejudice against him, and his dignity is not yet sufficient to allow him to defy such calumny successfully. Many other difficulties and obstacles would spring therefrom, which would probably spoil the whole design, or at least would *render it immensely more difficult.*

The advantages which would result from the King's succession not being mentioned until the enterprise be carried through :—

First.—Inasmuch as the whole world is now of opinion that his Majesty is to undertake the enterprise in order to restore the Catholic faith, to avenge the open and intolerable injuries against himself, and especially against God's church, and the multitude of martyrs, all good Catholics in Christendom would favour it with their prayers, blessings, writings, and other aids; so that those who, for state or other reasons, or jealousy of the power of Spain, were averse to it, will not venture to oppose it. His Majesty's friends will be better able to work in favour of the enterprise, as, for instance, the Pope with the king of France, who may not be pleased with the affair, and get him to remain quiet, with the princes of the house of Lorraine, and other French Catholics; whilst Allen's negotiations with the English Catholics and neutrals will be also more effectual, as he can assure them by letters, books, &c. that the only object entertained here is to reform religion and punish those who have deserved punishment. This will greatly encourage them in England. When the enterprise

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shall have been effected, and the whole realm and the adjacent islands are in the hands of his Majesty, and the fortresses and strong places powerless to oppose him, then will be the proper time to deal with the question, because if the Queen of Scotland be dead, as she probably will be, as the heretics, having her in their hands, and in the belief that the enterprise is in her interest, will kill her, there will be no other Catholic prince alive whose claims will clash with those of his Majesty; whereas if she be alive and married to his Majesty's liking, the question of his Majesty's succession can be taken in hand with her authority and the claims of the House of Lancaster asserted.

The man who might be the cardinal of England, and the leader and head of them all, could easily bring the others to decide what might be desirable, through Parliament, if the new Bishops, who are principal members thereof, were by his side as well as the lay nobles (most of the present ones being heretics would probably be destroyed in the war, and those created in their places by his Majesty would be favourable).

His Majesty would have much greater reason for his claim then, as the descendant of the house of Lancaster, seeing the disqualification of the other claimants, the bull of Pius V., and the will of the queen of Scotland. He would have the advantage of a just cause, of having restored religion, and finally the votes of the estates of the realm, confirmed by his Holiness, who, it may be supposed, would not then interpose difficulties, which he might do now in order not to displease other princes. Finally, everything consists in the enterprise being effected now that so good an opportunity exists, and that the forces of England and Ireland should be in his Majesty's power, whilst some great and important Englishman should be there to manage the people, and satisfy other princes, this being the most important point of all for the success of the affair, which has already been prejudiced by the delay that has taken place.

Note.—Melino, although a servant of the Guises, had been won over to the Spanish side by Allen and Olivares, but it will be seen by the above document that he still had a leaning to the policy of his nominal master, Guise, who would have preferred to see his cousin James Catholic king of England.

24 March. **43.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Estado, 949.

At every turn there are Cardinals here so blind as to imagine that it is possible to convert the king of Scotland; and as Cardinal Mondovi* had taken this into his head he wished to send thither a Carthusian friar who was formerly bishop of Dunblane, of whom you probably know something. He seems to be a man of good life, but I consider him but little fitted for the task. I pointed out to the Cardinal how much more difficult it is than he thinks, and the many evils that may possibly result, and he seemed to agree with me. I have, however, since seen indications that he perseveres in the idea

* Cardinal Mondovi had charge of Scottish affairs at the Vatican, and, although he affected agreement with the Spaniards, really held the Scottish view of the English succession, as, indeed, the Pope himself was inclined to do.

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and it may be that the Bishop will still be sent. If he should go through that city (Paris) he will be sure to stay at the house of the bishop of Glasgow, and it would be advisable for you to be on the look out, to advise me of what you may manage to discover, so that I may thoroughly see through the Cardinal's proceedings. Try also to get the bishop of Glasgow to smile on our King's side, and to persuade him that by this means alone can all be brought right, and the Catholic religion established in those realms.—Rome, 24th March 1587.

25 March. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 77.

44. NICHOLAS WENDON to the KING.

Sets forth that he was archdeacon of Suffolk and a doctor of the High Court of Chancery in England, and became an exile from this country on account of his being a Catholic. He became provost of St. Gery at Cambrai, but five years afterwards he was expelled by the rebels and his benefice confiscated because of his loyalty to the King (Philip). Through the efforts of Mendoza and Tassis the duke of Parma granted him a living allowance, but it has never been paid. Prays the King to allow the pension to be paid to him here in Paris (where he has lived for the last six years) in the same way that the pensions of other English gentlemen are paid. He is in great and urgent need.—Paris, 25th March 1587.

(Signed) NICHOLAS WENDON,
Provost of St. Gery, Cambray.

26 March. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 78c.

45. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACTS.]

The guards of this place (Paris) seeing the English ambassador, diguised, crossing the bridge of Notre Dame at midnight on the 20th, stopped him, and he was obliged to disclose his identity and whence he was coming. He said he had been visiting at the house of a gentleman, but this was discovered to be untrue, and the King was informed of it the same night. He expressed regret that the ambassador should have been detained on the bridge, instead of being allowed to pass; but they say that the King knew very well where he was coming from. . . .

The King has sent Rougier, his valet de chambre, who came from England, to the prince of Bearn, for the purpose of giving him an account of the cruelty with which the queen of Scotland was beheaded, and the indignities committed against his ambassador in England. It may well be concluded that there will be something else in the letters besides this.—26th March 1587.

26 March. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 78.

46. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACTS.]

The archbishop of Nazareth died on the 16th of fever; a very heavy loss for religion and your Majesty's service. I have written to the Count de Olivares (ambassador in Rome) the importance of the new Nuncio being equally able to influence this King (*i.e.*, of France) or it will be difficult to keep him firm in the defence of Catholicism and the extirpation of the heretics. . . .

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M. de Belièvre made no new alliance with England, nor did he draw any closer the relations already existing, but I hear from a good source, confirmed by the new confidant, that his lukewarmness, particularly about the queen of Scotland, and the wishes he expressed from the King that the queen of England would use her good offices to bring about peace (*i.e.*, with the Huguenots), emboldened her to lay hands on the queen of Scotland. People here, generally, are so indignant about it that they say that if the King neglects to avenge so tyrannous an act, they will be glad to go and serve your Majesty in the event of your undertaking the enterprise. Not only the preachers here, but the people at large display a great hatred of the queen of England, and a multitude of verses have been published against her.* The King and Queen were in a little pew, disguised, at the obsequies of the queen of Scotland, but did not show themselves publicly, as they say it is not customary for the king of France to be present at obsequies. The bishop of Bourges, a great lawyer, preached the sermon, and he proved from the tenour of the sentence pronounced by Parliament that the Queen had been executed directly in consequence of her Catholic faith. He also affirmed that she had received the Holy Sacrament the same night, by virtue of the dispensation she had from his Holiness to have it always with her. He did not say she had a priest by her side, to avoid the danger such a man might run, as he and the rest of the servants were still in the power of the queen of England. I understood she did have a priest with her in the guise of a valet de chambre. He also praised the house of Guise as the defenders of the Catholic faith, and said they were the religious Scipios of France. I have published your Majesty's rights to the crown of England through your adherents here, whom I have assured it will be to their advantage, as it will restrain the queen of England and prevent her from rushing to extremes. It will, doubtless, do so, for in the harangue which Belièvre presented to her in writing he uses it as his strongest argument. —Paris, 26th March 1587.

26 Mar. **47. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.**

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 81.

Robert Bruce has come to me to say that he was going to see Muzio (the duke of Guise) to ask him, at all events, to write something to Scotland as occasion now offered; and I have told him to write to the Scottish lords in the sense contained in your Majesty's dispatch of 28th January, in order to keep them in hand and prevent them taking premature action, or losing courage. I told him also to inform Muzio, so that he might write to the same effect. The execution of the queen of Scotland makes it more necessary than ever that they should be encouraged to bring the country to submission to the faith. Robert Bruce assures me that the three lords† were so determined about this, that before he left they discussed it with him many times, and said that if the queen of Scotland died, and her son refused to be converted, they would be

* Several scurrilous examples are in these packets.

† Huntly, Hamilton, and Morton.

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the first to upset him, as their intention was, if possible, to bring both King and country to the faith, which they thought was only possible with the aid of your Majesty. As they felt sure of obtaining this, sooner or later, they would do their best to hold out until the time came. On Bruce mentioning to me that there was a great lack of grain in Scotland I took the opportunity of saying, that even if affairs in Flanders allowed your Majesty to send the desired contingent of men at once (which, however, could not be got together in a day) this dearth of grain in Scotland would render further delay necessary. In addition to this I said it was desirable to see what position the king of Scotland would assume towards England consequent on his mother's death. Bruce was convinced by these arguments and will convey them to Muzio.

Bruce's last letters report that the lords of the English faction have publicly advocated a breach with England if the Queen laid hands on the King's mother; but they were secretly dealing with the ministers of the towns of Edinburgh, Dundee, and St. John's,* which are the most important places in the country, to get them to refuse to assist the King if he breaks with the queen of England, and they had done so. This had much grieved the King, and the Catholic lords, when they heard of it, had assured him that they would support him, and the earl of Morton alone had offered him 10,000 men to take him as far as London; but they told him he must give them liberty of conscience and the free exercise of the Catholic religion. This the King had secretly promised them in case of his breaking with England, or of the Catholics being strong strong enough to overcome the English faction in Scotland. They were delighted with the latter point. I thought best not to open out to them about dissembling with the queen of England, as there is no necessity for this unless they are forced by circumstances. I have therefore written to the duke of Parma that this point is at present impracticable, as the death of the queen of Scotland will of course make the queen of England doubly suspicious of these Catholics. They desire that when your Majesty resolves to help them, they should be informed thereof by the duke of Guise or myself, as it was better they thought for Bruce to stay here for the purpose of going and telling them when the time had arrived for them to make ready,†

The new confidant wishes to have an interview with me, and as soon as a certain person leaves his house I will give him the 2,000 crowns which your Majesty has been pleased to grant him.‡ I have also thanked the third party.§

Raleigh would not let his nephew go about the release of Pedro Sarmiento, in order to avoid arousing the suspicions of the Queen to a greater extent than his enemies have already done for allowing him to leave England at all. I told him as well as I could what should be whispered to his uncle, but I am afraid he will not be

* Perth.

† In the King's hand. "Did he tell them more than was said?"

‡ The new confidant was the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford, and the "certain person" was Waad, the special envoy.

§ Charles Arundell.

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able to come back hither very soon, in consequence of *these* detentions.*

I gave a passport for the captain of Brille† to go with another captain to see the duke of Parma, so that no more time should be lost than has already been through the closing of the English ports. They had to stay in England much longer than was expected. They say the enterprise (*i.e.*, the betrayal of Brille) becomes easier every day in consequence of the growing discontent of the people with the English . . . . .

The King (of France) has written orders to his ambassador in Rome to ask the Pope in his name to use his influence (*i.e.*, that of his Holiness) to induce your Majesty to join with him (the Pope) and the other Christian princes for the English enterprise. I have informed the count de Olivares of this, but seeing his (the king of France's) lukewarmness in extirpating heresy in this country, it may be concluded that the object is to lull Catholics here and gain time, whilst preventing your Majesty from attempting anything in England in the meanwhile. He has also sent M. de Frejus, the brother of Cardinal Rambouillet to Rome, and this is to be one of the principal points of his mission.

I hear from a good source that Secretary Villeroy is making great efforts to ascertain when Waad, the queen of England's envoy, is to depart, the object being to frighten him, as the King is much displeased with his conduct.—Paris, 26th March 1587.

28 March. **48.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1266. 82.

The valet de chambre sent by their King to the queen of England has returned, and says that the ambassador was free. The Queen would not receive him (the valet) until after the execution of the queen of Scotland. The queen of England signified to him her great desire to be friendly with France, and the valet is publishing this here. As ships now do not venture to go from one country to the other without a special passport assuring them against arrest we get letters very rarely.

An Italian merchant, well known to me as a trustworthy man, who left London on the 11th, tells me that the merchantships they are equipping reach the number of 15; the largest being of about 200 tons burden, and most of the rest 120 to 150 tons. They will carry about 800 seamen and no soldiers, and are victualled for four months. The merchant saw eight out of the 15 ships drop down the river to Gravesend, ready to sail, and they were to be joined by the others which were being got ready with furious haste. With fine weather they will all be ready to sail by the middle of next month.

The merchants pressed the Queen to let them have three or four of her ships to go with them, but no decision had been arrived at on

* In the King's hand. "It will be necessary to take steps here to get Pedro "Sarmiento released. I can see that the affair is in a bad way there."

† Captain Vibrant Birnstra, who had offered to betray the place. In the Lansdowne MSS., 66 and 69, will be found petitions from the man to Elizabeth, setting forth his great services to the Protestant cause and claiming rewards.

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that point, although Lord Admiral Howard had gone personally to Rochester to hasten the sailing of eight of the Queen's ships, of which the greater number were to guard the channel against the captures being made there by the armed vessels from Dunkirk. No Commander had yet been appointed to this fleet, but Drake was in such bad odour with seamen generally, owing to his treatment of them after his last voyage, that it was not thought that he would go with this expedition, which the merchants say is bound for the coast of Brazil.

Don Antonio was very dissatisfied, and Dr. Lopez, who is a great friend of my informant's, told him on the day he left, the 11th, that Don Antonio was in despair of the Queen's giving him help to undertake any enterprise himself, and was almost starving. I hear the same from other quarters, and Sampson's advices confirm the truth of it. I cannot hear of any armed ships being ready in Holland to join this English expedition.

The queen of England had Secretary Davison arrested for having issued the warrant for the execution of the queen of Scotland, and Parliament was pressing her to release him, having presented a petition signed by all the members, saying they would not vote any of the supplies requested until he was liberated. In view of this the Queen ordered that Davison, although still under arrest, should have more freedom than before. Cecil, the lord-treasurer, said publicly that he was opposed to the execution, and on this and all other points feeling was running very high in the Council, Cecil and Leicester being open opponents. The Queen had ordered the hasty levy of men for Ireland, in the fear that your Majesty may send thither Colonel Stanley, who surrendered Deventer, and is very popular in Ireland.

After the execution of the queen of Scotland the queen of England sent a gentleman named Knollys to inform the king of Scotland of what had happened. When the King heard that he was at Berwick, requesting a passport, he sent him word to return, as he would not see him.—Paris, 26th March 1587.

26 March. **49.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 83.

Complains bitterly that the landlord of the house he occupies is turning him out, and after having arranged to take three other houses in succession, the landlords, when they learnt that he was to be the tenant, refused in each case to let their houses to a Spanish ambassador for fear the King might think they belonged to the League. Has complained to the King (of France), and begged to be allowed to obtain a lodging somewhere on payment, but nothing is done. He has received peremptory notice to leave his house in a week, and will soon be roofless unless something be done. It is a matter which touches the dignity of the King (of Spain).

Encloses another petition from Dr. Nicholas Wendon in case a former one was lost. He is a great jurisconsult, and of the greatest service in matter relating to limits and abbacies. Any other lawyer the writer employed would have to be paid much more than the pension prayed for by Dr. Wendon, who has sacrificed everything—

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home, a honourable and high position in his own country—all for the Catholic religion, and is quite penniless. Prays Idiaquez earnestly to move the King to grant Wendon's petition. Encloses verses on Queen Elizabeth.—Paris, 26th March 1587.

26 March. **50.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 80.

(In a long account of a secret interview between the writer and the duke de Mayenne on behalf of his brother, the duke de Guise, to discuss the steps to be adopted and arguments used to prevent the King and Queen-mother from coming to terms with the Huguenots, the following passages appear):—

"He had an extremely good answer for the King on the last "point, of England. He would endeavour to lull them to sleep "about it, by saying that the conversion of the country was "naturally desired for common humanity's sake, and he and his "brother were especially moved thereto by a desire to avenge the "cruelty exercised upon their near kinswoman, the queen of "Scotland." The affair is thus presented as a private one concerning the blood relatives of the queen of Scotland, whilst the Catholic cause and the extirpation of heresy here (in France), to which they (the Guises) were pledged, was presented as a sacred duty to God, which of course would come before the satisfaction of a private vengeance. They could not hope to prosper in the latter if they postponed the former for it, and consequently they must forget their private wrong until the greater one was redressed, in which, moreover, their personal interests also were great, because the security of the persons, families, and property depended upon there being no heretics in this country. They had a proof of this in what the Englishwoman had done to their cousin, and they must expect the same fate if a heretic succeeded to the crown of France.

I also warned him (Mayenne) that, if this King tried to persuade him that it would be good to assist the king of Scotland in his English claims, on the promise of his conversion and marriage with a daughter of the house of Lorraine, how disadvantageous it would be to listen to such an idea unless the king of Scotland was entirely converted, because it would give this King an opportunity of saying that the reason they had taken up arms, ostensibly to prevent a heretic from succeeding to the French Crown, was simply a personal one, since they, moved by a similar ambition, were ready enough to help another heretic to the crown of England. I was thus able to keep him from deviating from the devotion they profess to your Majesty, and from opposing your Majesty's right to the English crown. My new confidant assures me that the queen of England has already disbursed the 100,000 crowns through the person whose name I mentioned in the general letter, from whom the intelligence comes. He also confirms the equipping of the merchantmen I speak of in the English letter.—Paris, 26th March 1587.

March 26. **51.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 84.

I see by your letter of 28th January what you say about the Portuguese (*i.e.*, Antonio de Vega). When things are not seriously to be taken up I do not care to trouble about them, but I will

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repeat to you what Montesinos told me, namely, that Antonio de Vega wished to gain over Dr. Lopez to purge the friend (as he is in the habit of doing every fortnight) with Indian-acacia (canafistola), but he had not ventured to speak plainly to him about it, but only by hints. I chatted with him (Montesinos) about the matter, in order to sound him as to whether any of them there (in England) would have the courage to do it, either by this means or any other; but I could get nothing solid to go upon. He mentioned that when His Majesty wished to have all of Don Antonio's servants poisoned, it could be done by sending some stuff to his brother, who would put it into the beer when they were bringing it up for dinner. As they all partook of the beer they would all be got rid of. I asked him whether the friend (*i.e.*, Don Antonio) would have any of it. He replied no, as his drink was kept separate and it would be difficult to administer anything to him in it. You may be sure that from the moment I heard that they began to bargain about payment, and knew that no scruples of conscience stood in the way, I lost no time in setting about getting the business done. Two Englishmen are busy in the matter now, and they say that as Don Antonio frequently visits a countess who lives near the village where he is they will find some opportunity of giving him a mouthful. I am also expecting another Englishman, who is a man of resolution and has been summoned for me by Charles Arundell. I will ask him whether he is willing to join two other men in upsetting Don Antonio on one of his visits to Court, either in a coach or by boat, and then escape to London or its neighbourhood, where I will find safe hiding-places for them.

A cousin of the captain from Brille, who is a favourite of Cecil's, wrote me a letter of credence for the captain, who said that if he were sure of getting recompense, either for himself or his heirs, he would undertake to do it. The countersign which was to indicate that the captain had conveyed the message, and that a reward would be given when the deed was done, was to be simply my signature. I replied that I had heard his cousin and would give him the reply verbally. You may judge by this that I am not so scrupulous in the matter as to need further spurring; but in order to avoid shouting before any good is done, I have not written to you about it, as the people who treat of the matter always want money to begin with, and it is easy for them afterwards to make excuses.—Paris, 26th March 1587.

27 March. Estado, 949.

52. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

On the 24th instant arrived here the news of the death of the queen of Scotland, and on the same day I saw Carrafa with the object of trying to get better terms with regard to the cash and advance-subsidy, and to forward Allen's promotion. I tried to persuade him to go to the Pope, and say from me that I condoled with him on the event, about which in your Majesty's name I had nothing to say, but in my own capacity, as a zealous follower of his Holiness, I wished to remind him of four points (not only two, as they would have liked), without trying to force them upon him

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were sincere it would not cure the evil in the case of nations which had gone so far astray; and I warned him, in case the Pope should mention it, but not otherwise, that your Majesty was not in favour of it, as you were fully alive to the universal injury that had been caused to the church and your own interests by the false conversion of the present queen of England, who had succeeded and been crowned as a Catholic, and that your Majesty had consequently never countenanced, or consented to undertake this enterprise, until you had been assured in effect by the Pope that he would deprive the king of Scotland, and invest the Crown of England in the person to be nominated by your Majesty. I said this was quite reasonable, because as your Majesty was spending so much you wished affairs to be so settled that, so far as human effort could prevent it, religion should not again be ruined there; this being your principal motive, and also that you should not be troubled again with such evil neighbours. I then went on to say that I was not sure now whether your Majesty would be satisfied with this, and reminded him of what he had said to me some time ago with respect to the queen of Scotland's will, and the remarks he had made respecting your Majesty's right. I affirmed that it was absolutely clear and undoubted, and urged it verbally as strongly as possible, refusing, however, to show him the copy of the queen of Scotland's letter to Don Bernardino (de Mendoza), in order that he might not see that I had been forewarned about the matter. I proceeded by saying that, notwithstanding all this, your Majesty's piety and religious zeal were so great, that much might be expected of them if you were allowed to exercise them. There were many reasons which might be employed to influence you, such as the advisability, in the interests of religion, that the King (of England) should be resident there, and I said this was the line the Pope had better take if he had anything in view; and not the other, which would be more worthy of a profane and impious man than a Pope.

During the conversation that accompanied all this, Carrafa was quite agreed as to the exclusion of the king of Scotland, and that the Pope could not refuse it, by the terms of the document of 24th February (1586) which we consulted, it being in his possession. He remained in the hope (which was sufficient) that your Majesty would be persuadable to allow a separate King there (in England), but he was not so sanguine that your Majesty need hesitate to stand out before you concede what he has hitherto signified would satisfy them on this point, and something further that I have thought would be advisable. In speaking of your Majesty's zeal for religion, upon which I placed particular stress, he added some arguments showing the extreme difficulty your Majesty would have in keeping the country to the faith by any other means than that which they desire (*i.e.*, the maintenance of James or some other Catholic resident King), to which I replied that, although I did not admit as much, yet they were appropriate for inducing the Pope to adopt this course of persuading your Majesty, and to abandon the other (*i.e.*, of the conversion of James).

Carrafa asked me to show him what documents I had proving your Majesty's claims, as he wished to be enlightened on the subject,

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which had only recently been brought forward. I said that not more than a year ago the light had come from the country itself by way of Portugal, which took his fancy much, and he was very agreeable to everything. We agreed that he should not say anything to the Pope about these new negotiations, for fear of his want of secrecy; and if his Holiness himself began it, he should be advised not to stir up the question until your Majesty had first broached it. He was to be kept firmly to this, and time would show what would be the best course to take subsequently.

I am satisfied so far, seeing the state of feeling here and the character of the Pope, that I have avoided discussing the question of the succession with him, in accordance with your Majesty's orders, and also that I have warned Carrafa to the effect I have related. When I am obliged to take action in your Majesty's name without your orders, or to refrain from following instructions, I am always so careful that, as your Majesty knows my zeal in your service, and that my motive is good, you will approve of my action, however it may turn out. My only fear is that out of your excessive kindness your Majesty may sometimes fail to reprehend me; not in respect of the success that may be attained, because that is in the hands of God, but in respect of my wrong or mistaken courses. As my aim is only to serve your Majesty successfully, all due admonition tending thereby would be esteemed by me as the greatest favour.

Whenever I may be addressed on this question of the succession I propose to say, that I have no instructions from your Majesty yet to write about the matter.

Allen and Melino have conferred with me as to how they are to behave, as, in the doubt with regard to what they should reply and write about the death (of the queen of Scots), they had refrained from replying to the letters they had received. It was decided that they were to say to anyone here who might speak to them about the matter, that it was no concern of theirs, that their great object was the conversion of the country, and they did not trouble themselves about anything beyond that. If God bestows that mercy upon them they will praise Him for it. They are not to go any further than this. The English Catholics, who in their despair at the death of the queen of Scots, may write to them on the subject, should, it is thought, be told to rest all their hopes upon your Majesty, from whom alone can the conversion of the country be expected.

What Don Bernardino de Mendoza wrote to your Majesty, about the Venetian ambassador in France being the man who was representing to the Pope the advisability of a reconciliation with Vendome,* fully confirms the suspicion I conveyed to your Majesty that these Venetians were the most anxious of any of the Pope's councillors to urge him to prefer these false conveniences of state to all other considerations, and this, with the other reasons I gave, made me doubtful of the Pope in the matter of the succession.

Allen and Melino still insist on the need for arranging things in Scotland so that the Queen (of England) shall be kept uneasy, or at

* Henry of Navarre, who was duke of Vendome on his father's side.

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all events that the Scots shall be prevented from joining her when the enterprise is effected. They represent that Claud Hamilton, the Earl of Huntly, and Morton are still disposed to bind themselves, for a small sum of money, as they offered to do last year, through the rector of the English College here, to deliver the King into your Majesty's hands in Spain. I have not spoken of the idea that it would be advisable to give the crown to Claud Hamilton, who is the legitimate heir to it, failing the King and two heretic brothers of Hamilton's. Although I have not spoken clearly to them about it, I understand that the two others I mention, who are very great personages, and all other Catholics in the country, would very willingly accept him as King. This would be an advantage as it would do away with all fear on that side, and, indeed, help would most likely be forthcoming in their own interests. The same blow that deprived the king of Scotland of his crown would assure the deprivation also of the Crown of England, as its possessor might be disturbed at any moment on the side of Scotland, and the realm given to a more fitting person. This design would be most easily carried out at the present time, things being in such an unsettled condition, and the encouragement which would be felt by Claud Hamilton and his friends, when they saw that your Majesty was not seeking Scotland for yourself, would lead to the impression that you would not have claimed England unless you had a just right to it. The only thing against this is that probably the duke of Guise would be offended at it, as he will no doubt have heard something of it when it was mooted last year.

Carrafa has told me that a nephew of Cardinal de la Torre, a Venetian, who has just come back from taking the hat to Lignamont, says that no doubt exists in France that your Majesty will undertake the English enterprise this year, and they are equally sure that France cannot stand in the way of its success, seeing the recent disturbances in Paris and Lyons.—Rome, 27th March 1587.

30 March. **53.** WILLIAM ALLEN to the KING.

Estado, 949. Latin.

The death of the queen of Scots makes them redouble their entreaties that he will take pity upon them and help them, punishing the impious shedders of the innocent blood of a crowned Queen and violators of the rights of nations.

Urges him to assert his just claims as next heir in blood, heretics being disqualified to succeed, and denounces the Queen (of England) in violent language as an impious traitress and usurper. Begs the King to come to the aid of the afflicted Christians and free the Church of Christ.—Rome, 30th March 1587.

30 March. **54.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 949.

With reference to the message which Cardinal Carrafa had agreed to convey to the Pope from me, his Holiness will not consent to celebrate the exequies for the queen of Scotland, being in doubt as to whether she died a good Catholic, as she recommended her son to the queen of England. He also refuses to grant a jubilee until the enterprise is ready. He will only promise to effect the elevation

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of Allen in due time. I cannot understand what course the Pope will adopt respecting the succession, and it will be for your Majesty to decide whether the enterprise is to proceed with such a point unsettled.—Rome, 30th March 1587.

Estado, 949. **55.** Document headed "INSTRUCTIONS given to Dr. ALLEN as to the Answers he is to give to his Holiness' Questions."

He is to banish his Holiness' suspicions, which he has conceived from evil reports, that the queen of Scotland did not die a very good Catholic; he having been told that she recommended her son very warmly to maintain his friendship and dependence upon the queen of England. The statement is entirely false, and there are many reasons for presuming that she died, not a Catholic alone, but a holy martyr.

2. He is to take a good opportunity to convey to the Pope the common report, on good foundation, to the effect that the efforts made by the king of France to save the life of the queen of Scotland, were merely feigned, or else very lukewarm, and the queen of England had an understanding with the king of France.

3. That the queen of Scotland quite recognised the obstinacy of her son in his heresy, and entertained but small hope of his conversion; and it is more doubtful now than ever, notwithstanding all that may be said to the contrary.

4. If his Holiness, speaking of the enterprise, should say that help may be expected from the king of France, or that the latter would, at all events, not obstruct it, Allen will tell him that his Holiness should on no account put any trust in Frenchmen, seeing the evident agreement that exists between them and the queen of England, of which so many indications are seen, especially the recent death of the queen of Scotland; and also by reason of the French emulation with his Holiness, and the suspicion which will be engendered in the English Catholics, besides the natural and ancient enmity between the two countries.

5. If his Holiness touches on the question of the succession, Allen will say that Catholics have very frequently raised this point, in case of the death of the queen of Scotland, they having become quite convinced of the hopelessness of the conversion of her son, but they have avoided all disputes about it, trusting in God's providence and the paternal care of his Holiness. The goodwill your Majesty has always shown them by risking so much for the conversion of their country also aids them in the belief that care will be taken, after the enterprise is effected, to adopt the best course for preventing the country from again falling into the hands of the heretics, this being the principal object of the Catholics.

6. If it be necessary to enter into particulars, the general opinion of Catholics for some time past has been that the succession of right belongs to his Majesty through the Portuguese line, as well as through that of Castile, although they have not heard that his Majesty has expressed any such idea himself. The Catholics, however, have always held that opinion in view, in case of the death of the queen of Scotland, but have considered it the wisest course to

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say nothing about it; because although, on the one hand it might have the effect of encouraging his Majesty to undertake the enterprise with greater warmth, on the other hand it would arouse the opposition of his rivals, who might unite for the purpose of aiding the heretics and frustrating it. The heretics have their eyes fixed on the king of Scotland, the earl of Huntingdon, and the king of Denmark, who are so powerful that, if they are forewarned, they may seize the Crown, in which case they would be much more difficult to oust than the Queen.

7. It is for every reason most desirable that this point should not be debated until, with God's help, the enterprise shall have been effected; and there is no doubt in their minds (*i.e.*, the English Catholics) that his Holiness and his Majesty will then easily come to an understanding.

8. If his Holiness mentions Scotland, Allen must tell him that it will be expedient for the good of Christianity, as the King is a heretic, that some decision should be arrived at between his Holiness and his Majesty for the reformation of that realm, either at the same time as the English enterprise is effected or afterwards.

9. If he asks about the abbacy of St. Lawrence of Capua, Allen will say that he has sent powers to take possession of it; and that he fully recognises how much the Pope has influenced his Majesty to grant him this favour*—Rome, March 1587.

March 31. **56.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 111.

You did well to speak to the king (of France) about Pedro Sarmiento's imprisonment. I hope the steps you took for the two Englishmen to go and speak to the prince of Bearn about it have been successful. I approve of your having helped them with the 100 crowns you gave them. L'Onglé (the French ambassador in Madrid) has said here that they would let him (Sarmiento) go for 2,000 crowns, but until we get news from you we do not believe this.

It will be well to try and preserve the man who sent the two Englishmen if possible, and confirm him in the intention he expresses to impede the English armaments.† But, as for his sending for sale at Lisbon the two ships he mentions, that is out of the question; in the first place, to avoid his being looked upon with suspicion in his own country, in consequence of his being well treated whilst all his countrymen are persecuted; and secondly, to guard ourselves against the coming of the ships under this pretext being a feint or trick upon us—which is far from being improbable—but you need only mention the first reason to him, and so stop their being sent.

It was easy to see that the mutual seizures of French and English ships would go no further than show. Perhaps even the charges they brought against Chateauneuf were largely invented for the purpose of enabling them to do what they have done to the queen of Scotland.

* This abbacy had just been granted by Philip to Allen.
† Sir Walter Raleigh.

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It is most important for you to discover the truth and particulars with regard to the English fleet, which you say is to sail with 12,000 men, the time it is expected to sail, and its destination. If you cannot discover this, find out the sort of men that are going, their numbers and nationality, whether there are any foreigners or are all Englishmen, whether the men from Holland will be sent in the fleet, the length of time for which the latter is victualled, and all other particulars, especially the time of sailing. Send by express anything of importance.—San Lorenzo, 31st March 1587.

March 31. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 113.

57. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I have been deeply hurt by the death of the queen of Scotland, of which I learn by yours of 28th February. It is very fine for the queen of England now to want to give out that it was done without her wish, the contrary being so clearly the case. It will be well to convey to the Scots ambassador my sorrow at the event, and that I would send to condole with his King, and again offer him my friendship and the goodwill I always bore to his mother, only that I wish to avoid arousing suspicions which might harm him with his enemies. In order not to bring this trouble to him, I have availed myself of his (the ambassador's) mediation, and request him to write to the King telling him how pained I have been at the event and saying that, although I hope that God will not fail to punish such an outrage, yet as they who committed it are capable of trying to bring other evils upon the King, as to the extent of their ability they have hitherto done, I wish him to know that in case of need he will receive from me all the aid he may require. You can then, as if of your own action, lead the ambassador to press upon them (the Scots) how much stronger and more effectual a support I should be than the king of France, using such arguments as will occur to you. You will arouse his suspicions of England and point out how small is the hope that they (the Scots) can extricate themselves by means of the French. Above all do not neglect the most important point of all in the interests of our Lord; namely, that if the king will become a Catholic he will not only have God's help, but he shall also receive from me all the aid and support he may desire.

You will open the matter thus, and afterwards proceed in the same course, reporting everything to me.

When you think sufficient time has elapsed for the news to have become known here, without the means by which it reached you being suspected, you will, in my name, condole with the king of France; and say I have been so deeply grieved because the queen of Scotland was so fervent a Catholic and a close connection of his, as well as because of the great and unexampled injustice of thus proceeding towards a sovereign princess not subject to anyone but God. You will stop at this and go no further from which he (the king of France) may draw any inference. Let me know what he says, and everything you can learn. It occurs to me that it will be well to inform the Scots ambassador of what is done; gain him over, and become very confidential with him.

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You will also take fitting steps to condole with Muzio (the duke of Guise).

As this event may change the aspect of Scotch affairs, and the three Catholic earls may be unable to maintain their dissimulation, I have decided to accede to their request for the money, and will give them the 150,000 crowns three or four months after they have taken up arms and liberated their King; this being what they requested of me, on the understanding that they would be able to effect their intentions and obtain the necessary funds from their estates if I would undertake to reimburse them subsequently to the extent named. You may inform Robert Bruce of this in my name, in case they should be able to carry out their plan without the 6,000 foreign foot soldiers, which cannot at present be provided for them. As the money will have to be taken from the sums provided for Flanders, it will be well to consult the duke of Parma as to the best time for the earls to rise, unless they should be forced to anticipate it, on which point and all others Bruce must be well posted. Muzio, also, through whom the affair was proposed to us last year, should be informed. If you understand that Bruce should go and speak to his King, and will have an opportunity of conveying to him a message from you, you may, as if of your own motion, say the same to him as to the ambassador, that he may repeat it to the King. To the three earls he will say that if they desire to win and maintain the positions to which they aspire, they being Catholics, they should use every effort to convert the King, that being the course which you think will ensure them my support to such an extent that no one shall be able to overturn them. You will not lose sight of the offer they made to give me a port in Scotland, in case we should want to attack England on that side. You will, with all secresy, inform yourself of its capabilities and accommodation, and report all to me. The man who gave you the news of the queen of Scotland's death managed it well,* and as he has now begun to open out with you, and you have my instructions to that effect, you will make much of him, and say what is fitting as regards his new offer. When this man who is expected from England comes, give me the fullest advices about armaments.—San Lorenzo, 31 March 1587.

31 March. Estado, 949.

58. The KING to COUNT DE OLIVARES.

I am anxiously awaiting a reply to my despatch of 11th February respecting the principal matter, and until I receive it I have nothing to reply to that you have recently written on the subject. I can only say that I am extremely grieved at the death of the queen of Scotland, which is much to be regretted, as she was so good a Catholic, and would have been so appropriate an instrument for converting those countries to our Holy Catholic faith. Since, however, God has ordained otherwise in His inscrutable judgment, He will provide in other ways for the success of His cause. So far as can be seen or understood, this new event makes more necessary

* Sir Edward Stafford.

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than ever that which the above-mentioned despatch instructed you to ask of his Holiness. You may now tell him from me how much I have been pained, and that I am desirous of pushing the enterprise on as quickly as my circumstances* will allow. You will, in speaking of this, assume that the greater or less speed in the execution will depend upon having plenty of money, and so lead on, to his own contribution, assuring him of my goodwill. The object of this step is to anticipate any admonition from the Pope urging me to hurry the enterprise when he hears of the death of the queen of Scotland, and to show him that I have no need for persuasion in the matter, as I am already eager for it. You must convey this, however, without appearing to force it or to belittle what the Pope has already promised, and we have accepted to be availed of when the opportunity is favourable. The former arrangement must rather be confirmed than complained of, but the Pope must be made to understand that if he wishes to hurry matters, the best way would be for him to advance me the loan I have mentioned.

Now that you know my intentions you can take the course you find most convenient, so long as you do not depart from the object, and you will act through Allen and Robert whenever you think it will be better to do so.—San Lorenzo, 31st March 1587.

April. **59.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 16.

Don Antonio is still in England, in the same need as before, and although he said he was going with Drake in his fleet, his servants saw no signs of his going when the report was written.

The queen of England had sent one of her Councillors to Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, to say that the affairs she had had in hand, and her anger at the death of the queen of Scotland had prevented her from receiving him, but that when he wished for an audience she would be pleased to see him. The ambassador had replied that he had sought an audience in order the further to justify himself, but as he had been so often refused and had sent an account of it to his master, he would not request audience again until he received instructions from the King. The Council here (*i.e.*, in France) has approved of this answer.

The Councillor who went to take the message to Chateauneuf gave him to understand that the Queen was so anxious to maintain her friendship with France that she might even liberate Trapes, the ambassador's gentlemen who was imprisoned in the Tower of London. When the letter was read to the King (of France), at this point he exclaimed "She will have to do so, for she has no right to lay "hands on my subjects. If Trapes has offended I will punish "him."

Note.—The above report is accompanied by a letter asking the King to pay Sampsom more than the 28 crowns a month he receives, as it is impossible for him to live in Paris for that sum.

* The King has added a note to the draft in his own hand, saying "It is here you use "the word 'my.' It will be better for you to put 'the,' so that it may not appear that it "is *my affairs* which delay the business."

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He is here against his will and his reports from London are valuable.

11 April **60.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 114. [EXTRACT.]

What you say with regard to my rights to the Throne of England, in consequence of the death of the queen of Scotland, is correct and well set forth, but it will be best that you should not speak of the matter at present or suggest any such intention, in order not to awaken the evil action which would be exerted in all parts from France if they thought I was going to claim the succession, as they would do if you talked much about it. The only thing that should be done is for the archbishop of Nazareth, prompted by his zeal for religion, to write to Rome pointing out the evils that certainly would result if a heretic succeeded to the throne, and saying that, as the king of Scotland is a heretic, it would be well to deprive him. He might convey this to the Pope but should go no further. If you can get him to do this it will be well, but abstain from all other action until further orders, which shall be sent to you in due time. In the meanwhile keep me well informed of all you hear said about it in France, England, and Scotland, and also how Muzio takes it. You will be very careful how you speak to him about it, and, indeed, to anyone, as your prudence will dictate to you.

The 8,000 crowns which were not sent to the queen of Scotland and are now offered to be restored to me, may be disposed of as follows:—The 4,000 which were handed to her treasurer and have to be recovered from her estate I will grant to the archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador, to whom you may say that I make him a present of the money. The 4,000 still in hand you will receive and apply 1,000 at present to the objects required by those who are secretly preaching our holy faith in Scotland, the other 3,000 being employed in paying the English pensions. As it is on many accounts important that you should have at hand so good an instrument as the archbishop of Glasgow, you will use every effort to get him to remain in Paris, arranging through Muzio for the king of Scotland to order him to stay there, if not as ambassador, then as one of his late mother's servants who is well versed in past affairs. Or he himself might plead his own affairs for staying, or his desire to avoid the heresy so rife in his own country. You will avail yourself of his aid whenever necessary, and if you think it will be better you may avoid telling him about the 4,000 crowns all at once, but give him the money by instalments as it is recovered from the late Queen's revenue. I leave it to you to do as you think best.—San Lorenzo, 4th April 1587.

5 April. **61.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 91. By letters from England dated 13th ultimo, I learn that the Queen, seeing but small hopes that the Hollanders would help with the 30 ships they promised, had ordered the number of English vessels to be increased beyond the 15 merchantmen which I

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reported were being prepared. She will add four ships of her own and some of the best merchantships she can get. They have chosen the galleon "Butrigul"*, a ship of 400 tons which I know well, as having fought in Brazil with some of your Majesty's vessels when I was in England, and came back much damaged. She carries 40 iron pieces and three or four of bronze. Another vessel is the "Royal Merchant" of 250 tons, armed with 26 or 30 iron, and some bronze, pieces. The "Primrose" of 200 tons, also armed with iron pieces; and two other ships of 150 tons each, similarly armed. These, with the other additions, will increase the number of vessels to 24. They have ordered 2,500 bullocks to be slaughtered and the meat salted to provision the fleet, in which it was intended to send 2,500 men, this proportion of a bullock per man being the usual victualling on board of English ships for a voyage of over four months.

These 24 ships were in the Thames above Gravesend, ready to sail, the guns all on board but no stores or men, the crews not having been raised yet. It will take at least 18 days to barrel the salt meat. It was understood that the four of her own ships which the Queen would contribute were the "Philip-Mary," of 700 tons, the "Elizabeth Fortune," 600 tons, the "Dreadnought," 400 tons, and the "Swiftsure," 400 tons. These four ships are all armed with bronze pieces. The Queen had not, however, decided to send out this fleet pending the return of Lord Buckhurst from Holland, with a statement as to the position of the rebels. She also wishes to see what will come of these seizures in France and England.

A person who left London on the 15th ultimo reports that no orders had been given for manning or victualling the ships, but he had seen the four Queen's ships above-mentioned enter the Thames from Rochester ready for sea, with the "Triumph," the "White Bear" and the "Elizabeth Jonas," which are the three largest ships the Queen has. They had been hauled out of their usual berths at Rochester into the Thames.

The supplies had been granted by Parliament with the following additions. Laymen are to pay double the ordinary amount, and the ministers, whom they call ecclesiastics, are to pay 12 per cent., instead of 8, as usual. In addition to this they have voted a special grant called a "benevolence" in consideration of the war with your Majesty. All this money has to be paid within two years, and although no person in England is privileged or exempt, the ordinary vote in each Parliament does not exceed 140,000 or 150,000 crowns; so that even if the present amount is doubled it will only reach 300,000, and perhaps another 40,000 for the benevolence.

Waad is still here, in the ambassador's house, and although he has pressed several times for his passport, the King does not decide to give it to him. I understand that Walsingham sent to tell Chateauneuf that they had better be careful how they treated Waad, because the same treatment should be meted out to him (Chateauneuf). The latter replied that Waad was not of sufficient rank for him (Chateauneuf) to be made responsible for his treatment. The English ambassador here (in France) would be his security.

* This should be the galleon Ughtred.

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I also understand that the Queen says she will not release Trapes, the French gentleman she arrested, or Nao, the queen of Scotland's secretary, unless this King delivers Morgan to her. He is the servant of the queen of Scotland whom this King has kept in the Bastile for the last two years.

Letters from Scotland, dated 21st ultimo, confirm the earl of Morton's raid into England. The king of Scotland had summoned his Parliament and nobility, and had intimated to them his desire to be avenged on the queen of England for her cruelty to his mother. He did not wish, however, that the attempt to satisfy his vengeance without sufficient resources should bring fresh trouble upon him, and for this reason, the strength of both parties being known, it would be necessary for him to seek the help of other Princes. He asked the Parliament to advise him as to the best means to obtain this. They replied that it would be well for ambassadors to be sent to your Majesty and the kings of France and Denmark, from whom he might request aid with some hope of obtaining it. The King approved of the advice and directed that fitting persons should be chosen for the missions. Don Antonio's need was daily increasing—Paris, 5th April 1587.

5 April. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 90.

62. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACTS.]

I have just heard from a good quarter that a Scots merchant, who says he is the king of Scotland's banker, is in Spain with 12 well fitted English boats freighted with merchandise from there (*i.e.*, England), the mariners also being English. It would be well for your Majesty to send orders to the ports to have this merchant arrested. His name is Hunter* . . . .

The queen of England's secretary writes to the new confidant, telling him to be careful what reports he sends from here; as his recent intelligence with regard to the grief of the King and nobles here for the death of the queen of Scotland has prevented the Queen from carrying into effect certain important resolutions she had adopted very beneficial to the kingdom. The man in his house (Waad) has also received a letter dated 13th ultimo, in the confidant's cipher, saying that the Queen had not decided anything about sending out the fleet, as the intelligence sent by her ambassador here had cooled her. The ships to be contributed by the Hollanders to the expedition were not ready, as had been expected. My former advices as to the number of ships which would form the expedition are confirmed from this and other quarters. The confidant promises to send me instant advice when he learns whether the business is really going forward or not . . . . .

* Hunter, who appears to have been a Scottish merchant settled in Lisbon, was subsequently kept in prison for a long period there as a spy, and favourer of heretics. References to his protracted trial will be found in this volume. That he was a spy is proved by a letter from him, giving an account of his imprisonment in Lisbon, and particulars of the armament proceeding there; which letter, signed only with a horn, will be found in Cotton Vespasian, CVIII., page 207. It is dated 10th February 1589, and is endorsed, apparently by Walsingham, "from Mr. Hunter of Lisbon."

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Count de Olivares writes that Cardinal Sanzio has asked him to speak to his Holiness about promoting Dr. Allen to the cardinalate so that Cardinal Sanzio may at the same time propose the name of the archbishop of Glasgow, who is so deserving and so desirable a person for the conversion of Scotland, which cause would be much aided by his elevation. I have written to the Count saying how intimate the Archbishop is with Muzio, and how strongly attached to your Majesty's service. So far as I can judge, I say, not only should no obstacles be thrown in the way of his elevation, but the Count should help to the best of his ability, although it may have to be done secretly. He will I am sure, be as favourable a Cardinal for your Majesty's interests as any, and will be a most useful minister in the affairs of Scotland and England.—Paris, 5th April 1587.

7 April. **63.** ADVICES from ROUEN.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 94.

A French merchant arrived yesterday from England who assures us that Captain Drake had left the Thames with 40 well-armed ships, five belonging to the Queen, of 800 or 900 tons each, and carrying 5,000 men. The merchant saw the fleet pass before Rye on the way to Falmouth, where they were to join 40 or 50 more ships, which were ready; so that the number would reach 100 sail. The rumour was that this fleet was going to encounter the Indian flotillas. We are astonished at the great diligence and secresy with which this fleet has been equipped, for up to the present not a word of it had reached us here. To further satisfy myself, I spoke personally to the merchant yesterday, and he assures me he saw the ships pass and had been on board of them. If this be true it is ground for great anxiety, as much damage may be done to the Indian flotillas.

9 April. **64.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 97.

[EXTRACT.]

The new confidant informs me that the English ambassador has seen Secretary Pinart to ascertain from him, as the queen of England's pensioner, the feeling of the King towards the Queen, in the matter of the queen of Scotland's death. Pinart replied that, although everyone advised him to break the alliance with his mistress, he did not believe the King would do so. He (Pinart) would exert himself in the matter in a way that should convince the Queen that what she had done for him had not been in vain. The friend of the new confidant also assures me that he told him in conversation over eight months ago, that he (the ambassador) had paid to Pinart, in one sum, from the Queen 3,000*l.*, which is equal to 10,000 sun-crowns. The ambassador has also remarked that there is a certain redhat in Rome very friendly to the queen of England. I am trying to discover his name for your Majesty's information, but I can hardly believe it.

I have written to count de Olivares saying that if the theologians raise no religious difficulty as to the archbishop of Glasgow's acceptance of the mission sent to him by the king of Scotland, it

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will be much more advantageous for your Majesty's interests that affairs should be in his hands rather than in those of any other person, as he is so devoted to your interests.*—Paris, 9th April 1589.

9 April. **65.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 98.

Fresher news than those contained in my last have arrived from England. I am informed by an Italian solidier, who had been prisoner in Holland and was exiled from there, passing through England on his way hither, that when he left London on the 23rd ultimo both the Queen's ships and the merchantmen were still in the Thames. According to this the enclosed news sent from Rouen seems not to be altogether true. The Frenchman does not say the day he left England and saw Drake's fleet pass; and it is incredible that the number of ships and men he mentions could have been raised and despatched in the time, especially in the face of the information given by the new confidant as to the vessels they had decided to send, and the condition of the victualling, as advised in my last. Still I have thought well to enclose the Rouen news, in case the report should reach your Majesty by some other channel and you may thus know the origin of it. If any ships passed the Channel on their way to Plymouth, the Frenchman of course would exaggerate their number as usual, to magnify the power of the queen of England, and they would probably be destined to guard that end of the Channel and strengthen the position in Ireland. If they went to join others in the port and sail in company, as they often do from there, and indicate an intention on the part of the Queen to send out the fleet, I shall learn all about it on the earliest opportunity from the Fleming I have there (Plymouth) on the watch, and from other quarters, and will instantly advise your Majesty. As the Queen-mother has brought back with her the few soldiers the King had against the Huguenots the latter are now unchecked, and I greatly fear for my despatches of 27th February. If they have escaped I am afraid they will be delayed. This is why I write so often by Bordeaux.

The French ambassador in England writes that the Queen has sent him word that, although personally she had good reasons for refusing to receive him, yet as he was a Minister of the king of France, she would do so when he pleased. He replied that when the Queen had impartial inquiry made she would find that he had only proceeded as an honourable gentleman should, and he had no intention of asking for audience until he was ordered to do so by his master, whom he would apprise of the message. I do not know what answer will be sent him, but I have just heard that M. de Belièvre and Secretary Pinart have gone to see the English ambassador, and I will try to learn their object for your Majesty's information. The English ambassador has not been received by the King.

* James VI. had sent to Beaton a renewal of his appointment as Scottish ambassador in France. The Archbishop had doubts as to the propriety of his representing a Protestant King and referred to the question to Rome.

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Letters from Scotland of 21st ultimo report that the King and Council have appointed the archbishop of Glasgow ambassador here for the purpose of asking this King for help. The King (of Scotland) said he was delighted that they had proposed the Archbishop for the post, as he considered him the fittest person, and his despatches might be sent off at once. He had also said that as the Archbishop was to be employed thus, he wished his archiepiscopal and patrimonial property to be restored to him. If this be done it will show that he (the King) is not so entirely subject to the ministers (*i.e.*, clergy) nor so much opposed to the Catholics. A Frenchman resident in Scotland sometimes writes to the King, and I understand that he informs him that the king of Scotland had said he would be glad if the Christian King would help him with 4,000 paid soldiers for five or six months. I am not sure of this, but now that the appointment I have mentioned has been made, no negotiations will be undertaken except through the Archbishop, and as the question of his acceptance of the embassy from a King who has not submitted to the Pope is one that must be decided by his Holiness, I have written to Count de Olivares about it.

I enclose a little book in Spanish, written by the bishop of Ross, giving the English genealogies. He has had it published also in Latin, French, and English, and it shows that your Majesty is the legitimate heir to the Crown, since the king of Scotland is incapacitated by heresy. Margaret, the eldest daughter of King Henry VII., being left a widow by James IV., king of Scotland, she fell in love with and married Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, who had a wife living at the time, and the daughter of the marriage was a bastard, and was so declared by the Scots parliament in her suit against the earl of Angus to establish her legitimacy. The result of the suit was that the earldom of Angus was adjudged to its present possessors, and her (Margaret Stuart, countess of Lennox) descendants are excluded from the succession to the English crown, and your Majesty thus becomes the legal heir, as descending in a straight line from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by the right of his wife, whose eldest daughter Catharine married Henry III. of Castile, and the younger, called Philippa, married John I. of Portugal.*

This King says that Don Antonio is starving in England, and the Queen has her eye upon him to prevent him from leaving the country.—Paris, 9th April 1587.

9, 12, 11, April. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 191.

66. Document headed "TRUE ADVICES from ENGLAND."

On the 27th March proclamation was made in London ordering the instant embarcation of the crews and troops of the 10 ships with Francis Drake.

Of these 10 ships four belonged to the Queen, their burden being respectively 400, 300, and 120 tons; very well armed with bronze guns. The others are merchantmen, the largest 200 tons, but most of them 120 to 150 tons, with iron pieces. The Queen's flagship

* The King has underscored this passage and written against it "*error.*" The passage, in effect, is incorrect.

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took out 200 men, the others of hers a lesser number, whilst the merchantmen carried 60 to 100 men, according to their capacity. The total number of men taken was about 1,000.

Drake went on board near Dover, and sailed with the ships to Plymouth, where the fleet was to rendezvous. Off the Isle of Wight he was joined by 12 merchant ships which had been sent by the Queen from the Thames, and they all proceeded together to Plymouth.

They take victuals for over four months.

More troops were to join them at Plymouth, raised in Devonshire and Cornwall. The soldiers and sailors together to be thus raised would number 2,500 or 3,000.

Drake took orders for the ships which might be in the Western ports, or at sea with letters of marque, to accompany him. Those in port were expected to reach 17, and those at sea 23; so that altogether they hoped to enter Spanish waters with 60 sail and about 3,000 men, besides those who might be in the ships bearing letters of marque.

The Queen had ordered 14 other ships to be made ready under Captain Winter to reinforce Drake, if necessary.

With the exception of Drake himself, not a soul on the fleet knows what the object of it is, but various surmises are afloat; one to the effect that they are going to prevent the junction of his Majesty's fleet in Spain, destroying a portion of it, as it will have to be fitted out in various ports. Others say the design is to intercept the Indian flotillas, and this seems the most probable.

Drake was strictly ordered not to stay at Plymouth longer than necessary, but to sail at once.

It is not thought that they carry troops adequate to attempt any enterprise on land, or at most only to sack some unprotected place. Don Antonio did not accompany them, although it was said previously that he would do so.*

10 April. **67.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 102.

Don Antonio is still at Court and in despair of getting anything satisfactory. It is thought that the Queen keeps him there to prevent his escape.

Alarm is felt here at the fleet which we are told from France the Pope and the king of Spain are preparing to attack England. Drake and his fleet have left the Thames, but we have no news of his having sailed from Plymouth. He takes sealed orders which are to be opened at sea, so that his purpose is unknown. He has instructions, however, that, until the Queen's orders are fulfilled none of the pirates are to leave him, but afterwards each one may seek his fortune in his own way.

The Parliament is opposed to the Queen's acceptance of the sovereignty of Flanders, but think she should help with money and men, as she did last year under the pretext of religion.

* The King has written at the foot of this statement a caution to the effect that care must be taken of it. It will be seen by this how completely the Spaniards were surprised by Drake's descent upon Cadiz.

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The earl of Leicester has gone to the baths at Bristol (Buxton ?), and it is said he will delay his departure for Holland until the return from there of Lord Buckhurst.

Secretary Davison has been fined 20,000 crowns, and sent to prison during the Queen's pleasure, for having given the warrant for the execution of the queen of Scotland without the orders of the Queen.

12 April. **68.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 102.

[EXTRACT.]

The object of the visit of Belièvre and Secretary Pinart to the English ambassador, mentioned in my letter of the 9th, was to reply to him from the King about the requests he was urging for a passport to be given to Waad to enable him to return to England at once. The King said he would not give a passport unless the Queen released Trapes, his ambassador's gentleman, and gave him a passport to come hither.—Paris, 12th April 1587.

12 April. **69.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 104.

As I was sending off my despatch by Bordeaux, a man arrived here, sent by my man in England, to give me a full verbal account of affairs there. Drake issued an order on the 27th (new style), for all the men who were to go in the 10 ships to embark instantly, which they did, and as letters would not pass this man was sent to me. Out of the 10 ships, four belonged to the Queen. The flagship was 400 tons burden, and carried nearly 50 bronze pieces, and about 200 men; the vice-flagship was of 300 tons, with the same armament and rather fewer men. The other two Queen's ships were of 120 tons and 36 guns each. The six merchant ships were of 200 tons (the largest), and the rest 120 to 150 tons, all armed with iron guns, and with 60 to 100 men each. The whole fleet carried 1,000 men and victuals for four months. They left Gravesend the same day (27th March) for Plymouth, where they were to be joined by the armed ships which were in the river and on the coast, and the English pirate ships belonging to the West country. The intention was for Drake to take all these ships to encounter your Majesty's flotillas. My man would try to find means to go to Plymouth and inspect the ships that might collect there, and learn other particulars. As, however, it was impossible for him to send me information swiftly on the point, owing to the great strictness in the English ports and the impossibility of getting an English ship to go to a French port for fear of arrest, he thought best to send this man over in a fishing boat which could put him ashore in France, and then return to England. He will again adopt this course if no better opportunity offers. The man tells me he could not come quicker, owing to the great difficulty of leaving England, and to his being stopped and examined at Calais, Boulogne, and every town in Picardy. In order to lose no time in informing your Majesty, I am sending this and the other letters I had written, by special courier going with all speed. I am trying to get his passport at once, but I am afraid it will be delayed, as usual.

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Whilst I was awaiting the passport there arrived here Luis Ferreira de Melo, of Terceira, who was captured by the English in the St. Thomé flotilla, and has been imprisoned in England. He confirms the above news, and says he left London on Good Friday, and when he passed Gravesend, saw the men hurrying on board the 10 ships. On Easter-day Drake and his wife went on board off Dover. He recognised them because the English boat that took him across to France passed through the midst of the fleet, and he stayed with the ships for two days, saying that he was going to Plymouth, for fear that they might prevent him from going to France. On the 1st of April he arrived at Boulogne, and the English fleet was not then to be seen. He assures me there were only 10 ships, and exactly confirms the particulars already given. The Frenchman who said he saw the fleet pass Rye may have told the truth on that point, but must have lied as to the number of ships.—Paris, 12th April 1587.

13 April. **70.** The DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 106.

As I said in my last, I had summoned the Scottish gentleman (Bruce), and begged you to send him to me speedily because, as you have so truly urged, it was most important to keep him well in view, for it would upset the Englishwoman to find herself attacked on that side, besides being a great thing to get a footing and a free port in the island, in view of eventualities. This, and the fate of the queen of Scotland, convinced me that it would be well not to delay any longer in giving them some hope and information as to what could be done for them. When the gentleman arrived here I made much of him, and said that he was already aware by the letters from his Majesty and your lordship, that the King was resolved to aid the righteous intention of the Scots Catholics, and I was expecting hourly to receive advice of His Majesty's intentions on the matter; since the time had now arrived when action could be taken. I was glad, therefore, that he (Bruce) was with me, as he could give me information on certain points about which I was in doubt. I had several conversations with him, and from one thing to another we at last got to the question of the difficulty that might arise of his Majesty's sending them the forces they wanted from Spain, if it should happen that he had to reinforce us here very heavily, or was pressed to guard his own coasts, and he might prefer to assist them from here. In such case, I asked, how could boats be got to take the men across, as they knew I had none, and could get none. He unhesitatingly said that there would be no difficulty about that, as there were plenty of boats in Scotland, and we arranged that as we are in need of grain here, and to conceal our design, he should freight (*i.e.*, in Scotland) 30 vessels to go to Dantzic, to load wheat for various places. Orders might be given and arrangements made with the captains of the five or six ships that usually go with them as an escort, to bring them to Dunkirk, where they would enter at the end of July or middle of August. Thirty more ships might also be got ready on various pretexts to leave (Scotland), and to arrive (at Dunkirk) at the same time, and in most of them we could ship the

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troops they desire, and leave a few to keep up the communication. He facilitates the matter so much, and is so confident about it, that I have decided to send to you the 10,000 crowns he requests for the freighting of the ships; so that, after he has given you sureties, you can give him the money, and send him off as soon as possible to carry out the plan. But as the most important point of all this is that they should assure us the port of Petty Leith for the reception and shelter of the ships and men, you will have to press for this to be done, and that they (the Catholics) should go on consolidating their party, to be ready for the time when they are do to their part. I am so enamoured of this project, and am so sure of its being advantageous to His Majesty's service that you may depend upon my neglecting nothing; for I will strive with all my heart to carry it to success.

It is most important that everything should be done secretly, so that the Englishwoman should learn nothing of it, and be unprepared. I am aware that you are as careful about secrecy as I am, but I cannot help mentioning it as success depends upon it.

19 April. **71.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 109. The English news I send in the general letter are faithfully conveyed to me by the new friend from letters dated the 7th instant. The intelligence sent by my Fleming about the number of ships and men is exactly confirmed.

The friend assures me that Drake has orders to stay as short a time as possible at Plymouth, but that no living soul but the Queen and the Treasurer knew what the design was to be. The Queen would not have even the Lord Admiral informed, as she considers him a frank-spoken man; but, judging from general indications and the haste in sending Drake off, it would seem as if the intention was to try to prevent the junction of your Majesty's fleet, which had to be equipped in various ports, and if they succeed in breaking up a portion of it, then to proceed on the Indian route and encounter the flotillas. To this end they had let out a few words to Drake about Cadiz being a good port to burn the shipping in, if a good fleet were taken thither.*

The number of men Drake was taking (as no account can be made of those who go in the pirate ships) is not large enough to undertake any enterprise of importance on land, excepting to sack, and it is asserted that Don Antonio has not gone with them, as it is not to be expected that the Queen would risk sending him with so few troops. As it is impossible to get prompt advice of Drake's departure from Plymouth conveyed to your Majesty, I send the news up to the present, to enable your Majesty to order the Indian flotillas to be apprised and every port to be on the alert down to the Straits and the islands of Azores and Canary.

Parliament had risen and had voted to the Queen voluntarily an extraordinary grant to maintain the war in Holland for three years.

* This is the first hint given that Cadiz was to be Drake's destination.

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The rebels will therefore be better supplied, and the clever efforts of the duke of Parma to get the States to elect Count Hohenlohe for General, and to abandon the Queen and Leicester, will be impeded. This would have facilitated an agreement with your Majesty, but that is rendered more difficult now by the Queen's having increased the monthly subsidy she paid to the States from 12,000 crowns to 17,000 crowns, and if that be insufficient to 20,000, which could well be met by the new grant. Leicester had orders to go to Holland, and at once to take the field with the army, but they said it would be very necessary to use the utmost diligence to discover the plans being hatched by the Spanish ambassador in France*; as they had been informed by friends in France that your Majesty was equipping a fleet of 60 sail, but they knew better from Spain itself, where on the whole coast there were not 40 ships ready for sea, and he might therefore judge, now they had sent out Drake, whether they were afraid of Spain this year or not.

The French ambassador (in England) was in great fear that the going of the Archduke Mathias to England might be a sign of agreement with your Majesty as to hostages for the capitulation, which fear he had mentioned to Walsingham, and asked him whether it was true the Archduke was coming. He replied that he had heard of no such thing. In conversation with a friend afterwards the Secretary had assured him that he really knew nothing about it, or whether the Treasurer had negotiated anything of the sort by the Queen's orders. Horatio Pallavicini writes to him (Walsingham?) saying that he saw the Archduke Mathias at Hamburg, who expressed himself as being very dissatisfied and inclined to the Queen's religion, but notwithstanding this he wrote to the ambassador telling him to be careful to report the feeling evinced in France as to the going of the Archduke, and said that although the (French) ambassador reported that the anger felt at the death of the queen of Scots made him fear a rupture between France and his mistress, she was under no apprehension of it, as she knew that in the present condition of France it was necessary for that country to keep friendly with England. If peace were not made in France the reiters would enter, but if an arrangement were arrived at the reiters would go to Flanders, the money having been already provided for raising them. The new friend is of opinion that however much this King may storm he will not break with the Englishwoman.

As regards Scotland, although the news from France represented the King (of Scotland) as vowing vengeance against the queen of England, they (*i.e.*, Stafford's correspondents) were persuaded that he would not be so ill advised as to throw away his good chance of the succession, or incur the enmity of those who had advocated his mother's execution, but the ambassador was directed to be on the alert to discover what plans the Scots were hatching here.

The Queen had sent a man secretly to Scotland, who was known to have arrived safely, and he would find no lack of friends of the Queen there.

† The writer is recapitulating the contents of letters written from England to Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in France.

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The above is the entire contents of the dispatch sent from England to France, which was read to me by my informant, and although I was most anxious to send your Majesty the important news as soon as I could get it ciphered, flying through the air if possible, I have been unable yet to obtain a passport.

I went to congratulate the Queen-mother on her return in good health, and in the course of conversation she mentioned the death of the queen of Scotland, which she said was an unheard-of thing, and she then broached the question as to who would succeed (to the English Crown). I said, as if by the way, that as the king of Scotland was excluded by his heresy, if he were not converted your Majesty was the next heir. She asked me from what line your Majesty's claim was derived. When I told her she did not answer a word; nor can I discover that she has mentioned the matter to anyone, although I have made great efforts to learn. I was moved to speak of it to her, because I thought it advantageous not to conceal your Majesty's right when the question is brought up, without going out of the way to seek for opportunities of urging it. The archbishop of Glasgow is one of those who have pressed me to mention the matter when occasion presents itself, and he is confirmed in his opinion by well-disposed Scottish jesuit fathers here, who are strong in their belief that it would greatly encourage Catholics there (*i.e.*, in Scotland) and spur on the King to submit to the Church. The English Catholics speak similarly, saying at the same time, that if the king of Scotland be not converted, they thank God for giving them so Catholic a King as your Majesty. It is publicly said here that there is not a person living who would oppose such a claim, and this caused me to speak of it as I have done. The French, who are not heretics, but merely "*politicians*," say openly that there is nothing they desire more than to see your Majesty's armada attack England, that they might serve in it and avenge themselves on the Queen by helping you to become master of the country.

The queen of Scotland's late ambassador tells me that if the duke of Parma wishes his armed ships in Denmark to be received in a Scotch port in case of bad weather, or need for victuals, or to sell their prizes, he thinks he can arrange it with the king of Scotland. I have informed the Duke of this. He has not sent Bruce back yet.—Paris, 19th April 1587.

19 April. **72.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 110.

I have news of 6th and 7th instant from London saying that two other ships had left the Thames to join Drake at Plymouth. They both belong to the Queen, one being the "Golden Lion," of 600 tons, carrying 50 guns, some being cannons and culverins. This will be the flagship, as she is a good, fleet vessel, and the other is the "Achates," which ship I know well, because her first voyage was to carry me across from England to Flanders in the year '84. She is of 120 tons and carries 30 or 35 guns.

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Eight more merchantmen had left the river also, and it was said that the flagship of the merchantmen would be the "Royal Merchant" or the galleon "Budrique" (Ughtred).

Two other merchant ships had come from Lynn to join at Dover, so that, in all, 12 ships had followed Drake, and they were so favoured by weather that they came up with him off the Isle of Wight and proceeded in company to Plymouth.

Both the Queen's ships and the merchantmen were victualled in London with the 2,500 bullocks I said they had slaughtered, and as the Queen was anxious for the ships to sail for Plymouth, and there is difficulty in raising troops in London, she ordered them to go with their seamen only on board necessary for the navigation; and 2,500 or 3,000 soldiers and sailors will be raised in Devonshire and Cornwall for the fleet.

Drake was to force ships which might be on the West coast bearing letters of marque to accompany him. Drake said there would be 17 of them in the ports—ships of 120 to 150 tons—and he would probably fall in with 23 more at sea which would have to go with him. So that Drake would sail (for Spain) with about 60 ships and 2,500 to 3,000 men, without counting the men on board the ships he took from the West coast, the number of which would be uncertain.

The Queen had ordered 14 more of ships under Captain Winter to be made ready. Winter is a man of rank and a good sailor, who conducted your Majesty the last time you went from England to Flanders. He is to reinforce Drake if necessary, and to guard the coasts in case of the approach of a hostile fleet.

It was said in London that Don Antonio would accompany Drake, but it was not credited, as Drake's intention was asserted to be the plunder of your Majesty's flotillas from the Indies, to which effect the Queen had ordered that all the booty was to be given to the soldiers as had been done previously. The reason there was so much difficulty in getting men for this expedition was that Drake paid them so badly last time, taking all the plunder for himself on the pretence that it was for the Queen.

Another proof that Drake's design is to intercept the flotillas, is that, with the exception of the 22 ships, the rest of them are independent pirates; and the moment anything is undertaken other than robbery and plunder they will abandon him.

A French ship has arrived on the coast from Brazil, and reports having fallen in with Drake with 22 sail. He spoke them and said that, badly as the French were treating English shipping, he had orders from his mistress to show them all friendship. As they were short of provisions he supplied them.

My Fleming's reports as to the number of ships, etc., are fully confirmed. All the talk about Drake's having actually sailed from Plymouth with 60 ships rests upon Drake's hints that he hoped to take out that number. My man was trying to get back again to Plymouth and feared he would be unable to send me any reports until he could return personally hither. He could not, moreover, go round all the

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ports to discover what ships were being fitted *out, as he heard that* Drake was in a furious hurry to leave Plymouth.

All this is now fully confirmed by the reports of merchants and others.

I am sending this by special courier, so that if possible your Majesty may have the news before Drake leaves Plymouth. The weather has been extremely favourable for him since he left London, especially if he had taken his men on board at the start, instead of having to wait for them at Plymouth.

There is nothing to add about the relations between England and France. Neither ambassador has been received yet. The English ambassador here has fresh letters but he does not press for audience. They announce the sailing of Drake from the Thames with 60 ships, which number they say would be increased to over a hundred by the time he left Plymouth. The Queen's ships, to the number of 22, were ready for sea.

The archbishop of Glasgow has taken leave of the Queen-mother on the expiry of his mission (from the queen of Scotland), and in conversation with her mentioned the danger the king of Scotland was in, and the great need he had for the aid and counsel of the Christian King, such as in past times had been given to his ancestors. She replied that the King and herself were full of good will towards the continuance of the friendship and the helping of the king of Scotland; but the state of things in France hardly gave the Christian King breathing space in his own country, and they could, therefore, hold out but little hopes of helping the king of Scotland, much as they desired to do so.—Paris, 19th April 1587.

19 April. **73.** LORD PAGET to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 112. Italian.

I have written several letters to your Lordship, but as I have had no reply I fear they may not have reached you. My object is to beg your assistance in the payment of the 500 crowns which His Majesty generously accorded to me in Madrid as a grant in aid of my expenses. The ambassador says the amount will have to be deducted from the ordinary pensions payable to us up to the 1st January last. As the order was given on the treasurer in Madrid in the form of a grant in aid, and we signed acknowledgments in the same form, I pray you kindly to ascertain His Majesty's intentions in the matter and use your influence in my favour, for God knows how I suffered on the journey. I am well aware that all I receive from His Majesty proceeds from his own magnanimity, and from no merit of my own, and I will never cease to humbly thank and faithfully serve him to the last hour of my life. If I can be of any use to him, pray command me, and if I am too importunate in the matter, I beseech you to forgive me and recollect that to ask often for a thing proves that it is really needed.—Paris, 19th April 1587.

(Signed) IL BARON PAGIETTO DI BELDISERTO.

20 April. **74.** THOMAS THROCKMORTON to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 113. Italian.

Letter to a similar effect to the above, relative to a grant in aid of 200 crowns during his journey to Madrid.

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20 April. **75.** ADVICES from LONDON, 20 April, 1587 (new style).

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 114. Drake left Plymouth on Saturday, 11 April* (by our style) with 34 ships of the fleet, four of them being Queen's ships, the best she has, of 700 and 800 tons, and two of her pinnaces, all armed with bronze pieces. The rest are merchantmen, but comprise some of the best ships in the country. They are well armed, victualled for eight months, and carry 2,000 men, all seamen and no soldiers. The intention is to intercept the flotillas from Peru, which they are confident of capturing if they meet them. Some people say that if the weather serves they will run into Cadiz, and do what damage they can to the shipping and city, breaking the bridge first which connects it with the mainland, and thus preventing succour reaching the people, whom they expect to take unawares. But the intention as to the Peruvian flotilla is absolutely certain. André de Loo arrived here last week from Brussels with the reply of his Highness respecting peace. The Queen instantly sent couriers to Plymouth to stop Drake from sailing until further orders, but they were too late and he was gone. But still peace is spoken of, and the Queen desires it much: God send it to us. A gentleman arrived here last Friday to inform the Queen that the Ostend people learnt that his Highness was going to besiege them, and if he did so they could not hold out 15 days, as they had no men, guns, powder, or other stores. They ask the Queen for at least 1,000 soldiers, with artillery and victuals. She sent the man to the earl of Leicester, who is at the baths, 100 miles off, in order that he might take the necessary measures. To-day a man arrived from the Sluys to tell the Queen that if she does not provide for Ostend, as requested, the place will be lost; and this must lead to the loss of the Sluys, for which town also they ask for aid in men and stores, as Flushing cannot send them a man.

The Queen wrote three days since to certain persons in the city asking them to lend Don Antonio 30,000*l.*, to be guaranteed by her, and to provide him with 3,000 men to accompany him in a fleet. They met on Saturday last with Don Antonio's representatives, one of them being Dr. Lopez, and read the Queen's letter, to which they promised a reply on Monday. This evening (Monday) I will report what the answer is.

I forgot to say that the gentleman from Ostend avers his belief that if his Highness were to offer the captain of the place a sum of money to surrender the town he would do so, they are in such straits.

25 April. **76.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 117. Since my last I have seen the new friend† who had expressed a desire for an interview. I thanked him from your Majesty for his goodwill, and gave him the 2,000 crowns which your Majesty

* There is evidently some confusion of dates here. Drake's fleet left Plymouth on the 12th (English style) and the despatch sent after him, as described in this letter, sailed on the 15th. The date of the letter should probably be "old style" instead of new style.

† The English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford.

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ordered, through the third person who was present.* He was very grateful, and said that, saving the person of the Queen, he would devote himself to whatever service your Majesty required, with the zeal which I should witness. I assured him that his recompense should be proportionate with his service, and pointed out to him that, in the present state of things in England, it was the safest course to be on your Majesty's side, which he confessed was true, and said if the Queen disappeared many of the principal people would follow your Majesty.

He is informed that when Drake left the Thames the Queen sent orders to Plymouth that men were to be raised there with all haste, so that when Drake arrived they might be shipped at once. We have no further news on the point.

The king of France urged him (Stafford) secretly, through Belièvre, to use all his influence to maintain the friendship between England and France.

Bruce has arrived with the dispatch from the duke of Parma, which I enclose. I have had it ciphered instantly, so as not to lose time in explaining the matter to your Majesty.†

I told Bruce what your Majesty orders me, and when I arrived at the two points of taking up arms and releasing the King, he interrupted me, and said they did not ask for the 150,000 crowns for those two purposes alone, which could be effected in a fortnight after they arrived in Scotland, but for the conversion of the country to the Catholic faith. I approved of this, and said your Majesty understood as much; and I immediately wrote to the duke of Parma and Muzio (the duke of Guise) to the effect that I will inform your Majesty later,‡ as I have no time to dwell upon the matter in this. I will try to send Bruce to Scotland assured to us. He has offered the duke of Parma the port of Petty Leith, the best in the kingdom, or any other he may desire. With the general letters I send your Majesty a letter from Antonio de Vega, who is now free, addressed under cover to Geronimo Lopez Sapayo, to your Majesty. He says he reports to your Majesty the departure of Drake.—Paris, 25th April 1587.

April. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 115.

77. The DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

I informed you of my decision about Scotland and the steps I had taken with the gentleman (Bruce), and sent you a warrant for 10,000 crowns for the purpose mentioned. It was necessary to find some trustworthy person to take it, and to accompany the escort of the grain ships, and make all the necessary arrangements for their taking them quietly into Dunkirk at the time decided upon; and Bruce introduced to me the bearer, Captain Thomas Foster. I am

* Charles Arundell.

† In the King's hand:—"*I do not understand this about the cipher. Tell me what it means, and return the copy which is inside.*"

By a perusal of the enclosure, which follows this letter, it will be seen that, to save time Mendoza had sent the King a ciphered extract of the Duke's letter.

‡ In the King's hand. "I do not know whether this comes in the other letters."

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glad of this, as he seems a very fit person for the task, and I send him to you in order that you may instruct him exactly how he is to proceed. He will have to be accompanied by the other man, who, or someone else, must stay with the ships which are to leave for Scotland and join the grain ships at Dunkirk at the end of July or first days of August, neither sooner nor later, in order not to arouse suspicion, as the men will be ready at exactly that time. Pray enjoin much care and prudence on both of these gentlemen, and especially that they must arrange for the port of Petty Leith to be assured, so that no hitch or obstacle shall occur to raise any doubt, which would upset the whole design and bring with it other difficulties of the highest import, since the success of this plan will, we hope, be of such great advantage.

In the despatch you have since sent me from the King I am instructed to offer the gentleman money instead of troops, as there are no men ready in Spain. As I have adopted the course above-mentioned as the most convenient and advantageous to the King's interests, and to begin with new proposals to them might make them pause, I have decided not to make any change, and have advised His Majesty to that effect. I hope he will approve of it as my zeal and good intentions deserve.

I leave in your hands the task of carrying the plan forward. As punctuality is of the very highest importance, and all the ships, both those direct from Scotland and the grain ships, should arrive at Dunkirk at the end of July or beginning of August, I beg you will urge this upon both the gentlemen most earnestly. If they see that the shipping of so much grain is likely to cause suspicion, they must only ship as much as may be advisable and consistent with dissimulation; but on no account are they to allow the shipping of grain, or anything else, to stand in the way of all the ships arriving at the time appointed. I am making all my calculations in the matter, depending upon this point.

25 April. **78.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 118.

I have to inform your Majesty that I have letters from London, dated 20th, saying that Drake was at Plymouth, embarking his men with all haste. The Queen had told the earl of Leicester resolutely that he must return to Holland, and her ambassador here publicly states this. The Queen had sent orders to Horatio Pallavicini to return to England, as he advises her that he had disbursed the 100,000 crowns, which he had provided on her orders, for the raising of the Reiters, which was now certainly proceeding.

Don Antonio was in L ndon, poor and dissatisfied, with no appearance of his going to join Drake's fleet.—Paris, 25th April 1587.

30 April. **79.** ANTONIO DE VEGA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives K. 1566. 120. Portuguese.

Sends three Portuguese to him, to prevent them from following his uncle (*i.e.*, Don Antonio) . . . . . My uncle is on the high road to a complete breach with this lady (the Queen), and is uncertain whither he shall go, but at present inclines to sail for

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Holland with the greater part of his people in the ship the Queen gave him. If he is well received he will stay, and if not he will dismiss his people and go to Constantinople, by way of Germany, with three or four unknown persons, unless something be done to prevent the carrying out of his design. He ordered yesterday a ship to be secretly freighted for Barbary, saying that he was going to send thither Mathias Becudo, but it may be suspected that he will go himself. If it were not for me he would go to France, but I was the cause of his losing all hope of success there, as I influenced the French ambassador here who wrote to the king of France. He (Don Antonio) determined to have me killed under another pretext, and I had as much as I could do to save myself. I will report all that happens by Baltasar Baez, who will leave at latest in four or five days. He already has his passport from the Queen, who is letting some people go, and has even given passports to two friars to go to France. It will be necessary for your lordship to advise the duke of Parma and others not to tell the bearers (the three Portuguese named) anything about me, only that they are to take this to Gaspar Diaz Montesinos. I did not approach them as I had no answer to my letter to you about them, but I have no doubt they will always do as I wish them as they are under deep obligation to me for their liberty.

I have gained over Dr. Ruy Lopez, and have converted him to his Majesty's service with good promises, and he has already done wonders in trying to get him (Don Antonio) turned out of here, and to divert other matters, which will be explained at length by the afore-mentioned messenger. I do not know whether I have done right in this; pray tell me. He (Dr. Lopez?) says that your lordship had already had approaches made to him through Suygo, who had offered him anything he liked to ask if he ceased to interest himself in my uncle's affairs. Pray advise His Majesty and ask his approval of what I have done, as my only aim is to serve him.

A week since the Holland fleet of 24 sail arrived at Dover to join Drake, or to remain here. It was said that they were to go after Drake at once, but Walsingham tells me that for the present they will remain in the Channel, as they are in fear, Drake having only taken out 24 sail. A man came yesterday from Lord Buckhurst in Holland, who says the States concede all the Queen's demands. The French Ambassador's gentleman who was arrested has been released.*—London, 30th April 1587.

Note.—The above letter, like all those of Antonio de Vega, is excessively obscure and ill-constructed. To it Bernardino de Mendoza has appended the following note:—

"What he says about my having sounded Dr. Lopez through Suygo is a great lie. I will write and tell him so and ask him if he is so certain about Dr. Lopez, why he does not have his uncle

* Destrappes, who was accused of complicity in William Stafford and Moody's pretended plan to kill the Queen. Vega himself was an inmate of the French embassy. He calls Chateauneuf his relative.

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put out of the way altogether. On a mere hint that Don Guerau de Spes gave him (Lopez) he offered to purge a Portuguese who was busy about some expeditions to be sent from England to the Indies. He took the recipe to the apothecary's himself, and on his way let it fall out of his breeches pocket, in consequence of which he was kept for six months in the Tower. I will say that this other business will be well paid for, as the said doctor knows, and it may be settled without hesitation."

The Portuguese referred to above, whose murder was suggested by Don Guerau de Spes, the former Spanish ambassador in London, was Bartolomé Bayon, and the matter is mentioned in the previous volume of this Calendar, but I cannot find any record of Dr. Lopez having been imprisoned as asserted.

April ? **80.** ADVICES from SCOTLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 121. French

The king of Scotland arrived at Dumfries on the 12th April, accompanied by the earls of Bothwell and Angus, the master of Glamis and others, for the purpose of collaring Maxwell, but the latter received warning the previous night and fled—no one knows whither.

There is much suspicion amongst the nobles who surrounded the King that Maxwell was secretly advised by His Majesty himself to take himself off the night before. It is impossible at present to see what course they will take—that of peace or war—as they have not yet received the reply from France for which they are waiting. It is said that Maxwell is now in the town of Ayr with James Stuart, otherwise the earl of Arran, whose progress in popery is thought to be not without the King's connivance.

They are talking about having a meeting shortly, but there is a doubt as to where it will be held. There is great disagreement between the Lords of the North and those of the South, and most of the latter are coming to meet the King.

The King is sending an ambassador to Denmark, with the object, as is believed, of treating for his marriage with the daughter of that King.

3 May. **81.** The DUKE OF GUISE to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives K. 1566. 122. French.

Thanks for letter of 23rd ultimo conveying the king of Spain's condolence for the death of the queen of Scots. The punishment for the crime cannot be long delayed, and the writer will not dwell upon the point, which only brings up recollections of the bereavement he has suffered.

He has been informed by Bruce as to all that has been arranged, and fully acknowledges the wisdom and prudence with which Mendoza has for so long conducted English affairs; the absence of these qualities there since Mendoza's departure, having brought things to their present pass, points out the difficulty and danger of the duke of Parma's plan to get ships from the Scots nobles. The delay will ruin the affair. Delay caused the failure of the last attempt in England.

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Recommends that ships should be sent from Spain and the men shipped at once, without waiting for any fresh answer from Scotland.

3 May. **82.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 124.

I gave the Scots ambassador your Majesty's gracious message for his King, for which he was very grateful. He is writing to him by Robert Bruce, who is leaving. Both the ambassador and he are fully aware of how advantageous it will be for their King to seek your Majesty's protection. They were strongly urging him to this before his mother's death, but since then they have become even more pressing. It was unnecessary, therefore, for me to impress this upon them, but I have told Bruce exactly how he is to proceed with the King.

The ambassador (Beaton) has received the despatches mentioned in my general letter, and says that the moment his instructions are deciphered I shall have them. As in this and all things he is so frankly devoted to your Majesty, I thought best to inform him of the grant your Majesty had given him of 4,000 crowns in one sum, in order to pledge him the more to us, rather than to divide it into various payments. I cannot say how grateful he is. He did not expect that your Majesty would even think of him, much less make him so handsome a present. I have also given the 1,000 crowns alms from your Majesty to the jesuits in Scotland. They are being taken by a good and learned priest of the order who accompanies Bruce.

I have no answer from Muzio either about Scotland or to my condolences for the death of the queen of Scotland. I have also condoled with this King in your Majesty's name. He replied in general terms, said he was sure you would be grieved as it touched him so closely, that his pain was increased by the particulars I gave him, &c. In the question of your Majesty's rights to the Crown of England, I have stated them when I have been spoken to upon the subject.

In order to oppress the Guises, the King says that no heretic shall succeed him, and he has endeavoured to get Bearn to profess catholicism. He has thus tied his hands, and cannot help the king of Scotland against England, nor can the Guises, seeing the claims they are raising here.

I have had the histories of England carefully read by experts lately, and find that even if the king of Scotland be not excluded for heresy, your Majesty is the legal heir to the crown by the line of Lancaster and Portugal, the house of York, or the White Rose, having usurped it. This will be seen by the papers I will shortly send.

This King hears on all hands that your Majesty is determined to attack England, and as the Queen-mother was desirous of learning from an English pensioner of hers here what truth there was in the rumour that the queen of England was seeking peace with your Majesty, I had her informed that the duke of Parma had carried very far the negotiations for an agreement. This was to take their minds off the other idea, and the Queen-mother was delighted at

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the news, saying she expected it, and that no doubt your Majesty's preparations were for Barbary.

I have informed Muzio of your Majesty's offer to pay them 300,000 crowns whenever they will take up arms, but to send them forces would do more harm than good.*

The new friend informs me that some Frenchmen have offered the English ambassador that they will, for 50,000 crowns, furnish his mistress with a place on the frontier near Calais, which place they will take and hold for three months, and she can keep. He wrote to the Queen about it, but as the answer did not come, M. de Montcarin, the cousin of the duke of Epernon, who makes the offer, has sent word to the ambassador by the intermediary, M. de Mesmes, that the men are all stationed ready for the execution of the plan, and as expense is being incurred, if he will undertake that the Queen will give them 50,000 crowns they will immediately carry the enterprise into effect. The ambassador replies that the answer must soon come now, and they had better wait. The friend rightly concludes from this that as they are so ready to undertake this, it must be with the countenance of the king of France, who will be glad thus to trouble your Majesty. I have advised the duke of Parma and all the frontier places of it by special courier, who left on the 27th ultimo, recommending great vigilance at Gravelines, St. Omer, and Hesdin, as the friend is not sure which place is aimed at. He hopes to let me know in time, so that those who try the plan may get their heads broken. I enclose extract from letter of the duke of Parma in reply to your Majesty's instructions about Scotland.

I have received from the archbishop of Glasgow the 4,000 crowns he still retained in his own hands, and have given 1,000 to the monks, and used the other 3,000 to pay the pensions to the Englishmen.—Paris, 3rd May 1587.

3 May. **83.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 125.

The arrests of English and Dutch ships in France prevent the regular passage of travellers except on pressing needs, so that I cannot send news of the armaments as fully as I could wish, but I had with me yesterday a man just arrived from Holland, who was at Incusen on the 1st (ultimo?), and says they were fitting out eight great war-ships with great haste. The flagship is the "Galleon de Bossu," in which Count de Bossu was lost. I have been on board of her. She is a fine, swift ship of 600 tons. Four ships were being equipped at Middleburg and six at Horn, as well as three war-ships at Brille. These vessels will be joined by nine hulks, 30 ships in

* This was in reply to the request of the Guises for armed aid from Spain to destroy the Huguenots, and coerce the King into becoming their instrument. Philip was always desirous of fomenting troubles in France through the Guises, as, in the first place, it rendered France powerless to interfere with his plans, in the second, it made the Guises his pensioners and unable to forward the interests of their kinsman, James Stuart, against him, and, thirdly, it might result in France becoming a weak, and perhaps dismembered nation in the hands of the extreme Catholic party under Philip's control. At the same time it was evidently not possible for Philip to denude himself of troops at a time when his great attack upon England was being prepared.

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all, and will be armed with ordnance, the commander being Turlon, who served under Orange, but since the death of the latter has been held prisoner by the rebel States on suspicion. He has now been released by the influence of the queen of England, and publicly stated that he was going to join Drake's fleet. I am told that only seamen are being shipped on these vessels, and that the hurry in which they were being despatched prevented them from taking much victuals. I learn from Calais that, on the 16th ultimo, 20 ships in order of battle were seen in the Straits, 14 of them being great ships, apparently war vessels, as guns were heard firing. Up to the 22nd there passed 16 Dutch hulks, followed by flyboats and small craft from Flushing. I have no certain news of the departure of the Dutch ships, but as there has been, unfortunately, plenty of time for them since the beginning of April, and these ships were sailing in the direction of Spain, I fear they may be the same vessels as were being equipped in Holland, unless they be a flotilla of hulks, sailing in company to Brouage for salt. I think best to let your Majesty know in any case by special courier, as they are more likely to be the Dutch fleet to join Drake than salt-hulks at this time of year, besides which salt is not a cargo that can afford to pay for an escort. To judge from the men both Drake and the Dutch ships are taking, it certainly looks as if the intention were to plunder the Indian flotillas and commit some depredations, rather than establish themselves on land.

I have no fresh news of Drake since my last, as the weather has prevented passage from England. They write from Rouen under date of 30th ultimo that a Breton ship reports that Drake had fought with some Biscay ships, and had himself been killed. They were betting 50 to 100 that this was true.

Fresh letters from Scotland have arrived, via Zeeland, and the archbishop of Glasgow has received his commission as ambassador from the king of Scotland. He is to present letters to the king of France, it is believed to ask for help. The king of Scotland has restored the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross publicly to all their temporal and ecclesiastical dignities, in face of all the ministers who had dared to oppose the step. The archbishop of Glasgow, although he will attend to the King's affairs here, will not take the title of ambassador until he has permission from his Holiness to do so.—Paris, 3rd May 1587.

8 May. **84.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to (IDIAQUEZ ?).

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 128.

Captain Calfer, a Frenchman of St. Malo, has been to see me telling me that your lordship told him to do so when he reached France.* As he said he had to take a ship back to Spain I did not go into particulars with him, but gave him letters of introduction. He seems a clever sort of man. He says some of the courtiers here have been asking him whether the Queen of England's fortresses in Jersey and Guernsey† are strong, and he infers from this that this

* In the King's hand, "Who is this? Tell me."
† In the King's hand, "They are opposite the Isle of Wight, but nearer France."

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King will break with the queen of England; but there are too many signs to the contrary for it to be credible.

From the talk of the Portuguese here, I gather that Don Antonio will shortly leave England. Samson confirms this, and says there are a large number of Portuguese in England with passports to come to France, headed by Antonio Brito. I will send a special courier to advise anything suddenly important about Don Antonio. The Queen had given him 6,000 crowns. These Portuguese say that Drake sailed from Plymouth with only 40 ships, large and small, and that 10 armed ships from Flushing had captured 30 wheat hulks from Hamburg and brought them into the Thames, but the Queen had refused to approve of the capture.—Paris, 8th May 1587.

10 May. **85.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 130.

Although I have not had time to diecover whether the ships that passed Calais were the Dutch fleet, I think well to report that letters from England of 29th ultimo make no mention of ships from Holland, except that there are three at the mouth of the Thames. Such a number as this can only be to plunder or to carry back some of the deputies. They report from St. Malo that the English ships that had escorted the vessels which took munitions from Denmark to Rochelle, had engaged a French ship called the "Dolphin," of 300 tons, and had captured another of 50 tons called the "Margaret," killing 30 men. From this it would seem certain that the ships that passed Calais were these on the way to Rochelle, which return with cargoes of salt. Letters from Zeeland, moreover, make no mention of the departure of a fleet. I am hourly expecting precise information from my correspondents.

Letters from London, dated 22nd and 23rd ultimo, report variously that Drake left Plymouth on the 11th and 12th, with forty odd sail, and reports come from London on the 29th that he had put back into an English port. I cannot say for certain which is true, as I have nct a word from my Fleming, and the new confidant has no precise information on the matter.

The queen of England had released Trapes, the French ambassador's gentleman, who is now at the embassy with a passport to come hither. The Queen had sent word to Chateauneuf that as he would not go and see her without orders from his King, at least he might let his wife do so. This is a sign she is softening after these quarrels about the arrest.*—Paris, 10th May 1587.

* Elizabeth had sent Walsingham to Chateauneuf two months earlier to bring about good relations, and on the 13th May, three days after the date of this letter Chateauneuf wrote to Henry III. (Teulet) giving him an account of the interview he had just had with the Queen. She drew him playfully aside and said "Voici notre homme qui m'a voulu "faire tuer." She then made a complete amende to the ambassador, admitting that he had been the victim of shameless rogues (William Stafford and Moody) and expressed her great sorrow that Destrappes, who was now free, should have been so much inconvenienced by his imprisonment, as she learnt that he was going to follow the profession of the law at Paris, "Mais vous lui direz" (she continued) "que je ne crois pas jamais "plaider ung procès a Paris où il se puisse venger du tort que je lui ay faict." And so the quarrel ended.

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13 May. **86.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 118. Your letters of 5th, 9th, 12th, and 19th April received, and although it would appear from the first two that the English armaments had slackened, and the Dutch ships had not joined them, the later letters brought correct information, if only they had arrived somewhat earlier. They (the English) were, however, too quick; for, as far as can be judged, the same fleet which you reported as gathering at Plymouth, had entered into the port of Cadiz as you said it might do, on the same day as, or a little before, your intelligence reached here. The damage it committed there was not great, but the daring of the attempt was so.* Although the course the fleet took when it left there is not known, a fleet of ours will shortly go out from Lisbon in pursuit. As you see how these people are preparing, and how diligent they are in fitting out their ships and taking them to sea, it will be evident to you how infinitely important it is that you should get and send with all speed news of the 12 ships which you say Winter is preparing for sea, and of any other fleet or movement you hear of. Discover also whether in addition to the ships they send out, they have a fleet in the Channel, what troops they have sent to Holland, and how many are in Ireland, and all other information you can gather. You did well in keeping (in Paris) the man who came from the English ports with news; and you will be careful to preserve the new confidant, availing yourself of him as much as possible, as he seems to be going straight.

Report as usual also about Don Antonio, and what has become of him, and why they said recently that he had embarked on the fleet, which was not the case.

It is a good sign that the king of Scotland has made so wise a choice as the ambassador of his late mother to represent him in France. I shall be glad to know what face they put upon it there. —Aranjuez, 13th May 1587.

13 May. **87.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 119. The little book about the English succession has been received, and it was good to send it in this language (English ?), although we have it here already in others. You, however, must only speak about my rights to well disposed native Englishmen, so that they may be informed of the truth, and convey it to others of their nationality, and it may thus spread and gain ground amongst them. It will be, however, unadvisable to treat of the matter with Frenchmen and others, who will only take it in hand for the purpose of under-mining it; so you will be silent on the subject to them.

It will be only right that his Holiness should give permission to the archbishop of Glasgow to accept the post of ambassador from his King, because everything is to be gained by affairs passing

* Drake's fleet entered Cadiz harbour on the 29th April (N. S.), and remained there until the 10th May, having burnt or wrecked almost every ship in the port, but did no damage on land. Drake landed, however, at Faro for water, and had to fight for it.

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through his hands, rather than through those of anyone coming from Scotland. I am writing to the Count de Olivares to use his efforts to this end, and I am looking with interest for the information you will receive about the message sent to the King in my name through the Archbishop (of Glasgow).—Aranjuez, 13th May 1587.

10 to 15 May. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 131.

88. SAMPSON'S ADVICES from LONDON.

The French ambassador saw the Queen on the 9th, and she greatly caressed him, with many excuses about the past.* The earl of Leicester was full of offers of friendship, and said he wished nothing better than that he should put him in the King's good graces, as he, Leicester, was the most devoted servitor he had in England.

The Queen has released Trapes and given him a passport, and has liberated two Scots jesuits who were in the Tower.

Don Antonio shows signs of wishing to leave. He is sending his eldest son to Holland with Diego Botello, it is said to negotiate with the rebels for aid in ships and money. He is dismissing all his followers, most of them going to join the rebels in Holland, and he will only be attended by 15 persons.

He is sending Cristobal (Custodio ?) Leiton to ask the king of France for 20,000 crowns through the Queen-mother and the duke of Joyeuse, and his intercessors are making great speeches about an important enterprise in which the queen of England will help him. He is also sending Pedro de Oro, the late French consul in Lisbon, to ask the king of Navarre for help. In order to avoid arousing the suspicions of the Queen-mother he sent him by Rochelle. Don Antonio is very dissatisfied in England, and will be glad to go to France. But he wants to be sought and begged to come, and to be granted a castle and enough to live upon, without having any but Portuguese near him.

20 May. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 132.

89. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The appointment of the archbishop of Glasgow as Scots ambassador has aroused great hopes here of the conversion of the King, particularly in view of the restoration to their dignities of the said Archbishop, the bishop of Ross, and a Carthusian friar†; and there may be some ground for the hope from these last acts, but the appointment of ambassador only signifies that the King desires to follow a certain line in politics, and not in religion, and would like to stand well with all parties. God enlighten him! His mother died so Christian a death that God, in His infinite mercy, may make this a means of opening his eyes. The Archbishop presented his letters to the King, the Queen-mother, and the Queen, and although they wished to treat him as an ambassador, he refused, giving as his reason, that although he was obliged to serve the king of Scotland,

* *See* note to letter, Mendoza to the King, 10th May, *page* 82.

† Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane.

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he could not take the title of his ambassador, as he had not given in his submission to the Holy See. The coolness, moreover, with which this King and his mother had treated him when his last embassy ended did not make him eager to accept another near them. When they heard his reasons they were very gracious, saying that on no account would they receive any other ambassador, and would write to his Holiness warmly, asking him to request the Archbishop to accept the post. They also ordered a good present to be given to him, and they think by these means to make up for their past neglect of him, and their coolness after his mistress died. They are acting thus because they believe that if they do not show increasing friendliness and goodwill to the king of Scotland he will turn his eyes to your Majesty, of which they are very suspicious. One of the Queen-mother's plans for quieting troubles here is to represent to the duke of Guise or his brother that whenever they like to go and assist the king of Scotland in his English enterprise, since he now shows signs of turning Catholic, they shall be helped with forces from here to the extent they desire. She pointed out to them with infinite discourse how much better it will be for them to undertake this enterprise than to maintain the war in France, where it will be so difficult for them to put down the heretics. In the face of the fact that the duke of Guise, Cardinal Bourbon, and the other confederate Princes are in arms to extirpate heretics, it is a fine idea to persuade them to help to the throne of England the king of Scotland, who has been a heretic from his cradle. I am told that they (*i.e.*, the King and Queen-mother) are writing to Rome to have the Pope informed of the hopes that exist of the King's conversion, he being the heir to the English Crown, and bound to avenge his mother's death. If, they say, your Majesty attempts anything against the queen of England, the Christian King will be obliged to prevent it, even though it be by disturbing Italy, for which opportunities will not be lacking. They think this last remark is more likely to put spurs to his Holiness than any other.* I have not heard that the Scots ambassador did anything more at the audience than present his letters. From the last letters from Scotland, received from England and sent herewith, your Majesty will see that they are bringing up an old prophecy of venerable Bede to the effect that a king of Scotland called James, who will have a birth-mark upon his breast, will go to Spain, and thence to Rome, where he will enter the walls. The Scots ministers interpret this to mean the present King, who bears upon his breast a mark caused by his mother's alarm when she was pregnant, at seeing her secretary, David (Rizzio), stabbed to death before her eyes; and they say that his entering the walls signifies that he will destroy papistry, as they call it. The people who have printed the prophecy point out to the readers that rather would the heresy which had for years ruled the land be destroyed, and the whole island would then be subject to a great monarch, holding his Court at York and not in London. The reading of this prophecy was prohibited; and really it sounds more

* The King in a marginal note draws especial notice to this

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like Merlin than venerable Bede, but the English and Scots are naturally inclined to these things, and credit them, however fictitious they may be.—Paris, 20th May 1587.

20 May. **90.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 184.

The new friend reports that the queen of England writes on the 29th to her ambassador, ordering him to strive his utmost to bring this King to an agreement, according to the instructions sent. These are to the effect that he is to point out by various arguments how much reason both this King and she (the queen of England) have for suspicion of the power of your Majesty, and how necessary it is for them to try to check it by every means. She desires therefore to settle past differences, and will give him every satisfaction, drawing closer the alliance between them. The ambassador is to represent with much discourse that the execution of the queen of Scotland was of more advantage to this King than to England, in consequence of the favour which the Guises might expect from her. To enable him to broach this subject the Queen sends the letter to this King which I mention in my general dispatch.

I understand that the moment the ambassador got these instructions he went to Belièvre, who asked him at once whether it was true that his mistress was coming to terms with your Majesty. He replied that he saw no signs of it in the face of Drake's voyage, the talk about helping Don Antonio, and sending the earl of Leicester back to Holland, to which must be added the suspicions aroused by the declarations of the English Catholics as to your Majesty's claim to the Crown. This alone, he said, was a sufficient reason to prevent the Queen from being friendly with your Majesty. Belièvre replied that the Spaniards always fished in troubled waters and particularly I, who was a false and devilish spirit, who sent nothing to the King (of Spain) but that from which advantage could be gained to your Majesty's service. He could not tell him, he said, how I took advantage of things here with this end, but in a way which did not enable the King to call me to account, but he asked the ambassador whether I had not seized upon this claim of your Majesty to the Crown of England. The ambassador answered that he would rather die a thousand deaths than live under the tyranny of the Spaniards, and if your Majesty succeeded he should live in France; but he might privately confess to him (Belièvre) that according to the genealogies he had seen in England your Majesty not only had might on your side, but a right to the Crown as one of the next heirs, to whom the rest of the claimants would submit as they would be unable to resist you; but God forbid, he said, that he should ever live to see such a thing. I am told that when Belièvre heard this he was thunderstruck and answered not a word. This is the position here upon this point, and the King and Queen-mother think that they will exclude your Majesty's claim by holding out hopes of the king of Scotland's conversion.

After the conversation the ambassador informed Belièvre of his mistress' instructions to him to come to terms with this King as to past questions, and strengthen the friendship between them by a

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new treaty; and if the King would open the door by proposing conditions he, the ambassador, would take the trouble to go secretly and arrange them with the Queen. This is in accordance with what they write to him, and it will suit him excellently on private grounds, as the Queen expresses a desire to favour him and has promised him the viceroyalty of Ireland when he leaves here. Belièvre took the letter to give it to the King, saying that he would speak to his Majesty upon the subject, and, for his own part, he would do his best to promote friendship between the two Crowns, as he was convinced that it would be most beneficial to both of them to hinder the growth of your Majesty's power. This may well be believed, as Belièvre is a *politician*, and a friend of Bearn and the Huguenots; but for all that the ambassador says that the French seem to be smiling upon his mistress only for the purpose of preventing her from drawing closer to your Majesty, and they are parleying with the king of Scotland with a similar object. He writes this view to England, and it is one that will be entertained by Cecil. The latter writes that the Queen is so peevish and discontented that it was feared she would not live long. Her temper was so bad that no Councillor dared to mention business to her, and when even he (Cecil) did so she had told him that she had been strong enough to lift him out of the dirt, and she was able to cast him down again. He was of opinion, he said, that the Councillors might be divided into three categories, namely, those who desired to come to terms with Spain, those who wished a close friendship with France, and those who wanted to stand aloof from both; and these last, whilst enriching themselves with plunder, would end in setting all the world against England. Although Cecil himself was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman he wished the Queen not to be friendly with one power, but with both. King Henry, under whom the country was powerful and tranquil, thought he was doing a great thing when he was able to make war against France, he being in close intimacy with Spain; and here it was seen that they (the French) were as desirous of being friendly with England as the English were with the French. He urges the ambassador to hasten the conclusion of an agreement, as the Queen principally depended upon him to bring it about.

Walsingham and the Lord Admiral write to him (the ambassador) saying how diligent they were in getting Drake away with the fleet without anything being known about it a week before his departure. His (Drake's) orders were to prevent the junction of your Majesty's fleet, and enter what ports he could. They have fresh letters from Spain, reporting that your Majesty had released the hulks belonging to the rebel Hollanders which had been arrested, and that the Indian flotillas were not coming this year, so they have sent a despatch boat after Drake ordering him on no account to enter any port in Spain, but to confine himself strictly to preventing the junction of the fleet, especially the galleasses coming from Italy. He was to wait and capture two argosies which were to bring munitions from Italy, and they also (*i.e.*, Walsingham and the Lord Admiral) urge the ambassador to bring about an agreement between the Queen and this King. Everything I have set down here was seen by my

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confidant in the letters themselves. As the rumours about an agreement between the queen of England and your Majesty continue, the new friend signified to me that if I thought it would be beneficial to your Majesty's interests he would cause the negotiations to pass through my hands. I told him that your Majesty had referred the matter to the duke of Parma, and that it would consequently be better for me not to deal with it. He also says that if your Majesty approves of his accepting the viceroyalty of Ireland he will do so, with the determination of surrendering the country to your Majesty the day his mistress disappears. If, on the other hand, your Majesty does not wish to accept the country for yourself, he will hand it over to whomever your Majesty may choose, so that your Majesty, being assured of that part, may be able to employ your forces elsewhere. The terms he uses in speaking of this prove that affairs in England are in such a condition that, even if a change do not occur before October, when he says he is leaving here, not many months will pass before a complete revolution takes place.—Paris, 20th May 1587.

20 May. **91.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 139. The news of Drake's having put back into an English port was not true. I have now letters from England, dated 4th and 10th instant, assuring me that no tidings of Drake had been received since his departure from Plymouth, although on the 8th it was reported at Rouen by a Breton ship that he had entered the river at Lisbon with his fleet, but had only got out again with great loss of ships and men inflicted upon him by the galleys. There does not seem to be much foundation for this; and it is certain from the news I enclose, dated 20th ultimo, that the Queen sent a despatch boat after him with great speed on the 15th, and it was believed to order him to return, although I do not see much ground for that belief. The people who write from London are led to this opinion by the fact that the despatch boat was sent immediately after the arrival there of the Flemish merchant, Andre de Loo, whom the Englishwoman had sent to the duke of Parma on several occasions to open negotiations for an agreement with your Majesty. The following words are written by several Italian merchants in London, "We hope shortly to have peace with his Catholic Majesty." The earl of Leicester was said to be making ready to return to Holland, and the Queen was much pleased with the proceedings of Lord Buckhurst there, both on account of his having expedited the leaving of the fleet, and his having reconciled Count Hohenlohe with Colonel Norris.

The Dutch fleet which had left to follow Drake was in the Thames and the Queen had ordered it to remain in the Channel to guard it. The Channel was crowded with English, Dutch, and Zeeland pirates, who had prevented M. de Grillon from passing with his ships to Boulogne, until the Queen had ordered them to allow him to do so.

The English ambassador here has letters from his mistress, dated 29th ultimo, and immediately after receiving them he was closeted with Belièvre for some hours; the result being that Belièvre took a letter for the King, written by the queen of England with her own

1587. hand. The letter was closed in a most extravagant way, the outside being covered with ciphers. When the King had read the letter he said to Belièvre, in a way that those present could hear, "The queen "of England always thinks that everyone must be in love with her; "I will answer this letter myself."

The King has despatched a "valet de chambre" and it is believed that he carries orders for all the English ships to be released in the various ports, if the queen of England will act similarly with the French, and allow the wheat ships for Normandy to come at once. The seizure of them has much distressed this country, as there is a great scarcity. The King overlooks the loss of 120 ships, which have been captured by the English from the French since last January only, most of which have disappeared, having been stolen by pirates. Your Majesty will judge that the King will hardly care to perpetuate his quarrel with the Englishwoman for them, but will prefer to have the embargoes raised on the ships in port. They (the French) have not given any intimation on the matter to the English ambassador here, following the course pursued by the queen of England with the French ambassador.

Trapes, the French ambassador's gentleman, has arrived here from England, so that Waad now has hopes of being able to leave as soon as the English ambassador has audience of the King, for which he has asked. The King, however, is delaying it to see how the Queen of England behaves with his ambassador. Letters of the 10th report that the latter had had audience at Greenwich and that Don Antonio was still in London.

Meneses, Castro, and other Portuguese have arrived here, dissatisfied with Don Antonio, and are desirous of joining the duke of Joyeuse if he intends to arm any ships. They said at first that Don Antonio was leaving England, but they are not so confident about it now.

The English ambassadors declare that Drake took out 60 sail, but the truth is that when he left Plymouth he had not 40, including the pinnaces. All accounts agree that he had 24 large ships.—Paris, 20th May 1587.

20 May. 92. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 136. I send enclosed Muzio's answer to my letter about Scotland. Neither I nor Bruce informed him of the duke of Parma's decision as to the time for sending the troops, as Muzio's affairs pass through so many hands that it was not prudent to do so. I conveyed to him what your Majesty had communicated to the Scots lords, to the effect that you approved of their appealing to arms, if it was done at a time when no injury would result to the affairs of this country (*i.e.*, the Catholic cause in France) which you had as much at heart as those of Flanders, both on account of religion and for the sake of the security of Muzio himself. I said I was commanded to convey this to him in order that he might intimate what would be the best time for the Scots lords to move; so that in conjunction with the duke of Parma, Bruce, who was now going to Scotland, might advise them accordingly. I said also that Bruce was going to see whether

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he could get any ships in Scotland, so that Muzio might not complain afterwards that he was kept in the dark, although I avoided giving any particulars. This is the reason why he mentions in his note the loss of time that will occur and that the summer, which is the best season, will slip by while Bruce is going backwards and forwards, and recommends that the ships should be sent from Spain.

The duke of Parma advised me to take the necessary sureties when I hand Bruce the money; to which I have replied that as all suspicion must be avoided, and as he himself orders, I can hardly take any other surety than handing Bruce the money through the Scots ambassador, and that it was not advisable, at present, to send the patent suggested by the ambassador to enable Scots ships to enter Dunkirk with the prizes which they might capture from the enemy, in order to avoid arousing suspicion.*

I despatched Bruce as soon as I received the duke of Parma's reply on both points. Captain Forster goes with him, and they take the money in gold, concealed in their doublets. In accordance with the duke of Parma's directions they will embark in Britanny, and I secretly arranged with the duke of Mercœur to aid them with a permit to freight a ship for their passage. As Bruce bears letters of credence from the duke of Parma and Muzio to the Scottish lords, he intimated that it was desirable that he should take one from me as well, as I was the person to whom he was sent by them. I did as he requested and gave him very minute instructions for his mission, etc. and as to the words he was to convey to the king of Scotland from your Majesty, so that he is going fully prepared on all points. He is a good soul, and so zealous in our Holy Catholic faith that not only has he given his all in Scotland to the jesuits there to aid them in their task, and introduce them into the country, but he told me that if he had not seen a determination on the part of the three nobles who sent him to postpone everything for the religious question, he would never have undertaken his mission, which had for its object the forcing of the King to become a Catholic. He assured me that he would speak very plainly to the King, and point out to him the error in which he was living, impressing upon him the importance for soul's sake, and in the interests of his claim, to abandon it. He says no one yet has ventured to do this; and he promises to let me know instantly, for your Majesty's information, how he finds the King inclined, as upon that will depend your Majesty's treatment of him.

He is also fully impressed as to the time when the ships have to be in Dunkirk, and the necessity for securing Petty Leith, which the duke of Parma requests, and two neighbouring ports which are not inferior to it in capacity. He assures me that these, and any others your Majesty may require, will be obtained for you by the three nobles. God carry him thither in safety, and deliver him from the host of pirates who infest the sea.

The effect of the king of Scotland's instructions to the archbishop of Glasgow is to point out at great length to this King the

* The writer appears to have made a slip here. The Archbishop's suggestion was that Parma's armed privateers *from* Dunkirk should have access to Scotch ports.

1587. obligation imposed upon him, by the very old friendship between the two crowns, to help him in avenging the death of his mother, in which France is as deeply interested as Scotland, the execution having been ordered in the face of a solemn embassy sent by this King, requesting that the Queen should be spared. These points are dwelt upon in a long discourse, and the King is informed that the king of Scotland is thus obliged to appeal to him first for help and council, as to how he can obtain the support of other Christian Princes. The ambassador has not submitted the matter to the King yet, as his first audience was only for the purpose of delivering his letters. The ambassador has also another secret instruction, ordering him to be guided and governed in all things by the duke of Guise, and saying that, although he (the king of Scotland) had decided to send a person to your Majesty, he would not do so until he heard from the duke of Guise whether that would be the better course, or to treat secretly with your Majesty through me.

As the secretary of the king of Scotland, who writes these letters, is reputed to be somewhat of a "*politician*" and a self-seeker, I have thought that the object of these confidences with the duke of Guise may be to find out artfully whether he is in communication with the Scots Catholics, and on what footing he corresponds with your Majesty. I have accordingly sent word to Muzio, through Mayneville, that when the gentleman who brings the despatches (who is a heretic and a creature of the secretary) goes to him (the duke of Guise) he should say, that as your Majesty is so Catholic a King, he can hardly say whether you would receive an ambassador from the king of Scotland, who does not profess the same religion, nor does he know of any better means of approaching you than through the archbishop of Glasgow, who might sound me upon the subject; so that I could then proceed in the matter as the interests of the Scotch business might demand.

Mayneville* approved of my suspicion and the action I suggested, and I told him what the Queen-mother had proposed to Muzio with regard to Scotland. I pointed out to him how injurious it would be to Muzio, for many reasons, to listen to it, or to be carried away by her words, of the falseness of which he had had such evident proofs on numberless occasions. He also knew, I said, how little he could depend upon the King's dissimulation, his object being to draw them on by an appearance of sincerity to offer their aid to the king of Scotland in his English claims, in order to say, if they took up arms to prevent Bearn from succeeding to the French Crown, that they were not moved by any zeal for religion but by personal ambition alone. I drove this point home; and both with regard to that and all else he assured me that Muzio was fully alive, and was determined to persevere in his course. He said that Muzio would laugh at anything the Queen-mother might tell him, and would

* De Maineville had been sent on an embassy to Scotland in 1583 at the instance of Guise, whose retainer he was. He had captured the good graces of James, and was still in communication with many of the Scottish nobles. He was consequently used by Guise as his instrument in Scottish affairs.

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answer her by complaining of the terms of the communication taken to them by Belièvre.

I send copy of Antonio de Vega's letter to me of 8th, and he has again written to me since. I am giving Gaspar Diaz Montesinos enough to live upon here, and I humbly beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to proceed with him.*

Since writing the above I have received Muzio's reply to my message through Mayneville, in which he confirms his previous determination.

Colonel Stuart has arrived here from the duke of Parma, with the same proposal as that sent by the Scottish nobles. As he is a person of influence the Duke satisfied him with generalities, and Muzio and I are treating him in the same way.—Paris, 20th May 1587.

23 May. **93.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 137. [EXTRACT.]

As they always keep me waiting for the passport, I write any fresh news I may have in the interim. I have a letter in my hands from Alvaro Mendez, who went as a Jew to Constantinople and writes to Don Antonio, signing the letter Solomon. He also writes to the English ambassador and some heretic acquaintances here attached to his mistress, saying that your Majesty's truce with the Turk would have been concluded but for him. Your Majesty, he says, demanded the inclusion therein of the Pope, the duke of Florence, and other princes of Italy, and he used influence with Luch Ali to demand, on the part of the Turk, that the queen of England also should be included. Juan Stephano objected to this on the ground that she was at open war with your Majesty, but he, Mendez, had great hopes of being able to induce Luch Ali not to conclude the agreement without her inclusion. He is on very bad terms with the French ambassador (in Turkey), who treats him with contempt, as he knew him here as a professed Christian, whereas now he is a Jew.

I learn that they are writing from here, to have the Pope approached with the proposal that if the king of Scotland is converted, he should marry his Holiness' niece, a sister of Cardinal Montalto, and the Pope might assist him with money to become king of England.†

The French ambassador in England has sent a gentleman hither to tell the King he had had an interview with the Queen, and how much she had caressed him.—Paris, 23rd May 1587.

1 June. **94.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 120. On the 13th ultimo all your letters then to hand were answered. Yesterday yours the 10th, 20th, and 23rd May came to hand together, and although there has only been time to note the

* This man was the adherent of Antonio de Vega, mentioned in a former letter as having vowed vengeance against Don Antonio, and who had been sent by his master to Paris with a proposal for murdering Don Antonio.

† In the King's hand, "It will be well to warn Count de Olivares of this."

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English news, I hasten to acknowledge them, and to urge you to send by express all you can learn of armaments in England, for whatever purpose intended. Try also to discover why the ships from Holland remain in the Channel, and whether Winter has left with those 14 ships to join Drake, and if so, with what object. The reports they are spreading, that they have sent to recall Drake, cannot be believed. He was at Cape St. Vincent a few days since. We are rapidly effecting the junction of our fleets, and they will very shortly be in good order for sailing.—Getafe, 1st June 1587.

Note.—A letter of 20th June, from the King to Mendoza, acknowledges the receipt of the above-mentioned letters at length, and again requests the information asked for, but contains nothing further of interest.

6 June. Paris Archives, K. 1566. 141.

95. Document headed "ADVICES from ENGLAND, dated 6 June, 1587, received in Paris the 20th."

Drake had written to England, saying that he learned from the men he had captured that the preparations being made by your Majesty against England were very great, sufficient to maintain a fleet of 40,000 men for a year, but he hoped that the damage he had done would now prevent your Majesty from mustering a great fleet. He would ensure this if the Queen would send him a reinforcement of ships, as he would then be able to stop the galleys from joining the ships at Lisbon. He had victualled his ships for more than six months with the biscuit and wine he had captured from your Majesty's vessels, and he would distribute the meat and other stores so that they should last the same length of time. He was confident of being able to fulfil his mission of preventing the junction of your Majesty's fleet in Spain this year, if he were furnished with the aid he required. They need only make such preparations in England as would be necessary in case any stray ships went from Spain to assault the villages.

When the above letter from Drake was received, it was decided that four out of the eight ships the Queen had guarding the west end of the Channel should be sent to Drake, and that 10 merchantmen, of from 80 to 100 tons burden, should be fitted out in Bristol and the West-country; the whole 14 vessels taking 1,500 or 2,000 men, sailors and soldiers together. Some people thought that these ships could be made ready in a fortnight, but others were of opinion that it would take much longer. Ten more of the Queen's ships were in the Thames ready for sea. It was feared that if any armed ships from Spain were to go out and meet the 14 vessels before they effected their junction with Drake, the English ships might be destroyed, as they would not be so well armed and formed as Drake's fleet. It was uncertain whether they would be commanded by Grenville, a gentleman who has been sailing as a pirate, or Frobisher, who they thought would agree with Drake better than the other.*

* Drake had fallen out with his second in command (Captain Borough) on the Cadiz expedition, and had placed him under arrest.

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8 June. **96.** DR. NICHOLAS WENDON to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 112.

Fifteen years have passed since your petitioner, Nicholas Wendon, an English gentleman, archdeacon of Suffolk and a doctor of the High Court of Chancery of England, left his country for the sake of the Catholic faith, relinquishing over 1,500 ducats a year income, and in consideration thereof it pleased the late Pope Gregory XIII. to grant him a canonry in St. Gery, Cambrai. When he had lived there five years the unhappy rebellion took place, and on the said Archdeacon publicly displaying his duty to your Majesty, he was forced to leave the city with Archbishop Barlemont, and abandon all he possessed there. Your Majesty's ambassadors, Juan Bautista de Tassis and Don Bernardino de Mendoza, knowing the whole of the circumstances, and moved by compassion for his affliction and long suffering for the sake of the Catholic religion in England, and then at Cambrai, and for his fidelity to your Majesty, obtained a year ago from the duke of Parma a grant of 20 crowns a month to support him in his present need. Notwithstanding this, owing to the many demands for money in Flanders, he has never received the said allowance; and this poor archdeacon humbly supplicates your Majesty to consider his poverty and suffering, he having no other means of support but your bounty, to grant him some increase of the allowance of 20 crowns a month so that it may equal those paid to most of the English gentlemen of quality by your Majesty's charity, and that it should be paid in Paris where he lives, as the other English pensioners are paid, through Don Bernardino de Mendoza.—Nicholas Wendon, Provost, St. Gery, Cambrai. Paris, 8th June 1587.

9 June. **97.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 143.

[EXTRACT.]

The French ambassador in England writes that in his audience with the Queen he told her he would not speak of what had passed, as he feared that in his own exculpation he might say something that might displease her. The Queen had at once taken his hand and said she had never thought he was to blame. The audience resulted in a discussion with the Treasurer and Walsingham about the seizures, and the wheat ships that had been detained were released. With this and the recent fair weather for ships from Holland, 150 vessels loaded with grain have arrived on the coast of Normandy, and the famine here has consequently somewhat abated. The King has kept delaying the audience of the English ambassadors, apparently to give him time to hear what his mother has arranged at Rheims and to be governed thereby.* He received the ambassadors on the 7th without any great show of affection. They handed him a paper, containing, doubtless, the points to be settled about the arrests, which paper the King sent to Secretary Brulart. As Waad was instructed when he came, to deal with certain seizures of English property at Rouen, he said that the Queen thought it

* Catharine de Medici had gone to negotiate with the princes of the League and induce them to lay down their arms. She was unsuccessful, mainly owing to the imprudence and impracticability of the King.

1587. strange that some of this property should have been sold since Waad's arrival here, whereupon the King replied that it was much stranger still that such a man as he (Waad) should dare to say as much to him. If I can learn the points under discussion I will report them to your Majesty. The King has appointed M. de Joyeuse, Belièvre, Secretary Pinart, and President Brisson as a committee to deal with the seizures.—Paris, 9th June 1587.

9 June. **98.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 145. The audience of the French ambassador with the queen of England resulted in his agreeing with the Councillors to whom the Queen referred the matter, and I send enclosed a copy of the articles adopted.

The new friend* reports that the ambassador in the course of the discussion told Cecil and Walsingham that the Queen's cool treatment of Belièvre had caused the latter not to declare his mission on certain points which would have given great pleasure to the Queen (and from this it may be inferred what action he would take about the queen of Scotland), and it would therefore be advisable for the Queen to send some personage hither on the pretext of this commission (about the seizures) who could at the same time treat of the other matters which Belièvre had not mentioned. I am told that the Queen writes to her ambassador here asking him what person he thinks will be best to come.

He is also informed that Chateauneuf has told them that I have been pressing the King in various audiences to join your Majesty against England, and that he had replied that it was not fitting that he should listen to such proposals. They say I recently had an audience in which I handed to the King a letter from your Majesty about the business of the friars of St. Catharine's, in Barcelona, and they also inform the English ambassador here that I had recently delivered another letter to the King, of which they would send him a copy, in which your Majesty again asks him (the king of France) to unite with you against England.

Your Majesty will see by this the fictions they make use of here. The new friend is so keen that he wrote to me instantly what was passing, in order that I might say what would be the best course he could take in the matter for your Majesty's interests. I answered that what they wrote was a lie; as would be proved if they in England asked for the original letter, instead of a copy. He was much pleased with the suggestion, which he assured me he would duly adopt.

I understand that the English ambassadors have said that the King did not receive them so well as they expected, which they attribute to orders from the Queen-mother, so as not to give offence to the Guises. They (the English ambassadors) said to the King that he would already have heard from his ambassador of the

* Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador.

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favourable reception accorded to him by the Queen, and that the latter had relased Trapes; whereupon his Majesty replied that that was not what he had expected, and that his own dignity and that of his Minister demanded something more than the mere release of Trapes. The Queen, he said, ought to punish the man who had imagined such a piece of roguery. They gave the King the heads for discussion, which he said he would consider, and send his answer by Brulart. I will report what occurs.

The King and his mother attach much importance to their having been informed that the queen of England was negotiating through me an agreement with your Majesty, and this makes them think that your preparations are rather for the purpose of enabling you to exact better terms, than with the intention of attacking her.—Paris, 9th June 1587.

9 June. **99.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 147.

[EXTRACT.]

Your Majesty's right to the Crown of England is being declared by Englishmen everywhere. They look to it for relief from their oppression and exile. They write from Brussels that some Englishmen there, desirous of flattering the duke of Parma, are saying that, although your Majesty is the legitimate possessor of the Crown of Portugal by virtue of the laws there, you cannot be so of that of England, and that the succession therefore passes, through the incapacity of the king of Scotland, to the son of the duke of Parma. They have drawn up a genealogical tree of this nonsense, and are going to have it printed.*

I not only wrote to the count de Olivares about the archbishop of Glasgow, as I reported to your Majesty, but also caused him to write to Cardinal Sanzio. He and Cardinal Mondovi, who is the protector of Scotland there, spoke to his Holiness about it, and he told them to write, instructing the Archbishop to accept the post of ambassador of the king of Scotland. The Archbishop has written to the latter, saying that for certain reasons he begs to be excused from serving him as ambassador, although he will remain here a year to forward affairs, and assist the persons who may be sent to take charge of them. This is only an artifice until he sees how the affair which Bruce has gone about may turn out; and if the King does not show much attachment to the Catholic religion he (the Archbishop) does not wish to be prevented by his post of ambassador from aiding those who are better disposed towards it.

The King was keeping in prison the Master of Grey, who was so friendly with the queen of England, on the charge of having been

* Alexander Farnese had married Maria, princess of Portugal, daughter of the Prince Dom Duarte, and their children had, therefore, decidedly a better fundamental right to the Crown of Portugal than Philip had. Philip mainly depended upon the Portuguese descent for his claim to the English Crown, so that Parma's son might have been a formidable opponent. It was the opinion of many in England and Flanders at the time of the Armada that Parma's want of enthusiasm, and the inaction which caused the failure of the expedition, were largely owing to his annoyance at the claims of his children having been so cavalierly set aside.

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concerned in the execution of his mother. Parliament had been convened for the beginning of June and they write from Scotland that the queen of England has signified to the king of Scotland that she had agreed with your Majesty, and he might therefore consider whether it would not be advantageous for him to be friendly with her.

I understand that on Walsingham being told that the king of Scotland was showing courage in the matter of his mother's death, he replied that if he boasted much more they would send him the same road as his mother for 1,000*l.*—a little more than 3,000 crowns. —Paris, 9th June, 1587.

Note.—In a letter of the same date as the aforegoing, addressed to Don Juan de Idiaquez, Mendoza mentions that a person had just arrived from London, which place he had left on the 3rd, bringing news of the arrival in England of a small vessel of Drake's squadron with advices of Drake's having engaged certain ships of the Spanish fleet and that he still remained on the coast of Spain. In another letter (holograph) from the same to the same, Mendoza urgently presses for a more liberal supply of money or he cannot fulfil his Majesty's orders satisfactorily.

June 9. **100.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 146.

I reply to your Majesty's letter of the 13th ultimo received here on the 26th. Although I did everything in my power (as I said in my despatches) to send news of Drake's departure with his fleet the ports were closed in order to prevent the transmission of the intelligence, and so much cunning was employed in this that even Secretary Walsingham refrained from sending hither a despatch from his mistress, so that the courier might not say anything about it. Notwithstanding this, if Villeroy had not detained the passport for four days, as he did, the post having passed safely (which is something, in the present state of the roads), my despatches would have reached your Majesty some days before. To the misfortune of my news having arrived too late must be added the fact that God favoured Drake with just such weather as he required for his object, both on his departure from London and after his sailing from Plymouth on the 11th April (o.s.), when the wind continued so favourable that the Queen, wishing to impress upon Chateauneuf the French ambassador, that all her designs turned out successfully, told him she had news of the 13th May that Drake and his fleet had burnt the ships in Cadiz and had sacked the country. The ambassador replied that it was hard to believe, whereupon she said "Then you "do not believe what is possible." He wrote this hither by the gentleman who I mentioned had brought an account of his audience, before the news arrived from Spain. They did not credit it here, and they had me asked secretly about it, as the business did not seem one that could have been done in so short a time, and it was not possible for the Queen to have received the news at the time she made the remark.* It is evident that she said what she did

* This is a mistake of Mendoza's. Drake ran down with a north-west gale behind him from Plymouth to Cadiz in seven days, and entered the harbour on the 19th April (o.s.), leaving it on the 1st May (o.s.). Even, therefore, if the date of 13th May mentioned by the Queen was new style (which is unlikely) the despatches were dated three days after Drake had sailed out of Cadiz.

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depending upon the fair wind and the belief that he (Drake) would find Cadiz unprepared, thanks to the secrecy of his departure. I can assure your Majesty, and call God as my witness, that so far as lies in my power, I do not lose an instant in reporting what I hear. I may also say that the new confidant has taken care hitherto to advise without loss of a moment whatever may touch your interests.

The last news, of 29th ultimo, brings no intelligence of the preparation of a naval force formed of the 14 Queen's ships now in the Thames, although they are ready with arms, munitions, and men. I cannot report the number of Dutch and Flushing ships in the Thames and the Channel, because as they have no commander, and their object is only plunder, each one goes whither he lists. Sometimes they run into Flushing and other ports, and, according as the weather serves, sail for the purpose of robbery. Nevertheless, passengers between England and France, who are best able to speak of it, give many statements as to the ships they meet, and also of the Rochelle pirates who come up to the entrance of the Channel. All that can be gathered from these statements is that the ships are not provided with munitions and stores to enable them to undertake a voyage with a regular fleet.

The queen of England has no troops in Holland but those who were in the garrisons. It was said in London that the earl of Leicester would shortly go thither with 1,000 infantry to fill up the English companies, but the new confidant assures me that this has not yet been decided upon. In Ireland there are only the ordinary troops, which do not exceed 1,000 men, and it was thought that the Queen would soon send another Viceroy, as Thomas Parret (Sir John Perrot), the present one, is very unpopular.

Italian merchants write from London that several English ships, freighted for Leghorn and other Italian ports, had returned to England when they had learnt of Drake's action in Cadiz, bringing with them some ships they had plundered.

The Scots ambassador here, not having yet had audience of the King, sent the gentleman who came to him from Scotland to the duke of Guise. When the Queen-Mother departed from here she left strict orders for every effort to be made both through the Scots ambassador and Englishmen to discover whether any negotiation was being carried on on your Majesty's behalf.

Letters have been received from Scotland, dated 12th May, reporting that the King had held a meeting of nobles in which his Majesty had ordered Morton to quit Scotland, promising him the enjoyment of his revenues in any place he chose out of the kingdom. A month had been allowed him to be gone, but it was believed that the term would be extended from time to time; and so the earl of Angus and the English faction, who are urging the banishment of Morton at the instance of the queen of England, could be temporised with.

I have no news of Bruce, but I hope in God that by this time, if he has had fair weather, he will be in Scotland.—Paris, 9th June 1587.

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9 June. **101.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 148.

The arrival of André de Loo in London caused the rumour I have mentioned, that the arrangements for peace with your Majesty were on the point of being concluded, and Don Antonio went to the Queen to ask for a passport as she was treating for peace. She said it was true, and if it were settled she pledged her word to place him in safety out of the country in any place he chose. She would give him a passport at once, and pending an arrangement between her and your Majesty she recommended him to dismiss the Portuguese he had with him, except 12 or 15 persons; and to send and ascertain whether the rebel states would help him with some ships as they had promised on former occasions, in which case he could push his claims, and she would not fail to help him with forces the moment it was decided that she was not to have peace with your Majesty and Drake returned. In accordance with this Don Antonio dismissed over 80 Portuguese as they themselves assert, telling them to stay in Holland for two months, after which he would take them back. For this purpose he gave them five crowns each, and ordered them to go and serve the rebels. For various reasons this did not commend itself to most of them, and they asked for passports enabling them to go whithersoever they pleased, and the majority of them have come to France. Some of them have come to me to beg for passports and your Majesty's pardon, and I have replied that the bad behaviour of some of their countrymen for whom I had interceded with your Majesty would not allow me to do as they asked. They have now scattered over France, some going to Marshal Montmorenci; and Don Antonio Meneses and Don Juan de Castro are starving in an inn here. M. de Chatres, governor of Dieppe, who surrendered at Terceira, has received four of these Portuguese who had been at the Mina and is going to send them out in a ship to plunder. Don Antonio was sending his eldest son to the rebel states, but the Queen told him it would be better that Diego Botello should go, and he went to Zeeland some time ago, saying that if the States helped Don Antonio well he would soon go thither, and send to Bearn to ask for support. Don Antonio's people here are trying to ascertain whether the King will receive him well if he come hither.

On the 29th ultimo Don Antonio was at Stepney, a mile out of London. In answer to your Majesty's inquiry as to his not having embarked in Drake's ships, I may say that the Queen had no other object than the attack upon Cadiz and afterwards the intercepting of the flotillas, and she therefore did not wish Don Antonio to accompany Drake. He himself did not press the matter, as he thought the number of ships insufficient and not so many as had been promised him.

I have just received letters from England of 2nd instant, saying that Don Antonio had now gone to a house in London which had been given to him by the earl of Leicester. He had fallen out with the barber who has served him for over 27 years because he would not clothe the latter any longer. This Thomas, the barber, has come to see me here, saying that his wife is in prison in Portugal by your Majesty's orders, and he wanted a passport from me to enable him to go and cast himself at your Majesty's feet with

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a rope round his neck. I gave him the same answer as I did the rest.

M. de la Chatre, governor of Dieppe, has decided to send a ship of 250 or 300 tons, manned only by Portuguese, to the Mina and the coast of Brazil.—Paris, 9th June 1587.

Note.—In another letter of the same date as the above, entirely on Portuguese affairs, Mendoza gives a long account of a secret interview he had had with a Portuguese friar named Diego Carlos, who had come from England and professed to have Don Antonio's authority for approaching the king of Spain with submission and hope of pardon. Mendoza treated the proposal with studied coolness, saying that no terms could be made, but Don Antonio must cast himself on the King's mercy. He asks for instructions as to whether he is to continue the negotiations.

12 June. **102.** The DUKE OF GUISE to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 152.

Hints his dissatisfaction at not being kept informed of the progress of Bruce's negotiation. The archbishop of Glasgow and all the king of Scotland's servants are aware that he (Guise) had cognisance of it, and the king of Scotland is sure to write and ask him for advice, in which case he cannot decently pretend to be ignorant of the matter. He begs Mendoza to tell him how he should act in the interests of the king of Spain, as his obligation towards the latter outweighs all other considerations. If the king of Scots is his cousin, he looks upon the king of Spain as the common father of all Catholics, and especially of him (Guise), but in serving him he wishes to be dealt with in the same honourable fashion as heretofore, and as he (Guise) has ever adopted.* —12th June 1587.

12 June. **103.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 949.

They are making much here of the king of Scotland having restored the archbishop of Glasgow and two other bishops, one of them being that Carthusian friar about whom I have written recently. Cardinal Mondovi sent to tell me, as an affair of great importance, and subsequently the Pope said that he had been informed, and asked me what I thought of it. I replied that very probably the King was so desirous of being revenged for the death of his mother, in which he could only hope to be aided by the Catholics, that he had adopted this means of encouraging them with the hope that he would be a Catholic; and he would, no doubt, do something else at the same time, of which we knew nothing, in order not to lose ground with the heretics in consequence. I said I knew so much of the King's bad inclination that it would take a great deal of persuasion to make me hope for his sincere conversion. The Pope did not appear to disagree with me in this.

His Holiness told me that he had given the new collector a credential letter for your Majesty, and had ordered him to recommend the English enterprise to you, and to say that the king of

* Guise greatly resented his exclusion from the Spanish plans in Scotland, as he knew that they were directed to the prejudice of his kinsman James in any case. He subsequently divulged the whole plan to James, and this was mainly instrumental in rendering it abortive.

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France had offered to help, for which reason it would be well to see whether something could not be got from him (*i.e.*, the king of France), if only a promise that he would not oppose it. I tried to undeceive him on this point, as I have done before, and although at the time he seems to understand it, he has not even yet been quite disillusioned, or he would not have instructed Bressa* to speak thus on the English affair, after I had induced him to say nothing until a reply was received from your Majesty. I tried to confirm him in this, as Bressa's departure drew near before any reply came, and he told me that he had already spoken about the matter to him, but had said nothing more than that he should forward the business as much as possible, and persuade your Majesty to it, but that if that were unsuccessful, he should try to undertake the enterprise himself, or at least leave enough money behind him for his successor to undertake it.

I send copy of Allen's letter† in favour of the English who surrendered strong places to your Majesty, which letter I sent to the duke of Parma.—Rome, 12th June 1587.

15 June. Estado, 949.

104. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

I forgot to say that Melino and Allen have conceived the idea that your Majesty has cooled towards the enterprise, as they see the time advancing and have received a letter from Don Bernardino de Mendoza saying that the death of the queen of Scotland is greatly against the expedition. They are therefore using every effort to convince me that, not only will the Queen's death be no loss to the business, but will do away with many of the difficulties which beset it, as much trouble would have had to be taken to save her during the enterprise, and more still after God had crowned it with success. —Rome, 15th June 1587.

17 June. Estado, 839.

105. Relation made to SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD by an Englishman named ARTHUR DUDLEY, claiming to be the son of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Imprimis, he said that a man named Robert Southern, a servant of Catharine Ashley (who had been governess to the Queen in her youth, and was for ever afterwards one of her most beloved and intimate ladies), which Southern was married, and lived 20 leagues from London, was summoned to Hampton Court. When he arrived another lady of the Queen's court named Harrington asked him to obtain a nurse for a new-born child of a lady, who had been so careless of her honour, that, if it became known, it would bring great shame upon all the company and would highly displease the Queen if she knew of it. The next morning, in a corridor leading to the Queen's private chamber, the child was given to the man, who was told that its name was Arthur. The man took the child and gave it for some days to the wife of a miller of Molesey to suckle. He afterwards took it to a village near where he lived, 20 leagues from London, where the child remained until it was

* Bressa was the newly appointed collector of the Papal revenues in Spain.
† The King remarks in the margin that the enclosures mentioned were not received.

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weaned. He then took it to his own house and brought it up with his own children, in place of one of his which had died of similar age.

Some years afterwards the man Robert, who lived very humbly at home, left his own family and took this Arthur on horseback to London, where he had him brought up with great care and delicacy, whilst his own wife and children were left in his village.

When the child was about eight years old, John Ashley, the husband of Catharine Ashley, who was one of the Queen's gentlemen of the chamber, gave to Robert the post of lieutenant of his office, as keeper of one of the Queen's houses called Enfield, three leagues from London; and during the summer, or when there was any plague or sickness in London, Arthur was taught and kept in this house, the winters being passed in London. He was taught Latin, Italian, and French, music, arms, and dancing. When he was about 14 or 15, being desirous of seeing strange lands, and having had some disagreement, he stole from a purse of this Robert as many silver pieces as he could grasp in his hand, about 70 reals, and fled to a port in Wales called Milford Haven, with the intention of embarking for Spain, which country he had always wished to see. Whilst he was there awaiting his passage in the house of a gentleman named George Devereux, a brother of the late earl of Essex, a horse messenger came in search of him with a letter, signed by seven members of the Council, ordering him to be brought to London. The tenour of this letter showed him to be a person of more importance than the son of Robert Southern. This letter still remains in the castle of Llanfear, in the hands of George Devereux, and was seen and read by Richard Jones and John Ap Morgan, then magistrates of the town of Pembroke, who agreed that the respect thus shown to the lad by the Council proved him to be a different sort of person from what he had commonly been regarded.

When he was conveyed to London, to a palace called Pickering Place, and he found there Wotton, of Kent, Thomas Heneage, and John Ashley, who reproved him for running away in that manner, and gave him to understand that it was John Ashley who had paid for his education, and not Robert Southern. He thinks that the letter of the council also said this.

Some time afterwards, being in London, and still expressing a desire to see foreign lands, John Ashley, finding that all persuasions to the contrary were unavailing, obtained letters of recommendation to M. de la Noue, a French colonel then in the service of the States. He was entrusted for his passage to a servant of the Earl of Leicester, who pretended to be going to Flanders on his own affairs, and he landed at Ostend in the summer of 1580, proceeding afterwards to Bruges, where he remained until La Noue was taken prisoner.* This deranged his plans, and taking leave of the Earl of Leicester's gentleman, he went to France, where he remained until his money was spent; after which he returned to England for a fresh supply. He again returned to France, whence he was recalled at the end of 1583 by letters from Robert Southern, saying that his return to England would be greatly to his advantage.

* La Noue was taken prisoner on the 15th May 1580.

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When he arrived in England he found Robert very ill of paralysis at Evesham, where he was keeping an inn, his master having sold the office of keeper of Enfield. Robert, with many tears, told him he was not his father, nor had he paid for his bringing up, as might easily be seen by the different way in which his own children had been reared. Arthur begged him to tell him who his parents were, but Robert excused himself, saying that both their lives depended upon it, besides the danger of ruining other friends who did not deserve such a return.

Arthur took leave of Robert in anger, as he could not obtain the information he desired, and Robert sent a lad after him to call him back. Arthur refused to return unless he promised to tell him whose son he was. Robert also sent the schoolmaster Smyth, a Catholic, after him, who gravely reproved him for what he was doing, and at last brought him back to Robert. The latter then told him secretly that he was the son of the earl of Leicester and the Queen, with many other things unnecessary to set down here. He added that he had (no) authority to tell him this; but did so for the discharge of his own conscience, as he was ill and near death. Arthur begged him to give him the confession in writing, but he could not write, as his hand was paralysed, and Arthur sent to London to seek medicines for him. He got some from Dr. Hector (Nuñes), but they did no good; so, without bidding farewell to Robert, he took his horse and returned to London, where, finding John Ashley, and a gentleman named Drury, he related to them what Robert had told him. They exhibited great alarm at learning the thing had been discovered, and prayed him not to repeat it, recommending him to keep near the court; and promising him if he followed their advice, he might count upon their best services whilst they lived. They told him they had no means of communicating with the Earl, except through his brother the earl of Warwick.

The great fear displayed by John Ashley and the others when they knew that the affair was discovered alarmed Arthur to such an extent that he fled to France. On his arrival at Eu in Normandy he went to the Jesuit College there in search of advice. After he had somewhat obscurely stated his case, the Rector, seeing that the matter was a great one and foreign to his profession, dismissed him at once, and told him he had better go to the duke of Guise, which he promised to do, although he had no intention of doing it, thinking that it would be impolitic for him to divulge his condition to Frenchmen. When he was in Paris he went to the Jesuit College there with the intention of divulging his secret to an English father named Father Thomas, but when he arrived in his presence he was so overcome with terror that he could not say a word. The Commissioners of the States of Flanders being in Paris at the time, to offer their allegiance to the king of France, and there being also a talk about a league being arranged by the duke of Guise, Arthur feared that some plans might be hatching against England, and repented of coming to France at all. He thereupon wrote several letters to John Ashley, but could get no reply. He also wrote to Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in France, without saying his name, and when the ambassador desired to know who he was he

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replied that he had been reared by Robert Southern, whom the Queen knew, and whose memory she had reason to have graven on her heart.

He remained in France until he had cause to believe that the queen of England would take the States of Flanders under her protection and that a war might ensue. He then returned to England in the ship belonging to one Nicholson of Ratcliff. The said master threatened him when they arrived at Gravesend that he would hand him over to the justices for his own safety. Arthur begged him rather to take him to the earl of Leicester first, and wrote a letter to the Earl, which Nicholson delivered. The Earl received the letter and thanked the bearer for his service, of which Nicholson frequently boasted. The next morning, as the ship was passing Greenwich on its way to London, two of the Earl's gentlemen came on board to visit him, one of them named Blount, the Earl's equerry. When they arrived at Ratcliff, Flud, the Earl's secretary, came to take Arthur to Greenwich. The Earl was in the garden with the earls of Derby and Shrewsbury, and on Arthur's arrival the earl of Leicester left the others and went to his apartment, where by his tears, words, and other demonstrations he showed so much affection for Arthur that the latter believed he understood the Earl's deep intentions towards him. The secretary remained in Arthur's company all night, and the next morning, on the Earl learning that the masters and crews of the other ships that had sailed in their company had seen and known Arthur, and had gone to Secretary Walsingham to give an account of their passengers, he said to Arthur, " You are like a ship under full sail at sea, pretty to " look upon but dangerous to deal with." The Earl then sent his secretary with Arthur to Secretary Walsingham to tell him that he (Arthur) was a friend of the Earl's, and Flud was also to say that he knew him. Walsingham replied that if that were the case he could go on his way. Flud asked for a certificate and licence to enable Arthur to avoid future molestation, and Walsingham thereupon told Arthur to come to him again and he would speak to him. On that day Arthur went with the Earl to his house at Wanstead and returned with Flud in the evening to Greenwich. The Earl again sent to Walsingham for the licence; but as Walsingham examined him very curiously, and deferred giving him the paper, Arthur was afraid to return to his presence. He therefore went to London and asked M. de la Mauvissière to give him a passport for France, which, after much difficulty, he obtained in the guise of a servant of the ambassador. He supped that night with the ambassador, and was with him until midnight, but on arriving at Gravesend the next morning he found that the passport would carry him no further without being presented to Lord Cobham.* As he found there an English hulk loaded with English soldiers for Flanders he entered into their company and landed at Bergen-op-Zoom. He was selected to accompany one Gawen, a lieutenant of Captain Willson, and a sergeant of Colonel Norris, to beg the States for some aid in money for the English troops, who were in great need.

* He was Lord Lieutenant of Kent and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

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The paper then relates at length Arthur's plot with one Seymour to deliver the town of Tele to the Spaniards, which plot was discovered. His adventures at Cologne and elsewhere are also recounted. He opened up communications with the elector of Cologne and the Pope, and indirectly the duke of Parma learnt his story and sent Count Paul Strozzi to interview him. After many wanderings about Germany he received a messenger from the earl of Leicester at Sighen, but to what effect he does not say. He then undertook a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montserrat, and on learning in Spain of the condemnation of Mary Stuart he started for France, but was shipwrecked on the Biscay coast and captured by the Spaniards as a suspicious person, and was brought to Madrid where he made his statement to Englefield. (The latter portion of the statement is not here given at length, as it has no bearing upon Arthur Dudley's alleged parentage.)

The above statement was accompanied by a private letter from Arthur Dudley to Sir Francis Englefield as follows:—

As time allowed I have written all this, although as you see my paper has run short. If God grants that his Majesty should take me under his protection, I think it will be necessary to spread a rumour that I have escaped, as everybody knows now that I am here, and my residence in future can be kept secret. I could then write simply and sincerely to the earl of Leicester all that has happened to me, in order to keep in his good graces; and I could also publish a book to any effect that might be considered desirable, in which I should show myself to be everybody's friend and nobody's foe. With regard to the king of Scotland, in whose favour you quote the law, I also have read our English books, but you must not forget that when the din of arms is heard the laws are not audible; and if it is licit to break the law for any reason, it is licit to do so to obtain dominion. Besides which, if this reason was a sufficiently strong one to bring about the death of the mother, the life of the son might run a similar risk. Those who have power have right on their side. As for the earl of Huntingdon, and Beauchamp, son of the earl of Hertford, both of them are descendants of Adam, and perhaps there is someone else who is their elder brother.

Attached to this document there is another memorandum from Englefield as follows:—

I recollect that this Arthur Dudley amongst other things repeated several times that for many years past the earl of Leicester had been the mortal enemy of the queen of Scots, and that the condemnation and execution of Throgmorton, Parry, and many others had been principally brought about in order to give an excuse for what was afterwards done with the queen of Scots.

I think it very probable that the revelations that this lad is making everywhere may originate in the queen of England and her Council, and possibly with an object that Arthur himself does not yet understand. Perhaps if they have determined to do away with the Scottish throne they may encourage this lad to profess catholicism and claim to be the Queen's son, in order to discover the minds of other Princes as to his pretensions, and the Queen may

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thereupon either acknowledge him or give him such other position as to neighbouring Princes may appear favourable. Or perhaps in some other way they may be making use of him for their iniquitous ends. I think also that the enclosed questions should be put to him to answer in writing—whether all at once or at various times I leave to you. I also leave for your consideration whether it would not be well to bring Arthur to San Geronimo, the Atocha, or some other monastery or other house where he might be more commodiously communicated with.

18 June. Estado, 839. **106.** SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD to the KING.

Very late last night Andres de Alba sent me what Arthur Dudley has written, which being in English, and filling three sheets of paper, will take some days to translate and summarise in Spanish.

As, however, I have read it, I think well in the meanwhile to advise your Majesty that the effect of it is a discourse about his education, with the reasons and arguments which have led him to believe to be, as he calls himself, the son of the Queen. He then gives an account of his voyages away from England, in France and Flanders, showing that they had no other intention or motive than a desire, on his first voyage, to see strange countries. He returned in consequence of poverty, and subsequently set out on his second voyage for his own safety's sake. He mentions several things that happened in France and Flanders and speaks of the letters that passed between him and the elector of Cologne, and says that his reason for coming to this country was a vow he had made to visit Our Lady of Monserrat, where he was shriven on the 13th October of last year. He enumerates certain places in Spain where he has stayed, and the persons he has been living with. He adds that his intention was to go to France when he was detained in Giupuzcoa, and ends by begging his Majesty to accept and esteem him as the person he claims to be, and to protect him (although with the utmost secresy). He indicates a desire also to write something in English, to publish to the world, and especially to England, who he is, as he thinks that those who have put the queen of Scotland out of the way will endeavour to send her son after her.

As he replies in this discourse to some of the questions I sent to your Majesty on Monday they may be modified accordingly before they are sent to him.—Madrid, 18th June 1587.

20 June. **107.** SAME to the SAME.

I send your Majesty herewith a summary of all that Arthur Dudley had sent to me, and as it appears that some of the questions your Majesty has are answered therein, I have eliminated the 4th, 5th, and 6th questions and have added those I now enclose.

I also send enclosed what I think of writing with the questions, as I think I had better defer my going thither until after he has sent his answers to them, as I find many things which he told me verbally have been omitted in his statement.

When your Majesty has altered what you think fit, I will put my letter, which I will take or send as your Majesty orders, in conformity. As he says he is in want of paper your Majesty had better order him to be supplied with as much as may be needed;

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because the more fully he writes the better shall we be able to discover what we wish to know.—Madrid, 20th June 1587.

19 June. **108.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 949. In the audience I had with his Holiness on the 13th, having regard to the reports which are being received here daily, I tried to keep fresh in his mind the friendship that exists between the king of France and the queen of England. Sometimes I find him well disposed on the subject, but he is very changeable about it, as he is in all things. They are also falsely magnifying here the good news of the conversion of the king of Scotland, which again has made him vacillate accordingly. I try all I can personally and indirectly to keep him firm.—Rome, 19th June 1587.

20 June. **109.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 122. I note what the new friend told you about the wish of the English to form a closer union with the Christian King, and the active steps that were being taken with that object by the English ambassador. Although without any fresh treaty between them they may come to an agreement to embarrass us, they will be the less able to do so whilst their recent distrust of each other exists. You will therefore use every effort to throw cold water on their negotiations by means of the new friend, whom you will induce to fulfil his task dexterously as you may arrange between you.* If you succeed in preventing a fresh alliance between the countries so much the better, but if you should fail in this, you may accept the suggestion you mention about Ireland; arranging at once with the new friend what will be the most advisable course.† But in the first place you must try to prevent a new alliance.

With regard to the hint thrown out to you about placing in your hands the negotiations for an agreement with England, you gave the proper reply by referring them (*i.e.*, the English) to the duke of Parma, with whom they have opened negotiations. You may say that you have taken this course from no dislike to them so long as they act properly, but because you know that they will negotiate with any other person less distrustfully than with you.

The remark made by the new friend to Belièvre about my rights to the English crown had better have been left unsaid, as it could only serve to open their eyes and enable them to counteract us. It will therefore be wiser in future to avoid similar conversations with those who will do their best to stand in our way, although it is desirable that the subject should be disseminated amongst Englishmen. You did well in providing that the message to be sent to me by the king of Scotland should not be conveyed by a person who was doubtful in the matter of religion, but should be transmitted through you and the archbishop of Glasgow, of whose help in Paris I am glad. I am expecting to receive the King's reply to my message sent through the Archbishop. You will forward it to me

* In the King's hand "You" (Secretary Idiaquez) "had better write this to him as "well. Urge him to use every endeavour, for it really is unspeakably important."

† This refers to Sir Edward Stafford's offer to obtain the vice-royalty of Ireland for the purpose of surrendering the country to Philip on the death of Elizabeth.

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with all speed, and particularly let me know whether the King's action towards the Archbishop and the other two prelates may be attributed to a growing attachment towards the Catholics, or if it is simply a matter of policy with a desire to ingratiate himself with all parties. The duke of Parma writes confirming your letters about Bruce's affair, which seems to be progressing favourably. You will keep Bruce in hand and arrange matters in concert with the Duke. You did wisely in not communicating all the negotiations with Bruce to Muzio (*i.e.*, Guise), but only as much as was advisable. Urge Muzio to be firm in his interviews with the Queen-Mother, which he has very good reason for being, the duke of Parma having the aid to be furnished to him so ready for action in case of need. It was especially advisable to put Muzio on his guard against the proposals they might make to him to help the king of Scotland in the English enterprise. You will continue to press this point and show him how these suggestions tend to uproot him from France; besides which, if he once adopted the proposal, they might turn round upon him and say he was not moved by zeal for Catholicism in his attitude in France, since he is ready to aid a heretic elsewhere.—Madrid, 20th June 1587.

20 June **110.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 154.

The duke of Guise (Muzio) has written me the enclosed note, to which I have replied that he must bear in mind that the Scottish lords trusted him and opened their hearts to him when they asked him to be their intermediary with your Majesty to obtain help. By his intercession, and because the cause was so godly a one, your Majesty had granted their request, and the confidence the lords had reposed in him did not deserve his endangering their lives and estates by divulging their plans to the King, who was a heretic and in the hands of the English faction, especially as these plans were so righteous and were directed to the King's welfare and the conversion of the country to our Catholic faith, this being the only interest your Majesty had in the matter. As the king of Scotland had only hitherto written to him in general terms as to his desiring aid to avenge his mother he (Guise) might very well reply in the same strain, saying that, whilst he (James) retains the same mind, friends and aid will not fail him. By adopting this course no blame could be cast upon him (Guise) of having neglected his duty as the kinsman of the king of Scotland, or that of advancing the Catholic faith in Scotland, which must remain a prominent consideration with him, as he had taken up arms for its maintenance in this country. On the arrival of news from Bruce, who had been instructed to sound the King's feelings, I said he could act as seemed most advisable under the circumstances. I dwelt at length on these and similar arguments to persuade him not to spoil the business in this inconsiderate way. The archbishop of Glasgow approved of my reply, and agreed that it was unadvisable that Muzio should send any other answer, or divulge anything further in the business. M. de la Motte wrote asking me to endeavour to send some Scotsman to Holland to tempt a countryman of his in Gueldres to surrender

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the fortress.* I did so and my envoy has returned with the reply that when the duke of Parma sends some person to Gueldres to treat with him (*i.e.* the Scots commander) he will surrender the town and two other places as well. If this service is considered unimportant he says that he will hold his footing until he is put into some place where he can render a greater service.—Paris, 20th June 1587.

Note.—A letter from the duke of Guise, dated 25th June, to Mendoza (Paris Archives, K. 1565. 15.), accepts the advice given in the aforegoing, and the Duke agrees to take no fresh step in the matter until Bruce returns. It will be seen by the above letter and the preceding one how determined Philip was to keep the Guises embroiled in France if possible, and to alienate them from interfering in Scottish and English affairs in the interest of James VI. It is clear from the above also that Guise bitterly resented this, but felt his own powerlessness in the face of the Spanish aid promised him in his French plans. Guise, however, notwithstanding his promise, divulged the Catholic conspiracy to James and rendered it abortive.

20 June. **111.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1566, 155.

In addition to what I say about England in my general letter, which is, according to the new friend, exactly the tenour of Drake's report to the Queen, I have to add that Drake also writes that he learnt from the men he had captured that all the Sovereigns on the other side of the straits of the Mediterranean sea would help your Majesty in the English enterprise, and greater preparations were being made for it in your Majesty's dominions than had ever been seen before. These preparations would suffice to maintain a fleet of 40,000 men for a year; but notwithstanding this, the fine weather that God had sent had enabled him to do so much damage that he believed your Majesty would not now be able to gather a large fleet; and he (Drake) would continue and make sure of this if the Queen would send him reinforcements of small ships to prevent the passage of the galleys which sailed close in shore, where he dared not follow them in order not to imperil his great ships. They (the galleys) would thus be unable to join the other vessels which were in Lisbon. He had stored his squadron with wine and biscuits for six months, plundered from your Majesty, and he would so distribute the meat and other victuals that they should last for the same period, by which time he was confident of being able to fulfil his mission of preventing the junction of your Majesty's fleet in Spain this year, if he were furnished with the aid he requested. It was advisable, he said, for the Queen to order such preparation on the coast as would be able to resist any stray ships which might come from Spain to attack the villages; and that the Queen should send him the ships she thought necessary, in which case he would guarantee that your Majesty's fleet should not approach the island this year. The Queen instantly decided that the four largest of the eight ships

* Shortly afterwards Colonel Peyton, who was the *locum tenens* for Schenk in the governorship of Gueldres, surrendered the place to the forces of Parma under Hautepenne for 30,000 crowns. His ostensible excuse were his dislike to Leicester and the English, and a quarrel which he had had in a drinking bout with his superior officer, the Fleming Schenk, in which the latter had struck him. *See* Strada.

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she had guarding the west end of the Channel should be sent, and 10 merchantmen fitted out in Bristol and the West Country of from 80 to 120 tons burdens each; the whole 14 ships taking 1,500 or 2,000 men, soldiers and sailors. Some people thought that these merchant ships could be made ready in a fortnight, whilst others objected that they could not be ready so soon, and the ships from Plymouth would require the wind from one quarter and those from Bristol from another to enable them to join. The eight Queen's ships on the west coast are not the very large ones, the "Elizabeth," one of the largest of all, being in port, and the "White Bear" is in the same state; whilst the other 10 are in the Thames quite ready to sail. I cannot give your Majesty any further particulars of this fleet at present.

The new friend had a special messenger waiting to bring this news on the 6th, but the contrary wind detained him in port nine days. He is much vexed at this as he thinks that if the news arrives in time some ships of your Majesty's fleet might sail out and encounter the 14 vessels before they reached Drake, in which case they would certainly be destroyed, as they cannot sail so well armed and found as Drake's ships. He (*i.e.*, "the new friend," Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador) advised me instantly and said that no time ought to be lost in reporting the matter to your Majesty. I therefore send this by special messenger, and will advise also as soon as I learn that these ships have sailed.

It was proposed in the council that Grenville, a gentleman who has always sailed with pirates, should command the squadron, but it was objected that he would not serve under Drake, and it was necessary to send some person who would not raise questions but would obey Drake unreservedly, and it was therefore thought that Frobisher would be put into command.

The new friend has been offered the post of viceroy of Ireland, as I have mentioned, and now they have offered him another office which carries with it the membership of the Council. He desires to know which of the two your Majesty wishes him to accept.* In the first position he would render the service I have already mentioned, and in the other he would report all that passes. I humbly beg your Majesty to signify your pleasure, as he is anxious to learn your wishes and to serve you.—Paris, 20th June 1587.

Note.—There are several marginal notes of the King's, showing that he was entirely confused as to the number of ships spoken of in England. The matter seems clear enough. There were eight Queen's ships on the West coast, of which four were to be sent to Drake, accompanied by 10 merchantmen fitted out in Bristol and the West Country. There were 10 Queen's ships ready for sea in the Thames, and two, the "Elizabeth" and the "White Bear" in dock.

20 June. **112.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1656. 156. Owing to the contrary winds that have prevailed lately I cannot give your Majesty any fresher news from England than the 6th. They report that, two days prior to this, Robert Cross arrived in

* In the King's hand, "This must be considered."

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London, having been sent by Drake with two prize ships, which professed to be Italians, one of 800 tons, and the other of 600, loaded with Malvoisie, raisins, and other things which Drake had captured, and which they consider a valuable prize.

This Robert Cross reports that Drake sent him, after entering the Bay of Cadiz, to give an account to the Queen of his voyage, and the fortunes which had attended him on the high seas after he left England. He had encountered a great storm which had scattered his ships, but he had collected them again at the end of five days, after which he had the best weather he could desire and arrived at Cadiz without being discovered. He had there sunk 32 ships of 700 and 800 tons each, the smallest of them being 400 tons, and two galleys, he having engaged 12 of the latter which were in port, and done much damage to them. He had also captured six ships, with a great quantity of biscuit and wine, which was intended for the provisioning of your Majesty's fleet for England. To sum up the tonnage of the ships he had destroyed, he had sunk, burned and captured 25,000 tons burden, and had stocked his fleet with wine and biscuits for six months, and this, he said, would be no small impediment to the junction of your Majesty's fleet. In order to prevent this he would remain on the coast of Spain. I also hear that the General of the galleys in Cadiz sent him a boat load of sweetmeats for his refreshment.

The rumour that the earl of Leicester would return to Flanders was still current, and they say that 1,500 men were ready to accompany him and fill up the English ranks. It may be concluded that the duke of Parma's beleaguering of Ostend will hasten the despatch of these men, even if the Earl himself do not go and try to relieve it.

Don Antonio was in London without change in his affairs, and there was nothing fresh about Ireland.

Parliament was convened in Scotland for the 1st instant, as the King then entered his 21st year, when he takes full possession of the government and certain things which have been done in his minority will be reformed.—Paris, 20th June 1587.

22 June. Estado, 839. **113.** SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD to the KING.

Although the statement sent to me by Arthur Dudley omits many things that he told me verbally, which things must be inquired into more particularly, yet it appears evident from what he writes that he makes as light of the claims of Huntingdon and of the sons of the earl of Hertford, as he does of the life of the king of Scotland; and it is also manifest that he has had much conference with the earl of Leicester, upon whom he mainly depends for the fulfilment of his hopes. This and other things convince me that the queen of England is not ignorant of his pretensions; although, perhaps, she would be unwilling that they should be thus published to the world, for which reason she may wish to keep him (Dudley) in his low and obscure condition as a matter of policy, and also in order that her personal immorality might not be known (the bastards of princes not usually being acknowledged in the lifetime of their parents), and she has always considered that it would be dangerous to her for her heir to be nominated in her lifetime,

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although he alleges that she has provided for the earl of Leicester and his faction to be able to elevate him (Dudley) to the throne when she dies, and perhaps marry him to Arabella (Stuart). For this and other reasons I am of opinion that he should not be allowed to get away, but should be kept very secure to prevent his escape. It is true his claim at present amounts to nothing, but, with the example of Don Antonio before us, it cannot be doubted that France and the English heretics, or some other party, might turn it to their own advantage, or at least make it a pretext for obstructing the reformation of religion in England (for I look upon him as a very feigned Catholic) and the inheritance of the crown by its legitimate master; especially as during this Queen's time they have passed an Act in England, excluding from the succession all but the heirs of the Queen's body.—Madrid, 22nd June 1587.

Note to the above letter, in the handwriting of the King. "Since "the other letters were written, the enclosed from Englefield has "been handed to me." It certainly will be "safest to make sure of "his (Dudley's) person until we know more about it."

24 June. Estado, 949. **114.** The KING to COUNT DE OLIVARES.

It will be advisable not to press forward for the present the question of the succession, but only in due time to request the Pope to fulfil the document of 24th February 1586, in which he undertook to accept the deprivation of the king of Scotland and to conform to my opinion with regard to the succession. On the other point, of declaring this war a righteous one, although it will be advisable for the reasons you and Allen have drawn up, yet it would be well for his Holiness at the time of the execution to grant a jubilee for those who take part in it, and those who pray for the success of so just and holy a cause. When you approach him on this point, in due time (which is not at present), you will take care to put it in the form I have mentioned, or in any other that you and Allen may think advisable, without altering the substance. In the meanwhile it will be sufficient for you to strengthen your ground respecting the exclusion of the king of Scotland, which you will see is extremely important.

It is also very desirable that you should now ensure the payment of the million, and its anticipation in the form I wrote on the 7th April. This should be done with all possible speed and certainty, without pledging me to any fixed time, although you should say that you are sure I shall carry out the enterprise as soon as I can out of regard to the service of the Lord, the obligations imposed upon us all by the death of the queen of Scotland, and the saintly wishes of his Holiness. This is the path you will follow, but get the question of the money settled at once and let me know.

If you proceed in this way the Pope will not have so early an opportunity of trying to guard against the incorporation of what we may gain with my other dominions; this being the point upon which you ask me for instructions in case he should broach it. Whenever the matter is mentioned, however, it will be well for you to conceal the object I have in view, which is not to incorporate the conquest, but to dispose of it otherwise, and you may best do this

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by professing to be ignorant of my intentions in this respect, whilst at the same time you may, as if of your own accord, make certain remarks defeating the objections they raise there to the union of the dominions. The object of this will not be for you to entrench yourself behind this point, but simply to skirt it, and say that you will write to me about it, so that the Pope may be led to propose the solution which you know I desire, namely, to give the Crown nominally to the infanta; or else, without specifying any person, he should authorise me in accordance with the contents of the document of the 24th February 1586. It is important that the proposal should come from there and not from me.

There may be a good deal of artifice in the proposal you say the French are making to the Pope, to the effect that we should all join against England, and you did well in the steps you took with Cardinal Carrafa, which would enable you to discover the ground. It will be necessary for you to keep his Holiness well posted in this, so that he shall not think that the desired result can ever be expected from Frenchmen, whose only aim is to make public any secret that may be entrusted to them, and countermine the intentions of his Holiness and myself; whilst under the pretence of going to England they may patch up a peace prejudicial to our holy Catholic faith in France. You must, at the same time, inform his Holiness that, in order to prevent the closer league and friendship between England and France, which they are so warmly trying to bring about, it will not be bad to make a show of listening to these suggestions for a union between us, which it is said a brother of Cardinal Rambouillet is going to negotiate. Letters about these proposals should be written, but with such caution that, whilst no danger is incurred to us, we may attain the advantage just mentioned. Follow this course, and the same shall be done here, if certain feelers they are now putting out on the same matter through the French ambassador here are persevered in.

It is also possible that the man who is to be sent from France may take care to bring forward the idea they have started there (in France), namely, to marry the king of Scotland to a niece of the Pope on his conversion.*

It will be best for you to take no action personally on this point, but you will make every effort, through trustworthy persons intimate both with his Holiness and yourself, to prevent its being entertained.

You will have representations made to the Pope, showing him how bad it will be in all respects to listen to such a suggestion, and especially in the matter of religion. Point out to him that the responsibility resting upon him would be very great, and that those who are so anxious to saddle him with it would leave him to bear

* The idea probably originated with the duke of Guise, who at about this time was endeavouring to obtain for his eldest son, the duke de Joinville, the hand of the Pope's great niece Flavia Peretti (subsequently married to Virginio Orsini, duke de Bracciano). Sixtus perceived the object, namely, to obtain his support to Guise's intended attempt on the crown of France on the death of Henry III., and declined the alliance. If the suggestion to marry the lady to James VI. was ever really made, it must have appeared even more objectionable to the Pope, as it would have brought him into direct antagonism with the plans of the Spanish King.

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it alone, or would be powerless to help him; whilst his being mixed up with an affair tending to his private advantage, apart from religion, which is his own province, would alienate many of those who otherwise would aid the enterprise. Other arguments to the same effect will occur to you where there are so many.

With regard to the hat for Allen; you will ask his Holiness from me to confer it at once, on the ground that now that the queen of Scotland, the hope of the English Catholics, is gone they may despair, unless they see some person to whom they can turn for a remedy in their troubles. This danger may be avoided if they have a countryman of their own in high station near the person of the Pope, and particularly a person whom they know and trust so much as Allen. This will be a good public reason; but in addition, you will privately tell his Holiness that in the interests of the enterprise it is necessary to come to some understanding with certain persons in England, and it is quite time, indeed more than time, that such preparations were commenced by the elevation in question. This will reinforce the other reasons you will urge, but all appearance that the elevation is made on account of the enterprise must be avoided.—San Lorenzo (?), 21st June 1587.

30 June. Estado, 949.

115. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

On the 26th his Holiness was in a great rage at table, railing at those who served him and throwing the crockery about furiously, which he is rather in the habit of doing, but not often so violently as this.

It was noticed that this immediately followed an audience he had given to the French ambassador, who had received a despatch from his King on the previous day and sent an answer on the morrow. I had audience the day following, and although I found his Holiness otherwise favourable, he said amongst other things that he was much alarmed at the jealousy that the king of France had begun to entertain of the House of Guise, and hoped it would lead him into no absurdity. He had already raised the embargo he had placed on certain English ships, and from one thing to another he might even go so far as to make common cause with the prince of Bearn. I replied that I had always understood the King's action on these two points to be merely a fiction to cover his complicity in the death of the queen of Scotland, and his small concern at the existence of heresy in his realm, in order to upset the Catholic party. From these two things, and certain words let fall by the French ambassador, it may be inferred confidently that he had told the Pope plainly that unless he came to his aid liberally he would join Vendome to defend himself against the House of Guise.

In the same audience the Pope told me that the ambassador had read him a letter from the King, to the effect that Don Bernardino de Mendoza was going about saying many things which prevented a harmonious understanding being arrived at between him and his subjects; and that he (Mendoza) said that it was I who wrote these things to him. His Holiness told him not to believe such a thing of me. I replied that when the French ambassador had written from here, and Luxemburg had alleged in France that his Holiness had advised the King to make peace with the heretics, I had written

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that this was false testimony against the Pope and quite the opposite of his zeal and fervour for the faith, which I begged might be published broadcast. I confessed that I had written thus, and considered that in doing so I had done his Holiness a great service. He said that many other things besides that had been written; and so the conversation ended, the Pope being somewhat uneasy, which confirms me in my opinion previously expressed that the allegations were not entirely invented.

I have written many things to Don Bernardino which he may turn to account to keep up the spirits of the Catholic princes, but I am not sure whether he does not let them out too freely, and in future I will act through Cardinal Sanzio* to this effect, so that it will be done more secretly.

The Cardinal has given me a copy of the statement of grievances presented to the Queen-Mother by these princes (of the League). A copy was also given to the Pope, but I do not send one to your Majesty, who will have received one before this arrives.—Rome, 30th June 1587.

30 June. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 18.

116. DOCUMENT headed "Advices from England, from Richard "Mirth (Antonio de Vega?), 30 June, 1587, translated from "English to Spanish."

On the 15th instant I received your three letters dated 13th and 25th May, and 8th instant; and on the 14th I reported the decision that had been adopted on the arrival of the news of Drake's action in Cadiz. This was to send him reinforcements of ships and men; the earl of Leicester going to Holland and Don Antonio being entertained here, as I fully wrote previously. What I now have to report is that the earl of Leicester leaves to-morrow, 1st July, taking with him 4,000 men, and money for the provision of 3,000 cavalry in Germany. He is hurrying off because news comes that the States are divided.

On the 15th instant there arrived here one of the Queen's ships, which had accompanied Drake as vice-flagship, and the captain of which had fallen out with Drake. The sailors had mutinied and brought the ship to London, where most of them are now in prison. Since then another ship has arrived here, reporting having met Drake on his way to the Azores, 100 leagues further on. They say most of his crews were ill, and many were dying, it is asserted of the plague, in consequence of their having given way to excess in wine and food which they had captured. This has caused the ships I have mentioned to be hurried forward, and they will leave in a fortnight if the wind serves. The earl of Cumberland intends to go with them, although Captain Frobisher is appointed to the command, which he refuses. The squadron will consist of four Queen's ships, including the one that has returned, eight merchantmen, and two pinnaces of 50 tons. They are victualled for five months, and will take 1,500 sailors. It is suspected that some ships will also be obtained from Holland. They are also making ready 10 sail, which they say are to guard the Channel. The squadron I have mentioned will go straight to the islands, and it will be necessary therefore for you to send advice

* Cardinal Sanzio was the principal agent of the Princes of the League at the Vatican.

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at once, saying how important it is that a fleet should be sent to frustrate this and protect the flotillas from disaster; because these people aim at getting money to carry on the war without expense to themselves. I approve of what you write, and will report in the way you say, my only wish being to serve as promptly and surely as possible. I will send advices of all that happens, although I fear they may close the ports. It will therefore be best not to write to me often, and then only when some good opportunity offers, until this fury be past. They are not very friendly with the French ambassador, nor do they caress him so much as they say in Paris. With regard to anything being discussed about our master, no fresh negotiations have taken place since M. de Beliévre came with full instructions to act to his prejudice.

Don Antonio saw the Queen on the 23rd instant, and told her he wished to divulge a secret to her. This was, that he had been summoned to go to Portugal, and if she would let him have 2,000 men he had arrangements which, with God's favour, would enable him to land at a certain place where men and money were awaiting him. He was confident that if these 2,000 men were furnished him, under the pretext of sending these reinforcements to Drake, he would produce more effect with them than he could at any other time with 10,000. The Queen dismissed him, saying that she would discuss the matter with the Council and send her reply. When the question was before the Council there was some difference of opinion. Many members thought that the opportunity should not be lost, the present time being favourable; but, in consequence of news that he had privately received from a merchant, the earl of Leicester said that two Portuguese, who had been secretly sent by Don Antonio to Portugal with the object mentioned, had reported that they could get no one there to listen to them; so that Don Antonio could have received no such summons as he said, and if the Queen undertook the business it would have to be done with adequate forces. The Queen therefore replied to Don Antonio that he was to wait, and she promised to help him in due time. She desires to keep the matter pending until she sees the outcome of Drake's expedition, and the sending of this squadron to reinforce him, and also the result of the earl of Leicester's going (to Holland). I did not speak to the merchant (Dr. Lopez?) respecting the matter about which you wrote, because it is necessary for me to receive first a letter which I can show him. Pending the sending of this, write to me saying that his service will be welcome, and that he shall be recompensed in accordance therewith, using fair words because he is now in a different station and reputation from formerly. He has means of knowing all that is done, and may be very useful, although I am aware he is what you say, and negligent, but if he has someone to follow him up he will always be of use.

June. Estado, 949.

117. DRAFT of PROPOSITIONS to be submitted by COUNT DE OLIVARES to the POPE.

With regard to the question of the succession his Majesty assumes that his Holiness will already have been informed of the well-known fact that when the queen of Scotland was taken a will was found,

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in which she left his Majesty heir to the Crown, *this being the reason of her death and of the approval of it by the king of France.*

Although this will has been concealed by the queen of England, his Majesty has an *autograph** letter from the queen of Scotland to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, his ambassador in France, who was formerly in England, dated the 20th May, 1586,† in which she announces her intention of making this disposition in case her son should not be converted to catholicism at the time of her death, as she feared.

Both documents originated in the Queen's having understood the right to the Crown possessed by his Majesty by virtue of his descent from the House of Lancaster, both by the line of Castile and that of Portugal; his claim being a more valid one than that of any other claimant who could arise, besides the double disqualification of heresy and bastardy under which they all suffer.

To this claim of his Majesty is added the right of conquest in a war whose justice is evident, even if the Queen were not a heretic, which of itself would justify it.

On the other hand, it is represented to his Majesty that, as he cannot go thither to reside, it is highly important, since the country is so over-run with heresy, that a Catholic King or Queen should be on the spot to try to lead it back to perfection again.

In this perplexity his Majesty is anxious to learn the opinion of his Holiness, and receive his good-will and blessing on either of the two courses open. His Majesty begs him not to hesitate to give him his opinion freely, whatever it may be, as, in any case, it will not for a moment occur to his Majesty that it is prompted by any lack of love for him, or by any risk to prevent his aggrandisement, because in the interests of the Holy See itself the King is sure he has every reason to desire it. His Holiness has moreover always shown so much personal affection for the King, that the latter trusts that this also may influence him in his favour. He also begs his Holiness not to think that he will be better pleased to retain the realm in his own hands, as, for many reasons, he would prefer to dispose of it otherwise, and, if the matter extended only to the term of his own life, he would not hesitate for a moment about it. The only scruple which assails him is whether he is justified in depriving the Prince, his son, of a kingdom, which not only has descended to him by right, but for the recovery of which revenues of the Crown of Spain will have been alienated, to a rather greater value than the worth of the acquisition. To this must also be added that the possession of these dominions is of the most vital importance for the maintenance of the States of Flanders in union with the crown of Spain, and also for the preservation of the Spanish Indies.

His Majesty prays his Holiness to consider the question in all its bearings, as his opinion, dictated by prudence and aided by the Holy

* In the King's hand: "The papers that came did not say that the letter was written "with her own hand, although, considering the quality of the matter and the way it is "dealt with, it may be inferred that it was so. If Don Bernardino has the original it "would not be bad to see how it can safely be brought hither, as I do not believe it is "here now. But we have a copy, which it will be well to see at San Lorenzo." The letter was written in cipher by Curle.

† This letter will be found in the Third Volume of the present Calendar.

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Spirit, will have great weight with the King, who desires to hold or dispose of that realm (England) for the service of the Apostolic See, and the Catholic faith, with the blessing and approval of his Holiness.—Madrid, June 1587.

1 July. **118.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 259.

The 14 ships which I said the queen of England had decided to send in aid of Drake (four of her own and 10 being fitted out by merchants in the West Country, of 80 to 100 tons each vessel) I am advised by Julius from London, under date of 16th ultimo, had not then sailed. The four Queen's ships had come to the mouth of the Thames, and could not leave there before the 20th, although the weather was favourable. The Queen had no certainty as to when the other ships in the West Country would be ready, but it was expected they would be so at the end of the month; so that, notwithstanding the fine weather, they have been longer than was thought probable.

The Queen's ship "Golden Lion" has arrived in London. She was one of the best of those taken out by Drake, but came back as she was making much water and it was feared she would sink.* The captain (*i.e.* Borough) was a man whom the English consider a great sailor, but as he could not agree with Drake, whose opinion he opposed in many things, Drake tried to get him dismissed from his ship; but the seamen would not allow it, and he brought the ship back to England, where directly he arrived the Queen did him the favour of casting him into prison. Drake has sent to ask for some victuals, and although he has provided himself with wine and biscuit he may be short of all else.

They write from Rouen that many ships are being fitted out for the succour of Drake, but they do not give the number, or the ports they are in, so I do not consider the news serious. I hear from Julius† and others that up to the 16th instant only the 14 ships I have mentioned were being prepared.

The Queen had decided to send Lord Grey to Holland, but when news came that the duke of Parma had set down before the Sluys and Ostend she had changed her mind and had ordered the earl of Leicester to make ready to go; but it was not known what troops he would take.

Don Antonio was in London.—Paris, 1st July 1587.

1 July. **119.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 262.

The duke of Parma has captured two forts from the Sluys people and was attacking them with great fury on the 28th ultimo.

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* The King has added a marginal note here which is apparently intended to be jocular, but it is not very clear, at least to me: it runs "*Perhaps it was like the case of the tree they talk about which had feeling.*" The King probably meant this for a hint that the ship was leaking out of fear for the danger she was in if she accompanied Drake to Cadiz, or else that the wood itself had become sentient at the evil deed that was being done.

† Julius or Julio appears to be a new cipher name for Sir Edward Stafford, who had hitherto been referred to as "the new friend" or "the new confidant." An attempt at mystification is made by representing him as writing from London, but this is not continuously kept up.

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Sampson is with me as I write this, very late at night, and there is no time now to enclose in this the contents of the reports he has from England dated 18th ultimo; but they say that Don Antonio is being more caressed by the queen of England than ever. The succour she was sending to Drake, of four of her own ships and 10 merchantmen, was being got ready and the ships were to meet on the coast of Cornwall.* Sampson says they are warmly embracing here (*i.e.*, in Paris) the coming of Don Antonio, and are considering where will be a place of safety for him. Sampson humbly salutes your Majesty and prays for favour as he is in great need and living is very dear here.†—Paris, 1st July 1587.

3 July. Estado, 949. **120.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Three days since there arrived here the Scottish friar who I wrote on the 30th ultimo was expected. He is a certain William Creighton who was here when I came from Spain.

As soon as he arrived Melino went to him, and afterwards reported to me that he had brought news given by the archbishop of Glasgow and Don Bernardino, that the gentleman,‡ who a year ago came on behalf of the Scottish Catholics, and whom your Majesty referred to the prince of Parma, with whom he has been ever since, had been sent back at Whitsuntide with an answer from your Majesty, offering 6,000 infantry for the end of August or beginning of September, and the pay for as many more to be raised in Scotland for six months for the help of the King, on condition that he declared himself a Catholic, as he really was. The infantry was to be supplied from Flanders, they (the Scots) sending the vessels to bring them over, and in order to make all due provision the Prince of Parma had drawn on Don Bernardino de Mendoza for 10,000 crowns. To divert the suspicion of the queen of England, the Prince had commanded the troops to be shipped from some port in France. Creighton was instructed to convey this intelligence to the Pope, to Cardinal Mondovi, to Sanzio, and to no other person.

As I saw that this news, joined to other things, would confirm the belief here that your Majesty had finally embraced the English enterprise, and would strengthen the hope entertained of converting the king of Scotland, by persuading the Pope that your Majesty also entertained it,§ I am endeavouring through Allen and Mondovi (who, in addition to their zeal for religion, continue in the best

* Marginal note in the King's hand: "I do not know whether, if these ships succeed "in joining Drake, he will not be superior in strength to the Marquis (of Santa Cruz). "If the weather serves for the latter to put to sea he might meet them, which would not "be bad. If the courier for Portugal has not left, it will be well to send these advices "in case the Marquis should be there."

† Sampson was Don Antonio's agent, Escobar, in Paris, secretly in the pay of Spain. He received constant news from the Portuguese refugees in London.

‡ Robert Bruce of Bemie.

§ It is curious that this was the second occasion in which the meddling of the over zealous Jesuits, and particularly Creighton, had been largely instrumental in frustrating Philip's plans in Scotland. The publicity given by them to the plot of 1582 had caused Philip to abandon it, and there is no doubt that the coldness exhibited henceforward towards Bruce's negotiations was partly caused by the fact that, thanks to Guise and the Jesuits, the details were common property, and the exclusive and secret management of the affair by Philip became impossible. (*See* Volume III. of this Calendar—Introduction.)

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disposition about the succession) to have this man persuaded not to impart this news to anyone. We are greatly aided in this by the fact that Creighton himself has heard so much from various quarters of the Pope's lack of secrecy, and has almost been converted to the advisability of keeping silence. What I fear most is the arrival of letters from the archbishop of Glasgow written in the belief that this Jesuit had conveyed the news to his Holiness. I will report what happens.—Rome, 3rd July 1587.

6 July. **121.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 124.

Praise Muzio for his firmness with the Queen-Mother. Stop the public talk about my support to the Guises. It is most inconvenient.

It is indeed a strange invention of those (French) ministers to say that I was approaching the king of France with suggestions that he should turn against England. I have no doubt that your hint that they should be asked to produce the original letters will have proved where the truth lay. I always thought that L'Onglé's hints to the Nuncio and other persons here, to the effect that his master (the king of France) was desirous of joining with me against England, were for the purpose of feeling the ground, and the persons he thus tried to deceive have now been informed of what had been said in Paris.

You must do your best to preserve the new friend, with whom you are now on such good terms, but your communications must be kept extremely secret, because if this means should fail us we shall lose a most valuable source of information, and there are doubtless people there who watch you closely.

I shall be glad to have news of Bruce when you receive any. I think that the Earl of Morton, who has come hither, would have been better advised if he had remained at home, as I fear that his absence may militate against the business. He asserts that he left the country by the King's wish, although not banished or forced; becaused he was assailed on all sides by his rivals of the English faction. He has licence for five years and has left his wife and children in the enjoyment of his estates. He has only recently arrived here, and it is possible that after we have heard what he has to say, he may be instructed to return to Scotland immediately, as he may be of service there but cannot be so elsewhere.—Madrid, 6th July 1587.

6 July. **122.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 125.

I am very anxious to know if the 14 ships which you say were being fitted out in England to reinforce Drake have sailed, and whether only the six have arrived, or more; also, what has become of the 10 vessels which you report were lying in the Thames ready for sea. The constant repetition of these instructions to you in all the letters, to pay particular attention to these armaments, does not arise from any lack of care in the matter on your part, but because it is of such vast importance that we should have early information of their movements, in order that they may be frustrated; and we

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are constrained, therefore, to keep the point before you. By the account we recently sent you of what happened in Cadiz you will see how the matter has been exaggerated in England. I hope in my next to be able to inform you that the marquis of Santa-Cruz has sailed.—Madrid, 6th July 1587.

6 July. **123.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 127. Does not think there is much in Friar Diego Carlos' negotiation for the submission of Don Antonio. If the latter likes to surrender without conditions, well and good. In such case he might be re-granted the title and revenues of the Priory of Ocrato, and might live simply and decently in Malta.—Madrid, 6th July 1587.

6 July. **124.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 128. You did well in preventing Muzio from committing such an evil act towards the Catholic Scottish earls, who trusted him, as to denounce them to their King. I much fear that the coming of the earl of Morton hither will render Bruce's plans impossible; and as it is of the highest importance to know what has been done in Scotland, in order that the earl of Morton may be instructed accordingly; you will make great efforts to send me news at once, so that I may get it, if possible, before he leaves Spain and returns home, which at present seems the best course, as he can be of no use elsewhere.

Your other point, as to which of the two offers made to the new friend he should accept, requires some consideration; but in the present aspect of affairs it appears that he would be of the greatest service in the Council when he returns home, although it would, perhaps, be advisable that he should retain his present post as long as possible, as, whilst he is there, he can give information as to what is going on both in England and France with greater speed and facility than he could elsewhere. Besides which some suspicion may exist that their wish to remove him from there, by tempting offers, may be with the intention of playing a trick upon him. At all events it is quite certain that L'Onglé* here knows that he often meets you at night, and he is more likely to have learnt it from the other side than from here. You must, however, keep this fact to yourself, so that you may arrange your communications with him (Stafford) with the utmost secrecy, and at the same time to induce him, for his own safety's sake, to stay in his present position as long as he can. You can instance the accusations they brought against his brother in England,† and other things in support of this; but do not hint to him that his communication with you has been discovered by anyone who may use the knowledge to his prejudice, for fear that he may take alarm and forsake the good path he has hitherto trodden for a different one. If he must change his place, persuade him to enter the Council, but if he cannot do that, let him not refuse the other post (*i.e.*, the viceroyalty of Ireland), and urge him, wherever he may be, to continue his good services, which shall

* L'Onglé was the French ambassador in Spain.

† William Stafford, who had himself divulged a pretended plot with one Moody and the Frenchman Destrappes to kill the Queen.

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he adequately rewarded. Keep his friendship in any case, and get as much information as you can from him and others, reporting all things to me.—Madrid, 6th July 1587.

10 July. Estado, 949. **125.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

As Allen and Melino found this William Creighton to be of the same opinion as his countrymen in Paris, namely, that the king of Scotland may be converted, and that the conversion of England by the Pope should be effected, so as to secure the succession to the king of Scotland, it has been thought best not to undeceive them for the present, in order to prevent any attempt on their part to raise trouble. They (Allen and Melino) are, therefore, temporising with them, knowing as they do how much better for the English will be your Majesty's rule than that of the king of Scots, even if the religious danger did not exist. They are, as if of their own motion, writing books to be spread in England enforcing this view, when God ordains the hour (which, in view of Creighton's news, they think cannot now be far distant) for the whole enterprise to be undertaken. I asked Melino for a summary of the arguments they intended to use in the book, and he gave me the document which I now enclose. The principal arguments set forth are, in effect, those which I submitted to the Pope in February 1586, and are re-stated in my remarks to Clause 3, with the Pope's reply. (*See* Volume III., of this Calendar.)

They assure me that Creighton is keeping silent about the offer made by your Majesty to the Scotch Catholics, and Allen and Melino have done excellent service in arranging this. They are both fittingly zealous in his Majesty's interests, knowing how important it is to them that they should be so.

The enclosed sonnet has come out here; they say it came from Paris. I have no further news, only that the Pope dined the day before yesterday in a very pretty vineyard belonging to Cardinal de Medici here, but he rather damped the favour by ordering his dinner to be brought and cooked by the officers of his own household, and not allowing the Cardinal to see him alone for a single moment.

A gentleman of the House of Ursino recently died, leaving, in default of heirs, two villages to Paul Jordan; and Cardinal de Medici had taken possession of them, as he rules all his affairs. I have just learnt that the Apostolic Chamber has now seized them; and, above all, that the Pope gave the order for doing so in Medici's own vineyard the day he dined there. What people to live with!—Rome, 10th July 1587.

12 July. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 32. **126.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

My news from England is dated the 1st instant, reporting the embarkation of the earl of Leicester that evening for Holland with 4,000 or 5,000 Englishmen, who had been pressed for the service. This infantry had already been embarked. The Queen had made Leicester Lord Steward, and had given his post of Master of the Horse to the earl of Essex, the eldest son (*sic*) of Leicester. The Earl was accompanied by Lord North and Lord Ulevi.* An

* Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

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Englishman had got out of the Sluys by swimming, with letters from the commander, who promised the Queen to hold the place for two months.

The four ships which were ready to go and reinforce Drake had endeavoured to leave the Thames on the 29th ultimo, but the wind drove them back, and up to the 10th instant news from the coast of Normandy reports that the weather has been such as to prevent them from getting into the Channel, as furious westerly gales have been blowing. Ships have arrived on the coast from Lisbon, having left the latter place the 18th, 20th, and 22nd, and they report that they sighted no vessels on the voyage.

Nicholas Ousley, an Englishman, living in Malaga, sends advices to the Queen, and on Walsingham's receiving certain letters from him, he said he was one of the cleverest men he knew, and the Queen was much indebted to him for his regular and trustworthy information.*

Some news letters, in English, have been sent to me from Rome, which letters had been received, addressed to an English gentleman who had died here. The Count de Olivares had seen them, and thought they ought to be sent to your Majesty. I knew of these letters when they arrived here at the end of May. They were written by one of Walsingham's officers, who is the son of a Spanish Friar who fled many years ago from St. Isidro, at Seville, with a nun of Utrera, to whom he is married. The son is a much worse heretic than the father, and when he wrote the letters he had them dated March, to deceive the Englishman who wrote them. He wished to pledge the English gentleman here by this civility, in order that he might send him some news. I mention this matter to your Majesty that you may understand that, although those reports have some appearance of probability, they are really hatched by Walsingham's knavery.—Paris, 12th July 1587.

16 July. **127.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 24.

I have kept back my letters since the 10th, as I was expecting a courier to arrive (from England). He came on the 15th. The Queen refuses the offer made from here to take one of your Majesty's frontier towns, as she thinks it will not suit her to provide money for Frenchmen to take a place which they will keep and not surrender to her. The English ambassador is instructed to see this King and point out to him the danger he will incur if he comes to terms with the duke of Guise. The ambassador has orders to prevent a settlement by all means, but no details are entered into.

After this despatch had been written, Fenner arrived in London on the 8th† with the news which I sent in my last about England,

* After the Armada, against which he served as a volunteer in the "Revenge," Lord Admiral Howard wrote of him (Lansdowne MS, LIX., Ellis's original Letters) to Burleigh.—"It hath pleased her Highness, in respect of his good services heretofore in "Spain, in sending very good intelligence thence, and now since in our late fight against "the Spanish fleet, to grant unto him a lease of the parsonage of St. Helen's in London." —He then proceeds to request Burleigh should prevent any lease of the parsonage being granted which should prevent the reward of one who hath so well deserved in adventuring his life so many ways in her Majesty's service.

† In the King's hand: "I do not know who this is. If you know, tell me." The person in question was Captain Thomas Fenner.

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and which are confirmed by Julius, namely, that Drake was coming to London to ask the Queen's permission to return at once and encounter the Indian flotillas, which he had been informed were bringing fourteen millions, which is an indication that he has fallen in with the despatch-caravel. The Queen had decided to order him to return instantly with the seven ships he had brought, and the 14 which were ready for sea, together with two merchantmen, which were ordered to put to sea as soon as the weather served. Drake was boasting that he had all along had exactly the weather he wanted.

Julius (who is very sharp) tells me that Drake's return was being kept very secret, and requests me to inform your Majesty of it instantly, so that if the news arrive in time the marquis de Santa Cruz may sail for England, when he would infallibly encounter Drake. Although Drake's booty was very valuable, the Queen would not profit by it, as it has to be distributed amongst the sailors* and this would set all the mariners in England agog to go out and plunder. For this reason, he (Stafford) says it is important that I should advise your Majesty at once, so that the armaments might be pushed forward and the queen of England attacked, which would end it all. He will send me what further news he obtains. I send this by special courier.—Paris, 16th July 1587.

16 July. **128.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 25.

Since I wrote the enclosed letter about England, a courier has arrived here who left London on the 9th instant. The letters he brings report that Fenner arrived in London on the 8th, advising the arrival of Drake at Plymouth on the 6th, with four of the Queen's ships and three merchantmen, he having left the rest of his vessels on the coast of Spain. He brought with him four ships, said to have come from Calicut, loaded with spices and precious stones of the value of about a million; and seven ships which had come from the coast of Brazil. He (Fenner) reported that Drake was coming to London to salute the Queen. As it is unusual for four ships to come from India together, it is probable that Drake will have encountered the "San Lorenzo" which wintered at Mozambique, and having captured that, and other ships from St. Thomé, he said that the whole four were from Calicut. As soon as I learn anything fresh I will report to your Majesty. As I am closing this I hear from Rouen that news comes from England that Drake also captured the despatch-caravel from the flotilla from New Spain.—Paris, 16th July 1587.

26 July. **129.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 26.

Referring to the interviews with Friar Diego Carlos, respecting Don Antonio's alleged desire to submit, the writer and Sampson have opened some correspondence between the friar and the pretender. The tenour is obscure, but seems to confirm the sincerity of the approaches. This view is further confirmed by the friar's

* In the King's hand: "I think he means to refer to the Indian flotilla. I hope it cannot be true with regard to the other." It will be seen by the following letter that the King's fears were confirmed, and that Drake's booty from Spain was very valuable.

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petition for pardon, and to be allowed to end his days in a monastery in Spain. Sends with the general letters a communication from Antonio de Vega and the advices of Richard Mirth dated 30th June. "They are copied from a letter of his, as I wrote to him the great "risk to which letters from there to Spain were exposed and that he "had better send his news to me and I would have it ciphered and "forwarded to your Majesty."—Paris, 26th July 1587.

28 July. **130.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 186.

An account of what Drake did in Cadiz was recently sent to you, and also what we had heard of his subsequent movements. For a long while since we have been unable to obtain further news of him, until now that we hear he has captured, near Terceira, a ship from Mozambique which had remained to winter there last year.* He also took part of the cargo of another ship from the Indies bound for Portugal. The prize is valuable, but not nearly so valuable as will be made out there. The marquis of Santa Cruz sailed from Lisbon on the 11th instant with from 35 to 40 sail, very well found, carrying 6,000 foot soldiers, a half of whom are old soldiers, and 3,000 very brave seamen, all first-rate men. At the same time the Andalucian portion of the fleet sailed for Lisbon, consisting of 80 sail, amongst which are four galleasses. The Marquis is going to ensure the safety of the Indian flotillas and sweep the corsairs from the seas; and if God should allow him to encounter Drake, I trust he will give him what he deserves. I tell you all this in order that you may know the truth of what occurs.—Madrid, 28th July 1587.

2 Aug. **131.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 62.

The Portuguese friar, Diego Carlos, has been desperately ill and almost starving; since the monasteries here do not give as much as a cup of water to foreign friars without payment. He has received orders from Don Antonio to return to England at once, as it is rumoured that he is negotiating for a settlement with the King (Philip), and Don Antonio fears this may injure him. When the friar recovered he saw the writer and said he had excused himself from returning on the ground of ill health. He assures Mendoza that he is acting with Don Antonio's authority, and the latter has only written as he has done to deceive spies. He demands similar terms for Don Antonio as were accorded to the duchess of Braganza and the prince of Parma when they renounced the succession in Philip's favour. Mendoza ridicules the idea, and says that Don Antonio must submit first. A long discussion ensued on the conditions that in such case should be allowed to the pretender, his family, and adherents. The friar concludes by promising to write to Don Antonio, saying that Mendoza was authorised by the King to negotiate in the matter. He (the friar) will never return to England, ill or well. The Queen-Mother, in conversation with Sampson, was delighted at the capture of the Indian ship by Drake, and said it showed how powerless your Majesty was, as Drake in so short a time had sacked a Spanish port, entered Lisbon harbour,† and if Don

* This was the great Galleon San Felipe.

† This was hardly true, as he had not passed Cintra.

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Antonio had gone with him the city would have risen for him.—Paris, 5th August 1587.

28 July; and 12, 15, and 22 August. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 34.

132. DOCUMENT headed "The new Confidant's Advices from England.—28 July 1587."

In consequence of certain despatches which the Queen had recently received from France, she had sent orders to Drake on no account to come to London, but to remain where he is and make ready with all haste to put to sea shortly with the 16 ships she had ordered, the 14 which were ready before he arrived, and two more which have since been added. It is suspected that the Queen had private intelligence of something from her ambassador in France, which made her change her mind. Although Lord Admiral Howard, Lord Hunsdon, Cobham, and Walsingham, are of opinion that Drake should return at once with the ships he had ready, so as not to miss the opportunity of capturing the Indian flotillas, the Treasurer points out what a risk they are running if these ships were lost, as might be feared, since the marquis de Santa Cruz would certainly meet them at sea now that so much time had passed. The question was referred to the Queen, the Treasurer saying it was a matter she must herself decide, like that of the beheading of the queen of Scotland. The advantages, and otherwise, of sending the ships out having been represented to her, she decided; and there is now no sign of Drake's returning or sailing with a fleet. The Queen has since sent him permission to come to London, and has ordered her ambassador in France to use the utmost efforts to discover the number of ships and men of the Spanish fleet, and when it can put to sea.

ADVICES of 12th August (O.S.?).

No decision has yet been adopted with regard to Drake's putting to sea or otherwise, and there are no appearances of his being able to sail at short notice, although Drake is bragging publicly about having no other wish than that the Queen should give him leave to go with the ships that are ready, as he is confident that with them he could take the Indian flotillas or fight the marquis of Santa Cruz. He does not mean this, and has no stomach for the voyage, because in discussing the matter with the Council he says that it is late now to meet the flotillas off the Azores, and that the marquis of Santa Cruz has had plenty of time given him to collect his fleet; but still, he says, he will go if the Queen orders him.

Out of the 19 ships left by Drake on the Spanish coast, eight arrived in different ports in England on one day, having been scattered by a tempest. They bring but few men back with them as most have died on board of the plague.

On the arrival of news of the surrender of the Sluys*, and seeing how heavily the war is resting upon them (the English) Walsingham,

* On the retirement of Leicester with his 4,000 men from Blankenburg, the further defence of the Sluys became hopeless, and the surrender was arranged on the 9th August (N.S.). In recognition of the gallantry of the defence, and in order to obtain the town before the defenders learnt of the great preparations in England for their relief, Parma conceded unusually favourable terms. The garrison marched out with all their arms and baggage, ensigns flying, drums beating, and firelocks lit, in all the pomp of victorious war; and Alexander gave to Gronvelt, the governor, a flattering testimonial to the queen of England that he had defended the town worthily to the very last. Nine hundred soldiers marched out, beside the 400 sick and wounded that were carried to the Flushing fleet in boats.

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when leaving the Council, being asked what news he had, replied that he had none of any good, for the Queen would only follow her own will, which would bring about her ruin and that of all her Councillors. He said that although they had that day submitted to her a proposal by which she might be entirely assured with regard to Scotland she would not adopt it, but she would see her mistake by and by. As the king of Scotland is in the hands of the English faction it may be suspected that the proposal they submitted was to kill him.

ADVICES of 15th and 22nd August (O.S.?).

Letters from Lisbon, dated 25th ultimo report the sailing of the marquis of Santa Cruz and the Andalucian fleet with nearly 13,000 soldiers, and this news gives them here (in London) anything but happy dreams.

The earl of Essex, who is a very handsome youth, Master of the Horse to the Queen, and much favoured by her, has quarrelled with Raleigh the other favourite, and during the dispute Essex boxed Raleigh's ears. It is understood that the cause of the quarrel was something about the Queen, and she has reconciled them, ordering that on no account is anything more to be said about the matter.

One of Raleigh's captains, who was cruising in a pinnace to plunder, sighted more than 60 sail off the point of Cornwall, coming from the direction of Spain. He went ashore instantly, and, taking post, arrived at Court at midnight on the 16th, reporting to Walsingham that he had sighted the Spanish fleet making for England. Walsingham at once took the news to the Queen, who immediately summoned all the Councillors and held a Council on the spot, whilst she was in bed. They resolved that the Admiral should go directly to London and embargo all the ships in the river, whilst the Queen's 14 ships should go out into the Channel, the news being kept very secret. The alarm of the Queen and Councillors, however, was so great that they could not prevent the intelligence from leaking out. Within three days they learnt that the ships the man had seen were a flotilla of 60 hulks belonging to Hamburg and elsewhere which were coming from Lisbon.

The Queen has decided that Drake shall not go, but that his ships shall be held in readiness for eventualities, and to counteract the intentions displayed by the Spanish fleet. The English ambassador in France is therefore ordered to use the greatest efforts to discover what the intentions are. Captain Frobisher will leave in four days and will be off Dunkirk with seven ships on the 26th, in order to prevent the armed ships from Dunkirk from capturing English vessels on their way to Embden, Holland, and Zeeland. Drake has gone to Plymouth by the Queen's orders, to bring to the Thames the ship he captured coming from Calicut. They only value the spices she brings in some 300,000 crowns now; and it is understood that the sailors have pillaged a great portion of what she brought since she has been at Plymouth.

30 July. **133.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 949.

I send your Majesty the warrant for the million, signed by the Pope. All other points of the English business are going on well;

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as he wished, when he signed the warrants, that a capitulation should be drawn up between himself and me, Carrafa asked that some others should be associated with him in the settlement of its terms, and the Pope nominated Santa Severina and Rusticucci, whilst I appointed Deça to help me, as I did not wish to undertake so important a business unaided.*

As the affair may now be considered almost settled I need not go into all the pro and con that has occupied us for so many days, and will only set forth so much as may be necessary for future guidance. I must begin, however, by expressing my great surprise that hitherto the Pope has positively kept the whole proceedings perfectly secret. One of the clauses was with regard to the new King; and they tried to stipulate that he should be chosen by common accord, but it was in the end left to your Majesty, and the clause was so worded that your Majesty might appoint the Prince or the Infanta.† There is no doubt on this point, and the Cardinal (Deça) is of the same opinion, although there was apparently a desire to lead up to the Pope's recommending one of his nephews or the Infanta. I let it pass, as the general wording embraces the whole thing, and because it was most likely to secure secrecy in the meanwhile, but if your Majesty thinks well, the course I suggested in my despatch of 16th instant can be taken to lead the Pope to make the desired proposal to your Majesty of his own accord; or any other means may be adopted that your Majesty thinks fit.

The matter of the investiture was so wrapped up that he passed it over without cavil or difficulty.

The Pope was pleased with the proceedings, and his suspicions were not aroused by the said clause, which may be brought to induce the Pope to give the investiture to your Majesty, on condition of your at once substituting another in your place, and this would be important.

No mention at all was made of the king of Scotland during the whole of the proceedings, nor is anything said of his marriage with a niece of the Pope. I have placed spies to gain information on this point in case of need.

On the matter of the restitution of church property I was yielding, as I thought your Majesty would be.

The Pope was under the impession that, in accordance with the arrangement, your Majesty could receive the million on the arrival of the Armada in England, and that as soon as you received it you would go to Flanders. Your Majesty will see how hard he has tried to ensure this, and I could do no more than I have done, seeing his greed for money, although I must do him the justice to say that on the present occasion he has suppressed it more than anyone could have believed possible.

The Pope would not allow to be set forth in this document the mode in which payment was to be made if the enterprise were

* Santorio de Santa Severina had been one of the candidates for the papacy; and in his memoirs he attributes his defeat to his refusal to promise to make one of his colleagues, Altemps, governor of Rome. He, like Rusticucci, was bound neither to the Spanish nor French interest. Deça, on the contrary, was a Spanish subject.

† Either the prince of Asturias, afterwards Philip III., or the Infanta, Isabel Clara Eugenia, the King's eldest daughter.

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(not?) undertaken this year, on the ground of its omission making the document clearer; and it was not possible to press him much on the subject, for fear of making him suspect that the enterprise would not be carried out this year, in which case he might delay granting the warrants and other papers. It is true that I have given him no pledge as to time, but he must think it will be this year. The lack was supplied by Carrafa's warrant enclosed, which provides in the above-mentioned case that things shall remain on the same footing as before.

It was also impossible to get Pinelli's warrant extended to the month of December, as he (the Pope) said that he did not wish the money to remain long in the possession of anyone, and that if the affair was not carried through by the end of November it would not be done this year, and if in the meanwhile it was seen that the enterprise would take place in December he could extend the warrant. The key of the mystery is his desire to make a noise by sending this million into the castle at Christmastide if the enterprise is not carried through by then.

I do not send the original warrants, which will be wanted here, for fear of their being seized on the road, and the original of the agreement is kept back for the same reason. I have an idea of sending it all enclosed in one packet (without saying what it is) by one of your Majesty's officers here.

They made an attempt to stipulate for paying the money in Lisbon, on the ground that warrants had been offered for that place, but I understood a loss would be incurred by this, and they consented to Rome.

I have again talked with Pinelli as to what he can do in the matter of discounting, after seeing the form of assignment which the Pope gives him. He tells me that, as regards the first 500,000 crowns, as he is bound to pay it this year, he thinks it will not be necessary to discount it; but the last 500,000 he will pay in advance at the rate of 200,000 crowns a month, or more if possible, in accordance with his promise. He also offers to arrange advantageously, on account of your Majesty, for the remittances you may wish to make to various places; and for this service, and for the discount, he trusts to your Majesty's liberality for his remuneration.

Your Majesty will please consider what should be done in your interest, but this man makes much of the profit your Majesty will reap by adopting the course he recommends. For my own part, I am ashamed to say that, although I am your Majesty's accountant-general, I understand so little about it. He says that if money be needed in other places, besides those mentioned the other day, he will seek means to provide it on his being given timely advice of the various places where the money is to be provided.

In the matter of the grants* the same wording as before was adopted, and I thought your Majesty would consider it best to have it specified before the document was adopted in the consistory. I have already written how cautious the Pope is about this.

* Grants of subsidies to be levied on the ecclesiastical revenues in Spanish dominions.

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As regards keeping the French in suspense and hopeful, his Holiness promises to do this, as he is requested in the document, and I will keep it in his mind.

They did not mention the furnishing of Italian troops and the point was passed over smoothly.*

It has been impossible to press, as I should have liked, the matter of Allen's hat, in order not to embarrass the rest. His Holiness shows a disposition to grant it, but he dwells upon his not having been informed of any particular time for the carrying out of the enterprise; and that I have received no instructions from your Majesty, for Allen to go, or do anything. If I had orders from your Majesty, or the prince of Parma, for Allen to perform any task, I would take the opportunity of pressing his Holiness about it, but, in default of this, I am trying to devise some other means for shortening the delay.

I gave Allen your Majesty's letter. He is deeply grateful for it, and for your Majesty's new favour and offices with the Pope on his behalf. He and Melino are extremely well disposed in your interest. His reply is enclosed.—Rome, 30th July 1587.

30 July. **134.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 35.

When Don Antonio was on his way from the Court, which is at present at the Treasurer's house, he met, on Wednesday the 29th, Drake, who was going thither with the Lord Treasurer, the Admiral, and the Lord Chamberlain. Drake was very obsequious to Don Antonio, and said that as soon as he had seen the Queen he would go to London and speak with him. On the 30th Don Antonio went to Walsingham's house, seven or eight miles up the river, and there seems to be some great business between them. Don Antonio has not written, probably in consequence of these visits, and of his expecting some decision that he may be able to send to his people here, whom he ordered to hold themselves in readiness. They report also that a fleet of vessels was being prepared for Drake, but the number of men and vessels is not stated. They affirm that 300,000 crowns in cash was found on board the vessel from India, and it is said that when the captain took leave of the ship he remarked that she carried money enough to take Don Antonio to Portugal. There was great rejoicing at the arrival of this ship, and they had hopes of getting others like her.

M. de la Chatre, governor of Dieppe, writes to the Abbé Guadagna that he has a letter from Don Antonio, saying that he has 16 ships ready for an enterprise, and begs la Chatre to come to him with 700 French harquebussiers to share the honour and profit of it. La Chatre excused himself on account of events in France, but said that if matters were settled here he would not fail to join him.

Sampson. 15th August.

On the 13th Don Antonio was attacked with a colic, from which he was in danger for some hours. He is now free from it, but as short of money as usual. He is anxious that it should not be

* One of the Pope's conditions was that if the Italian troops were to be employed in the expedition he should be authorised to provide them in lieu of a portion of his money subsidy. This, of course, did not suit Philip.

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thought that the approaches made to the king of France and his mother with respect to his coming thither (to France) were made by his orders, and he has written to his people instructing them to say that they acted on their own responsibility.

Sampson. 22nd August.

Don Antonio has been very ill and still complains. Don Antonio has not received anything from the plunder of the ship from India, and has no hope of doing so.

They report that during the week in which the letter was written, 150 sail, large and small, were sighted off the English coast; and everybody seemed much alarmed and confused, but that the Queen had shown a stouter heart than any of them.

Don Antonio complains of want of money, but is in hope that they will help him with an extra grant. So says his treasurer.

5 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 38.

135. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In answer to your Majesty's instructions, that I should report the present position with regard to the negotiations between England and France touching the seizures, no details have yet been dealt with, the embargoes having been raised conditionally; both the aggrieved parties being left to proceed in separate cases of robbery. Some time since some Havre ships captured two English vessels on the ground of piracy, and the English ambassador has complained to the King about it, assuring him that they were not pirates but merchantmen. As, however, the captains of these two ships had been condemned to be hanged at Dieppe, and their crews consigned to the galleys, I understand the English ambassador says that if they carry out the sentence it will not be extraordinary if the English seize some French ships in England in return for these two.

By orders of his Holiness the archbishop of Glasgow has now accepted the post of ambassador of the king of Scotland here, and is received as such by their Christian Majesties.

In reply to your Majesty's inquiry as to the reason for the king of Scotland's change of attitude towards the bishops, the King gave no other reason than that they were persons who had rendered service to his mother, and that they could better serve him here than any others of his subjects, leaving the matter to be dealt with more fully in the Parliament convoked for the 22nd ultimo. Up to the present no information has reached here of the course of events in the Parliament, but to judge by the past this action of the king of Scotland is prompted more by considerations of policy than affection for the Catholic religion.

The Scots ambassador has not yet received the present which the king (of France) had ordered to be given to him, nor does he seem to be despatching the gentleman sent to him by his King, which is a sign that no resolution has been arrived at. The master of Grey whom the king of Scotland held prisoner, has arrived here, the King having released and banished him.—Paris, 5th August 1587.

5 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 39.

136. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The news I sent to your Majesty about Drake's arrival came through Secretary Walsingham hither. It would seem that the latter was anxious to exaggerate the news, because letters dated

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14th and 22nd ultimo, confirmed by my own agents, and also by sundry merchants, report that the English fleet was scattered by a storm on the Spanish coast, and Drake with his own ship, three others, and a tender, ran before it to the islands. Three leagues from St. Michaels he fell in with the ship called the "San Felipe" bound from Portuguese India, which had taken on board at Mozambique the cargo of the galleon "San Lorenzo," which was not fit to proceed on the voyage. Drake captured the "San Felipe," and landed her people on the island of St. Michaels; after which he sailed for England, accompanied only by the four ships, with his own and the tender. He brought no other prizes but the ship from India, and on the 22nd the Queen had no news of the whereabouts of the rest of the fleet. She had therefore despatched a tender with news of Drake's prize. Drake remained at Plymouth, some say on the excuse of a wound in the leg, others because of an attack of ague; but the general opinion is that these are only pretexts for fear that if he goes to London, and the plunder is not divided amongst the sailors, as the Queen promised, they would mutiny, and he could not sail again in the Queen's ship, which he brought back. He was therefore hurrying forward the preparation of the four Queen's ships which she had granted him, and the 12 merchantmen, although it was not known when they would be ready to sail. If, however, they were ready for sea, the weather up to the 29th ultimo would have prevented their departure.

Drake had written to the Queen offering to capture the Indian flotillas, or fight a pitched battle with your Majesty's fleet, and with this object he had begged the Queen to increase the number of men beyond the thousand she had ordered to go in the 14 vessels above-mentioned to reinforce him. He requests instead that 3,000 may be sent, soldiers and sailors, but the Queen had not granted this.

I am hourly expecting news from England, and will at once send the same by courier to your Majesty. In order to lose no time, I am sending this by a person who is going to Bordeaux.

There is no advice from Holland and Zeeland of preparations for ships to accompany Drake, although Diego Botello* was in high hopes, as Sampson's advices enclosed will show.—Paris, 5th August 1587.

7 Aug. Italian, Estado, 949.

137. The POPE to the KING.

Dear Son in Christ, greeting. This morning I held a consistory, and Allen was made a Cardinal to please your Majesty, and although when I proposed it, I alleged reasons calculated to give rise to no suspicion, I am told that, as soon as it was known in Rome, they at once began to say that we were now getting ready for the war in England; and this idea will now spread everywhere. I urge your Majesty, therefore, not to delay, in order not to incur greater evils to those poor Christians, for if we tarry longer that which you have judged for the best will turn out for the worst.

With regard to the aid for the enterprise, I have at once ordered the fulfilment of everything that count de Olivares has requested, and I believe he sends particulars to your Majesty.

* Diego Botello, who had formerly represented the Portuguese pretender, Don Antonio, in London, was now pressing his cause in the revolted Netherlands.

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On undertaking this enterprise I exhort your Majesty first to reconcile yourself with God the father, for the sins of princes destroy peoples, and no sin is so heinous in the eyes of the Lord as the usurpation of the divine jurisdiction, as is proved by history, sacred and profane. Your Majesty has been advised to embrace in your edict bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, and this is a grievous sin. Erase from the edict these ministers of God and repent, or otherwise a great scourge may fall upon you. Regard not the man who may advise you to the contrary, for he must be either a flatterer or an atheist; but believe me who am your spiritual father, believe our holy faith, your spiritual mother, whom you are bound to obey for your salvation's sake. Human, canon, and theological laws, all counsel you the same way, and they cannot advise you wrongly. Octavius Cæsar and other pagan emperors respected the divine jurisdiction so much that, to enable them to make certain laws touching the same, they caused themselves to be elected pontiffs. I have shed many tears over this great sin of yours, and I trust that you will amend it, and that God will pardon you. The Vicar of Christ must be obeyed without reply in questions of salvation, and I, therefore, hope that you will submit.—Rome, 7th August 1587.

Note.—Father Tempesti (Storia della Vita e geste di Sisto Quinto) gives a Latin version of this letter from the Vatican archives. The reason of the Pope's anger was that Philip had undertaken himself to nominate the new English archbishops and bishops; and, rightly or wrongly, the Pope was informed (by the Cardinals of the French faction) that his intention was to appoint Spanish ecclesiastics to the English benefices.

11 Aug. **138.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 137.

You were right in your conclusion that Drake could only have taken one ship from India. The others must have been from elsewhere. If he return to the islands he will meet the marquis of Santa Cruz, and if he come to these waters again he will find someone on the look-out for him, as the Andalusian fleet has gone to Lisbon. We think here, however, that he will not attempt to return at present. You will advise all you hear, with your usual diligence, as it is of the highest importance that these reports should be frequent and trustworthy.

It was well to mention about Nicholas Ousley of Malaga. The matter has been dealt with. If you hear of anyone else acting in the same way, report it.—San Lorenzo, 11th August 1587.

2 Sept. **139.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 42.

[Extract from a letter mainly relating to the affairs of the duke of Guise.]

Julius* has informed me that Drake's voyage is abandoned, as he has been assured by letters from Cecil. These are things that Cecil

* In the King's hand : —"I think Julius must here mean the confidant, as it is to him "that Cecil writes. According to this he (Cecil?) cannot be dead, as I fancy I heard "somewhere that he was. At other times I have an idea that Julius had mocked him "(Mendoza?) or that he had been sent there by him." This is rather obscure, but Philip was right in his surmise that "Julius" sometimes stood for the "new confidant," otherwise Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in France.

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and Walsingham are in the habit of writing to him, and have mixed other matters with them for greater concealment in case the despatch should be lost. Julius has again been approached on behalf of Epernon with regard to the capture of one of your Majesty's frontier fortresses, for which he says arrangements have been made, the place being Bapaume, and the matter certainly within the cognisance of the king of France. I am advising the duke of Parma of it.

I have heard nothing of Bruce nor has the friar received any reply yet.—Paris, 2nd September 1587.

2 Sept. **140.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 44.

The Christian King has received advice, through Lyons, of the sailing of your Majesty's fleet, the number and size of the ships, and the strength of the crews being specified. This intelligence made many think that it would be desirable for them (the French) to invade your Majesty's Netherlands with such forces as they had, for the purpose of diverting the object of the fleet. The King replied that he had neither men nor money to enable him to embark on a war with your Majesty. When they saw this was impossible they urged him in any case to send an embassy to Scotland to persuade the King to join the queen of England, in case the fleet should invade her country. This advice was considered the wisest, although no person has yet been appointed to the embassy, nor is it known whether they have given a reply to the articles which the Scots ambassador presented from his master, although he has been pressing very warmly for it and for an audience. There is nothing new with regard to the drawing closer of the alliance between this country and England, and things remain in their former position. I send herewith the heads of the present treaty between them, in case the terms should be made more binding. The matter will certainly not be forwarded by the release of Thomas Morgan by the King at the request of his Holiness. He was a servant of the queen of Scotland and had been kept a prisoner in the Bastille. The King granted the Nuncio's request for his liberation on the arrival of the bull for the sale of 50,000 crowns of ecclesiastical property, which I mention in another letter, and the English ambassador is asking for audience about it. He says the last time he saw the King his Majesty promised him never to liberate Morgan. He sent a despatch to England the instant he heard of it, and has also done so to advise the elevation of Dr. William Allen to the cardinalate. To the adjoined advices given to me by the new confidant, and confirmed by Julio, to the effect that Drake's voyage is completely abandoned, and the Queen determined to stand on the expectant until she sees what your Majesty's fleet will do, I have to add that Horatio Pallavicini writes that the Queen was so annoyed at the capture of the Sluys, and so sick of the war in the Netherlands that, to judge from appearances and the hurry she is in to send off the peace commissioners to Holland, if the duke of Parma was willing to come to terms she would refuse no conditions that were not absolutely degrading. He says that the court of England had

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been in great alarm at the false news of the Spanish fleet having been sighted.

The queen of England had recently sent a son of Lord Hunsdon secretly to Berwick, on the excuse of a hunting expedition, but really to convey a message to the king of Scotland that he had some business with him on behalf of the Queen. The king of Scotland replied that although he (Cary) came secretly, he could not, for his honour's sake, receive an envoy from the queen of England, who had killed his mother; but he would send a trustworthy person to whom he might communicate his business. He sent one of his *valets-de-chambre*, and Lord Hunsdon's son would not enter into the matter with him, except to point out to him how important it was to the King that he should receive him and be on his guard against your Majesty, who wanted to turn him out of his kingdom and take it for yourself. He laboured on this point with an infinity of fictions hatched by Walsingham. The valet returned with this to the King, and when the latter saw how greatly they urged the importance to him that he should receive the envoy, he asked the valet whether he thought he ought to do so. The valet replied that he would on no account advise him to receive him, and requested that another gentleman should be sent with him when he took the King's answer in order that he might be a witness to what Lord Hunsdon's son said, as he might afterwards deny his words if the valet were alone. The King took his advice, and sent with him a gentleman of his chamber, but the son of Lord Hunsdon would say nothing, but again pressed upon the valet how much it behoved his master to beware of your Majesty, whose only object was to deprive him of his throne, which he was not able to defend unless (the queen of England) was his good friend, and he was disposed to go to England. In this case she would treat him as a son and appoint him protector of the kingdom, which would make him no less than her heir, although for many reasons the Queen could not formally nominate him as such.

The Scotch Parliament has risen and, amongst other things, it is said they gave leave to the King to marry whom he pleased, without fresh authority or consent of the country, and to sell and dispose of at his discretion all the ecclesiastical properties. The queen of Scotland's servants have arrived here, with two French secretaries, her doctor and chaplain, who have been released by the queen of England. The Queen's body has been interred with great ceremony in the place where she was beheaded.—Paris, 2nd September 1587.

4 Sept. **141.** The KING to the PRINCE OF PARMA.

Rejoices at the capture of the Sluys, seeing its probable usefulness in the main business as a port and starting place, and the facility of the employment of the channels leading to it for the collection of the boats . . . . . I thank you again for having opened this port to us, and approve of your idea of mustering the bulk of the army intended for the main business on the pretence of attacking Ostend. You cannot think how pleased I am to see you so bent upon conquering and beating down all obstacles which may present themselves, and that you expected to have all the troops ready for

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the concerted time. Your reports arrived in good time to enable us to decide what is to be done by the fleet from here; and having considered the danger to your passage, which you point out, if the English fleet succeeds in placing itself in the Straits—having in view the strength and character of their ships, and the fact that yours will be so open—we have come to the conclusion that the plan of trying to avoid this difficulty by dividing our forces, and sending this Armada to attack some other point, might have an uncertain result. The enemy would understand the object of the manœuvre, since you are so strongly armed and so near to them, and they would concentrate their forces to oppose you instead of being diverted by the feint. I have therefore been convinced that the most advantageous way will be to join your forces there with ours at the same time; and when a junction is effected the affair will be simplified and the passage assured. The whole force can then be promptly applied to cutting the root of the evil.

We calculate that by the time you have invested Ostend you will have over 30,000 men ready for the main business, whilst 16,000 Spanish infantry, a part of them veterans, will go in the Armada from here, the whole force of soldiers and sailors in the fleet reaching 22,000 men.* I have decided that when the marquis of Santa Cruz arrives with the flotillas at Cape St. Vincent, which he is expected to do from hour to hour, he shall leave them there in charge of the Spanish galleys, and go direct to Lisbon. He will there at once take charge of the fleet which will be awaiting him and with God's blessing sail straight to the English Channel. He will sail up the channel and anchor off Margate point; having first sent notice to you at Dunkirk, Newport, or the Sluys, of his approach. You in the meanwhile will be quite ready, and when you see the passage assured by the arrival of the fleet at Margate, or at the mouth of the Thames, you will, if the weather permits, immediately cross with the whole army in the boats which you will have ready. You and the Marquis will then co-operate, the *one on land and the other afloat*,† and with the help of God will carry the main business through successfully. Until you have crossed over with the army, the Marquis is not to allow himself to be diverted from assuring your safe passage, and keeping at bay any force of the enemy which may come out to prevent it. The fact of his having taken possession of that port (Margate) will cut the communication of the enemy, and prevent them from concentrating their forces to some extent. When you have landed (the Marquis giving you 6,000 selected Spanish infantry as ordered), I am inclined to leave to the discretion of both of you what would be the best for the Marquis to do with the fleet; whether still to assure the passage of our people from Flanders to England, and cut off foreign aid which might be sent to the English, or whether it would be better for him to go and capture some port and divert the enemy's strength. Or else he might go and seize the English ships lying in various ports, in order to

* In the King's hand:—"If you do not do so further on, would it not be well to give "him particulars of the ships and stores, &c., as well as the number of men?"

† In the King's hand:—"I think it would be better to say here 'you on land and the Marquis afloat'"

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deprive them of maritime forces, which are their principal strength. After you have both considered this question on the spot, the Marquis will carry out the joint decision and you will hasten to the front to conduct the undertaking on the lines decided upon. I trust to God, in whose service it is done, that success may attend the enterprise, and that yours may be the hand to execute it.

These orders are now awaiting the Marquis on his arrival on the coast, and he will carry through his part directly, without waiting for fresh advices from you. We are quite aware of the risk which is incurred by sending a heavy fleet in the winter through the Channel without a sure harbour, but the various reasons which render this course necessary are sufficient to counterbalance this objection, as will be stated below. As it is all for His cause, God send good weather; and you had better try to have some advices sent to meet the Marquis about Ushant. If you do this, however, it must be done so secretly that, whatever happens to the vessel, the object of its voyage can never be discovered and it would *perhaps be better to confide the information to some trustworthy person verbally instead of writing it, and let him go disguised as a merchant.**

The most important of all things is that you should be so completely ready that the moment the Marquis arrives at Margate, you may be able to do your share without delay. You will see the danger of any such delay, the Armada being there and you behindhand; as until your passage is effected he will have no harbour for shelter, whereas when you have crossed over he will have the safe and spacious River Thames. Otherwise he will be at the mercy of the weather, and if, which God forbid! any misfortune should happen to him, you will understand what a state it would put us into. All will be assured, please God! by means of your good understanding, but you must not forget that the forces collected, and the vast money responsibility incurred, make it extremely difficult for such an expedition again to be got together if they escape us this time, whilst the obstacles and divisions which may arise (and certainly will do so) next summer, force us to undertake the enterprise this year, or else fail altogether; which I hope will not occur, but that great success may attend us with God's grace, since you are to be the instrument, and I have so bountifully supplied you with money. On other occasions I have written to you, how all our prestige is at stake, and how much my own tranquillity depends upon the success of the undertaking; and I now once more enjoin you earnestly to justify me for the trust I place in you. Pray send me word at once that there shall be no shortcoming in these respects, as until we get such advice I shall be very anxious.—San Lorenzo, 4th September 1587.

12 Sept. **142.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 48.

As I wrote in my last, the English ambassador had pressed for an audience of the King on the release of Thomas Morgan. He told the King that by liberating him he had broken the treaty he

* In the King's hand:—"It will be necessary to let the Marquis know we have written "this underlined portion to the duke of Parma."

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had with the queen of England, whereupon the King replied that the queen of England had violated it to a greater extent, and with much less reason, by executing the queen of Scotland, and he therefore had nothing more to say about the matter, and the friendly relations should continue undisturbed. Letters from England report that the Queen is much offended at Morgan's release.

All recent letters from England, up to the 5th instant, assure me that there is no sign of naval armaments. The seven ships I mentioned had sailed under Frobisher to protect passage from Flushing to London against the Dunkirkers. Drake had gone to Plymouth to bring the galleon, "San Vicente," (Felipe?) to the Thames, as the Queen intended to alter her above water to the same pattern as her own ships; but withal there is no talk of armaments. It is true they are shouting here about Drake's having sailed with a large number of ships, but it is all nonsense; and the truth is, that the Queen is not thinking of fitting out a fleet, but keeps her own ships in readiness, with the intention of watching the movements of your Majesty's fleet. Since the fall of the Sluys, armaments there are out of the question, although Diego Botello says the States make promises to Don Antonio. I hear from Sampson and others that the latter has been desperately ill, and is in great need and discontent. The Commissioners the Queen was sending to Flanders were being hurried off. They are the earls of Derby and Hertford, Lord Cobham, James Crofts, the Controller, Dr. Dale, Master of Requests, and John Herbert, doctor of the Court of Admiralty.

Letters from Scotland, dated 25th ultimo, report that the Parliament confirmed the establishment of the Calvinistic religion, and issued a proclamation ordering the Catholic priests and Jesuits to depart under pain of the "horn law," as it is called; those who harbour them or converse with them being subject to the same punishment.* This is, for a first offence, condemnation as rebels and confiscation of goods for a year. For the offence of harbouring them a second time, the punishment is that of felony or treason, namely, death and confiscation of goods. The King had also granted to the ministers (*i.e.*, Protestant clergymen) the right of capture of the priests and Jesuits, by means such as those employed in Spain for the apprehension of offending persons; and the earl of Huntly had consequently obtained 20 days' immunity to enable an uncle of his belonging to the Society of Jesus to leave the country.† These are indications that the King is not so well inclined to the Catholic religion as some people want to make out and assert here. They write to Rome to the same effect, but I am keeping count of Olivares informed of what is occurring.

* In this first Scots Parliament, after James attained his majority, the whole of the temporal lands held by bishoprics, abbacies, and priories were annexed to the Crown, the tithes alone being reserved for the maintenance of the ministers. This was a crushing blow to the Scottish episcopacy, as it virtually divested the bishops of the right to sit in the national Parliament which they had done in virtue of their baronial possessions. The same Parliament also ratified all the laws previously passed in favour of the reformed religion, and enacted, as is stated above, very severe punishments for the seminary priest. By re-enacting the Commons representative law of 1427 it also established on a permanent basis the elective representative system as in the English House of Commons.

† Father James Gordon.

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The King has also taken the temporalities of the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishops of Dunblane and Ross, which means depriving them of everything, and quite extinguishes any hopes they might have of returning to Scotland. The King had made the earl of Huntly, a Catholic lord, his Vice-Chamberlain, in consequence of the office of Lord Chamberlain being hereditary in the family of the duke of Lennox, and because the present holder, being a child, he cannot serve. The King had also appointed the earl of Bothwell to be guardian or general of the Border with the earl of Angus, in consequence of his having been informed that the queen of England had sent Lord Hunsdon to Berwick with orders to station 3,000 men on the Scotch frontier.

The ambassador who had been sent by the king of Scotland to Denmark to treat of his marriage with that King's daughter had returned with the reply that the king of Denmark would have much pleasure in allying himself with him, but not for the purpose of making war on the queen of England, with whom he was on terms of friendship.—Paris, 12th September 1587.

Note.—In another letter of the same date to the King's secretary, Don Juan de Idiaquez, Mendoza thanks God for the news of the safe arrival of the flotilla from New Spain in San Lucar, and two ships from the Portuguese Indies in Lisbon, and that they are now free from anxiety lest Francis Drake should go out and capture them.

13 Sept. **143.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 52.

Julius* advises me that the queen of England has written to her ambassador here, telling him to use every effort to persuade the King to come to terms with Bearn, and agree to a general peace. He thinks the matter has been broached in London by the French ambassador, because directly this despatch arrived Villeroy and Belièvre went secretly at night to the house of the King's advocate, which is next door to the English ambassador's, where the latter joined them. They said at first that they wished to inquire whether the Queen would send Commissioners to negotiate an agreement with your Majesty, and the ambassador told them that Commissioners had already been appointed; but I understand they afterwards urged him to use every endeavour to persuade his Queen to a general peace, and employed arguments which they were sure would influence the Queen's mind. I do not repeat them here, but they mostly turned upon the danger which the King personally incurred by continuing the war, and the countenance he was obliged to give to the Guises. They said that although the King was collecting an army, he was inclined to peace, and in order to obtain it he would continue his action and do his best to weaken the Guises, to prevent them from standing in the way. For this reason the King's agent in the Netherlands had sent a gentleman to the duke of Lorraine, requesting him to propose a marriage between the princess of Lorraine and the duke of Parma or his son, great advantages being offered by this King to bring it about. They thought that this and other things connected with it would cool

* "I think he must be the same man, although we thought not before."—In the King's hand.

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Parma in his help to the Guises, and would throw him entirely in the arms of the king of France in the matter of the division (*i.e.*, of Philip's Flemish dominions). In consideration of this (seeing your Majesty's age and that of Parma) they would promise the latter the government of those countries (*i.e.*, the part of Flanders which should fall to the share of France). Villeroy afterwards urged upon the ambassador the importance of the Queen's placing no trust in your Majesty, and upon her continuing to distrust you by every means in her power, in which this King would aid her.

Julius also tells me that Cecil advises him that John Herbert, whom I know well, and they consider a clever man, was going as one of the Commissioners, with the secret mission of saying to the duke of Parma that he ought to recollect who it was that allowed his grandfather to be murdered, and that your Majesty was now usurping the throne of Portugal from his son, which was not a thing to be lightly forgotten. He should not incur the risk of your Majesty, at your age, so arranging matters in the Netherlands as to deprive him of the opportunity of benefiting by them, but should win the favour of the people of the country, and garrison the towns with men entirely devoted to him; and particularly in those towns which the Queen would surrender to him if she came to terms with your Majesty. Both the Queen and France would help him with all their strength, and she pledged herself to this faithfully; besides which, it would be better for his (Parma's) son to possess the throne of England than your Majesty. This message has been communicated to Julius in consequence of its importance, and they expect to obtain greater results from it than from the ostensible business of the Commissioners. I have requested Julius to try to learn what reply is given. He also informs me that Walsingham writes on the 5th instant to the Ambassador instructing him to use every means to discover in what spirit Parma received the communication, and whether his desire was only to gain time. Since he was so intimate with Arundell, Walsingham suggests that the latter should be set on to discover something from me, this being the sole object of the courier's being sent. He asked me what answer he should send, and I told him to say that the duke of Parma was acting very straightforwardly and sincerely in the communications that were being opened, in the assurance that as the Queen had initiated them she would be willing to give your Majesty entire possession of your own. I thought this was the most fitting language to use. Your Majesty will see by what I say how cleverly Julius is acting through all this.

From Scotland I have a letter dated Petty Leith, 14th ultimo, saying that Captain Forster would start in two days for Denmark with five ships for cargoes of wheat, and although I have no letters from him or Bruce this is a proof that they have arrived safely, and are successfully managing their business.* I am hourly expecting letters from them. Your Majesty will see by the enclosures my news from Scotland and England under dates of 25th and 30th ultimo.—Paris, 13th September 1587.

* Note in the King's hand:—"That would be very good, although I do not see how it can be true with Morton here."

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13 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 54.

144. DOCUMENT headed "Advices from London of 13 September, "1587, translated from English to Spanish."

There is a great desire here to make peace with the king of Spain, and on the 17th the Commissioners are to leave here. They are the earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, the Controller, the Queen's doctor, and a Master of Requests. It is said that Walsingham also will go, and the matter will not fall through for want of concession on their part, for they are more alarmed than ever, seeing the events that have taken place and the preparations being made elsewhere, which are not to their liking. They are also disappointed about the effect of the coming of the Reiters, by which they thought to make sure of the king of France. The King is getting vexed, knowing that the Queen was the cause of their coming, as he plainly writes to his ambassador. If she says anything to him about Morgan's release, which has much offended her, he (the French ambassador) is to reply, that the King could not avoid liberating him, both because he had been asked to do so by the Pope and the king of Spain, and because of the offences she had offered to him in killing the queen of Scots, and in succouring and favouring his rebel subjects. The ambassador has said nothing yet, but the Queen is informed of it by Stafford and Walsingham. The earl of Leicester is in Holland, greatly hated by everyone, so much so that the States roundly refuse to negotiate with him, they themselves being divided. Count Hohenlohe has refused to meet Leicester. The Admiral's visit was to persuade him (Hohenlohe) to come and see the Queen, but he excused himself on the ground that the States said that they did not want any Englishmen, but would defend themselves. It has been decided here to instruct the Earl to fortify Flushing, Bergen, Brille, Ramequin, and Ostend, and to throw all the Englishmen into those places to hold them. It is expected, however, that the Earl will soon return, although he has refused to do so hitherto when requested, as he says his honour is at stake and he is determined to hold these places firmly.

They cannot make sure of the Scots, who refuse to listen to their excuses. The chancellor of Scotland made a speech to his King in the name of the people at the end of the Parliament; and in order that he might avenge himself for his mother's death they offered the King a half of all they possessed. The King replied that he accepted their good-will, but that it was necessary for him first to consult other friendly monarchs, in order that the matter might be taken in hand effectually. This makes people here think that the king of Spain may thus ruin them through Scotland. So great is the fear of this that the captain and crew of a ship belonging to Raleigh came hither (to London) on the 23rd ultimo, and swore before the Council that they had sighted, 50 leagues from the English coast, a fleet of 130 sail, amongst which they recognised 30 Biscay ships and some Portuguese galleons. This upset them so much as cannot be believed, as they thought the fleet was going to Scotland, and musters were ordered all over the country, captains being appointed on the Borders. They still fear that the fleet the king of Spain is fitting out is to go to Scotland. The Queen is caressing Don Antonio lately more than ever, and he is therefore

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quieter. He summoned Diego Botello hither, but he excused himself on the ground that he wished to make ready first 12 ships which the States granted him to go to the Mina. Although Leicester wrote to Dr. Lopez that these ships should certainly not go for the service of Don Antonio, even if they were got ready; he, Leicester, being on bad terms with Botello, still it will be well to report the matter, so that those in the Castle of Mina may be put upon their guard.

The Indian ship discharged her cargo in Plymouth with 17 vessels and tenders, which brought it to London two days ago. It consists of 4,070 cwt. of pepper, 500 cwt. of cinnamon, 100 cwt. of cloves, 120 cwt. of other drugs, 500 bales of aniseed, 103 boxes and 115 bales of stuffs. This is being sold, but nothing else. Horatio Pallavicini, the Genoese, offered 100,000*l.* for it, out of which he was to be paid 30,000*l.* they owed him, and I expect he will get it by the favour of interested persons.

Three ships belonging to George Carew, captain of the isle of Wight, went to the Havana and brought back two vessels from Santo Domingo loaded with hides and sugar, five merchantships, three fishing boats, and a Brazil ship.

18 Sept. **145.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 140.

I note your reports from England. As they are from so good a source, and you can get them there without fail, take care that you send them often. These last have been a long while coming. Write particularly whether the talk of Don Antonio embarking with the 16 ships is going forward. Let me know where the English place the ships they were arming, or whither they send them; and tell me whether the deputies they were sending to meet the duke of Parma's representatives were going openly or under some pretence. Julius can easily tell you this.

With regard to the suspicions aroused there (in Paris) about the Sluys, and in the matter of Allen, you will continue your efforts to divert them, especially with the Nuncio. You did well in leading him astray as you did, in reply to his hint about the enterprise, which doubtless was only a feeler prompted to him by some other persons. You will inform count de Olivares of this, and of the feeling displayed in these matters generally by the Nuncio, as it may be important.*—San Lorenzo, 28th September 1587.

28 Sept. **146.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 141.

[EXTRACT.]

The articles of the (Anglo-French) treaty of 1572 have been received. Inform me whether it has since been confirmed or added to either openly or secretly; and also whether it has been fulfilled as regards the clause providing that, if Englishmen are embargoed in the Netherlands or elsewhere, the subjects of the Prince who makes the seizure shall be arrested in France. In the recent case of the seizure of Englishmen have the English demanded the fulfilment

* The new Nuncio in France was Gian Francesco Morosini, bishop of Brescia. He was a Venetian, and consequently not at first inclined to look favourably upon the Spanish cause.

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of this clause; and, if so, what answer was given? The steps taken by the English towards the king of Scotland are just what might be expected of them; but he has good reason for knowing them, and if he will consider it well he will see he has as little reason for trusting Frenchmen, if they try to persuade him to make friends with those whose only object is to destroy him. Report to me how this matter has ended, and what the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross hear about the King in the matter of religion. Which of the two prelates do you consider the most confidential and likely to be useful in current affairs? Have you heard anything of Bruce?—San Lorenzo, 28th September 1587.

2 Oct. **147.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 142. [EXTRACT.]

It is greatly to be deplored that the sect of Calvin should take root in Scotland, and that the Parliament there should issue so pernicious an order as this, especially if it was not forced from them by the English faction against the King's wish. Advise me whether now that the King has taken the revenues of his see from the archbishop of Glasgow, he still wishes to retain him there as ambassador. How does the Archbishop take it, and what does he think of the affairs of his King and country?

Julius seems to be acting excellently with you. Although I am sure that if the English propose a secret commission * they will receive a fitting reply, it will be well, for the purpose of proving his sincerity, for you to get to the bottom of his news respecting these and other negotiations now in hand. Your answer as to the straightforwardness with which proceedings on our side were being conducted in the matter of a settlement was a good one, and you will follow the same course on all occasions.

News about English armaments should be sent frequently, not only respecting those which are ostensibly offensive, but the defensive ones as well; so that in any case we shall know when and how and to what strength they are raising the bulk of their fleet. Exert all your diligence in this and write to me continually.—San Lorenzo, 2nd October 1587.

2 Oct. **148.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 143. Considering the favourable account you give of Dr. Nicholas Wendon, archdeacon of Suffolk, and the need he is suffering for the sake of the Catholic religion, I have decided to grant his petition and to allow him a pension of 20 crowns a month until further orders. You will pay him this amount regularly, and credit it to your account of extraordinary expenses.

Advise the duke of Parma of the grant, so that the pension which was promised to Dr. Wendon from Flanders may be cancelled.—San Lorenzo, 4th October 1587.

* That is to say, a secret commission to the duke of Parma to shake him in his allegiance to Philip.

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2 Oct. **149.** ROBERT BRUCE to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 69. French.

A few days before I left Brittany I wrote to you the causes of our long delay there, and that after many tiresome reverses I had at last obtained a Scottish ship in which I decided to undertake the voyage. By God's grace the voyage was a fairly prosperous one, and I arrived at Lochrian in this neighbourhood the sixth day after my setting sail, the last day of August. I went to the Court where I gave an account of negotiations to the Catholic lords. They thanked God for having inspired his Catholic Majesty and his friends to help them in their righteous enterprise, whilst at the same time deeply regretting the absence of their associate the earl of Morton, and also the long delay which had occurred in my coming, which has caused the season to be too far advanced now for obtaining a number of ships, as most of them have already been taken up for the fishery and to bring merchandise hither. On the other hand, if we could get the ships it would be impossible to send them to Dantzig for wheat now, as the sea is blocked by ice in the winter. For this reason they (the Catholic lords) have decided to furnish me with a good opportunity to sound the King on the subject of your message, by offering him on behalf of his Catholic Majesty the help he might require to enable him to avenge the death of his mother. I did this, and he expressed himself strongly inclined and willing to do it. He is deeply obliged to his Majesty for so great a favour and for the discretion employed in making the suggestion to him. The Secretary, who is now Chancellor,* displayed a similar feeling after hearing the said message, as without him the King will do nothing; but when the Secretary declared the matter to the Justice-Clerk,† who rules him completely and belongs to the English faction, and after he had read a letter from Chisholm‡ to Robert Melvil, he (the Justice-Clerk) began to cool him in the matter, on I know not what considerations of danger to their religion; and he has now turned the King from his first fervour, and so we have failed in our project of interesting the King in our plans and, under the pretext stated, obtaining his authority to freight the ships, without divulging the ultimate object in view, which we thought by this means the more easily to effect. The King, following the advice of the Secretary (without whom he will do nothing), has decided therefore simply to write to you and to his ambassador in Paris, for the purpose of establishing an understanding through you with his Catholic Majesty and the duke of Parma. He will thereupon beg that an ambassador shall be sent to him with a good sum of money to enable him to raise troops here. It will be suggested that the ambassador should be sent under the pretext of complaining to our King of his having broken the terms of the peace concluded between the Emperor and the queen of

* In margin.—"He is a heretic and an atheist, a great politician who rules the King with a rod." Sir John Maitland.

† In margin.—"This Clerk is a terrible heretic." He was Sir Lewis (Lord) Ballenden.

‡ In margin.—"Chisholm is the gentleman who came hither to France with the despatches for the (Scots) ambassador and is still here awaiting the reply." He was the nephew of the bishop of Dunblane.

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Scotland, his mother, by sending aid to the rebel subjects of his Catholic Majesty. They will discuss with the ambassador the conditions for the sending hither of the 2,000 men, as they have deferred the matter for a year. This resolution was conveyed to me by the King himself in the presence of Mr. Fentrie,* although the secretary, who was the originator of it, had informed me of it two days before I heard it from the King's lips, and he told me afterwards that the King intended to make me the bearer of his decision; little thinking that I had other work to do. I replied, however, that since he did not desire the aid to be sent so soon, it would be better to await the return of John Chisholm, and, by the light of the further information he might bring, a better resolution could be arrived at as to what might be expected and demanded. As for me, I had, I said, no ambition to be employed to the King's prejudice, and I should be glad if another person could be chosen who might be better able than I to carry out his wishes. If I were employed, he (the King) might lay himself open to the suspicion of the ministers, who were constantly preaching against him for the favour he showed to Catholics, and who have twice complained of me without grounds. By this means I have caused the King to defer sending me back, and in the meanwhile I shall have leisure to discuss with the lords the means by which they may bring hither the forces granted, since the season has passed for obtaining ships here. With this object they are to meet in six days at a place where I am to be present. I will get them to write fully their final decision, for nothing can be expected from our King whilst he is surrounded by heretics belonging, for the most part, to the faction of the queen of England, who during the last month has sent them 30,000 angels to keep them faithful to her and maintain the King on the same side.

The King himself, on account of his blind zeal for his religion, his fear of the ministers, and of losing his crown, dares not move; and to judge by the resolution he has come to in this affair, it would seem that he and those who sway him only seek to draw matters out and apply the money requested, either to their own uses, or to fortify themselves both against the Catholics and against the foreign troops, whom they distrust, apparently, as they ask for so few, and then only after a large sum of money has been sent to them sufficient to raise six times their number of native troops. Some of the Catholic lords, and especially the earl of Huntly, have tried to induce the King to ask for aid at once, pointing out by many arguments his present need and danger, and the goodwill of his friends to come to his aid; which goodwill may be dissipated by his coolness or a change of circumstances if he delays too long. The small effect produced upon him and those who rule him by these arguments, proves plainly that they have made up their minds to ask for help with the real intention of declining it. The Catholic lords are therefore of opinion that John Chisholm should be sent back, bearing on behalf of his Catholic Majesty the proposals I have made in general terms to the King in accordance with your instructions; namely, that help shall be furnished him if he will

* In margin.—"Fentry is the nephew of the Scots ambassador here" (*i.e.*, in Paris, namely Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow).

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duly ask for it, and sincerely seek the friendship of so great a sovereign. They also think that if there are means for obtaining ships on the coast of France, Flanders, or elsewhere, the forces promised to the earl of Morton there should be sent hither as soon as they can be got together; and they (the Catholic lords) will hold themselves in readiness to receive them at Petty Leith, if they are informed about the time when they may arrive. But if this cannot be done until the ships be sent from here, they pray that the forces may be ready by the spring, and they will freight the ships as they return hither, to send them to Denmark for wheat and then to Dunkirk as was previously arranged. They would be very glad, however, if ships could be obtained on the other side, as they fear that the freighting of so many ships here might arouse suspicion of some enterprise being afoot, and cause the detention of all ships arriving thereafter.

I will take care of what I have in charge,* either to freight ships in the spring, unless means be found for sending the aid before then, or to be disposed of otherwise as you may instruct. After my meeting with the lords I will write at length their decision. With regard to your request about a seaport, I may say that we have not yet permission to transport wheat from here, and this causes Bailly† still to be detained here. This letter will serve for you and the duke of Parma.—2nd October (1587).

2 Oct. **150.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 64.

[EXTRACT.]

As I previously wrote to your Majesty, I was informed from Scotland that Captain Forster was at Petty Leith with five ships bound for Denmark. To make sure, I got the Scots ambassador to ask a Scotsman who had come hither, through Ireland, for a description of this Captain Forster. He said he was a one-eyed man, which our Forster is not, so the news is evidently false. This has since been confirmed by my having received a letter from Robert Bruce written at Landereau, Lower Brittany, on the 28th August. He says he has set sail several times, but what with pirates and foul weather, has always been driven back to Brittany again. He had now, however, good hopes of being able to effect the voyage, and was to embark on the following day in a Scottish ship. It may well be believed that God ordained that he should be so long delayed, for if he had gone to Scotland at once, and returned to Dunkirk as arranged, in the middle of August, the Duke of Parma would not have had the men ready, and the whole design would have been discovered by the enemy when the ships appeared there. —Paris, 2nd October 1587.

* In margin.—"He means the 10,000 crowns."

† In margin.—"Bailly is the man who was sent by the duke of Parma to bring over a ship with some masts and wheat." He was the famous Charles Bailly whose capture with the bishop of Ross' despatches caused the failure of the Ridolfi plot. After a long period of imprisonment and much torture in England he was allowed to return to Flanders, where he remained in the Spanish service until his death at a great age. On his tombstone in a church in the suburbs of Brussels he is called Secretary to the queen of Scots, which he was not, and a representation of her execution is carved on the stone.

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2 Oct. **151.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 65.

Encloses duplicate of letter, 5th August, giving an account of his dealing with Friar Diego Carlos in accordance with the King's instructions of 6th July. Has lately seen the friar, who said he had letters from Don Antonio and read some cipher lines from them, to the effect that he, Don Antonio, notes that Don Bernardino's instructions (*i.e.* to negotiate) had arrived, and wonders whether they have more force than previous ones. The friar therefore presses Mendoza to inform him how far his instructions extend. The writer parries this by saying that, when Don Antonio set forth his proposals, he would see whether the instructions were sufficient for their acceptance or not. The friar tries to draw him into a discussion, to discover the extent of his powers, whereupon the writer tells him that he (the writer) is too old for him to *tirer les vers du nez*, as the French say, in this way, particularly seeing the position assumed by Don Antonio after the writer had obtained the King's permission to listen to him on his assurance that Don Antonio was desirous of submitting to the King, although he (the writer) was suspicious of it from the first. He declines to enter into particulars, and to allow Don Antonio to represent to the English and French that the King is willing to come to terms with him. The friar said he (the writer) was very hard, and he could not believe the King would now refuse to Don Antonio the terms he previously offered. Don Antonio had peremptorily recalled the friar, who feared that if Don Antonio had changed his mind he might keep him in England by force, whereas if he did not go the negotiations must fall through. He asks the writer's advice as to how he should act. The writer declines to give it, or to advance him the money he requests, whereupon the friar decides to go to England and has great hope of successfully carrying through the negotiation. The letters recalling the friar did not come by Sampson's hand, but must have been brought by special messenger. Don Antonio writes hopefully to his people here, but Sampson says it is nothing but groundless ideas that the English are putting into his head.

In addition to the information supplied by Julius from England, the writer receives letters from the servant of a merchant there, and an English priest, who must be remunerated, as also must Barlemont who has gone thither. Gaspar Diaz Montesinos and his brother are also being maintained here to receive Antonio de Vega's letters, which is too heavy a cost, and too many people for the business. Begs for instructions as to what he shall do with Montesinos and his brother, and whether he shall keep up the correspondence with the priest and the Frenchman now Barlemont is in England. Antonio de Vega sends the enclosed news from England dated 13th September. —Paris, 2nd October 1587.

Note.—In some rough notes (Paris Archives, K. 1565. 59) for the reply from the King to the above letter the importance of having full reports from England is emphatically repeated, and especially of keeping many different agents there unknown to each other. Montesinos is to be kept in Paris, and Mendoza is to use his own

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discretion as to dismissing some of the other correspondents. His action with regard to the friar, Diego Carlos, is fully approved of.

2 Oct. **152.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 66.

Belièvre and Secretary Pinart have seen the English ambassador to discuss the question of the robberies on both sides, and they came to an agreement that mutual restitution should take place. It is easy to set down on paper, but difficult to effect. With regard to armaments, there is nothing new except that the Queen has now ready for sea 30 ships (12 of her own and 18 merchantmen), most of which are at Plymouth, and the rest at Southampton and at the foreland at the mouth of the Thames. The 2,500 men who are to go in this fleet have been raised in the counties of Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire. The seven Queen's ships which I said Captain Frobisher had taken out, are cruising in the Channel about Dunkirk, but as they cannot get in shore, in consequence of the shoals, they are not producing much effect. I am assured of this by the new confidant, and it is confirmed by my other advices. I cannot learn that the Hollanders are arming ships, although Don Antonio's people declare that the rebels had promised Diego Botello 12 vessels for his service.

I understand that statements have been laid before this King and his mother, saying that with the reinforcements your Majesty is sending from Italy to the duke of Parma, the latter will always be able, when the weather serves, to throw as many troops as he pleases into the English ports within 6 or 8 hours, in despite of England and France, as the wind that will take him thither will prevent the others from opposing him.

Whilst I was signing this I received advices from England, dated 26th ultimo, confirming what I have said about armaments, and reporting that Drake was at Court—13 miles from London. The Queen had appointed Master Riche of her chamber to be Vice-Chamberlain and Keeper of the Privy Purse, as she had sent Lord Hunsdon to Berwick and it was necessary for someone at Court to perform the duties of the office. They had nearly concluded the arrangement with Horatio Pallavicini and other merchants about the spices brought by the ship from India and captured by Drake. They are offering about 300,000 crowns for them.

The new confidant assures me that the letters of the 26th ultimo make no mention at all of armaments, and there is not so much apprehension as before of your Majesty's fleet.—Paris, 2nd October 1587.

2 Oct. **153.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 67.

Julius informs me that by letters written to the ambassador, dated 25th ultimo, he is informed that the reason for the delay in despatching the commissioners from the queen of England to Flanders was the receipt of two letters from the earl of Leicester saying that the negotiation would only have the effect of imperilling his life, and that of all other Englishmen there, who were hated by the rebel States, and the latter, however much the Queen might wish it, did not desire to come to an agreement with your Majesty; but in such case would instantly try to make terms secretly for themselves, which would give rise to greater difficulties than ever.

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Notwithstanding this step of the earl of Leicester's, however, the Queen was determined to continue the negotiations. They instruct the ambassador to use every effort to persuade this King to make peace with the Huguenots, and to offer him any terms he wishes if he will join (the queen of England) against your Majesty, who, they say, is the common enemy of both crowns, and it is necessary for them to check your power. They press this with many arguments. Belièvre and Secretary Pinart, being informed that the ambassador wished to see them in consequence of a despatch which he had received, went to his house, which is a proof of how gracious they wish to be to him, as it is an unusual thing for them to do. They discussed the matter mentioned in one of my other letters about England; and Belièvre spoke to the ambassador respecting the settlement of a peace here (in France), whereupon the ambassador replied that he had something to tell him about it, and they agreed to meet again in two days to enter into the matter at their leisure. I suspect that Belièvre wanted to gain time to learn further about the question, and see the result which was produced by the going of the King to the prince of Bearn. This view is confirmed by the proposed interview with the ambassador being postponed by Belièvre. Julius also informs me that the 12,000 crowns now in the ambassador's hands, out of the 100,000 sent to him by the Queen to give to Bearn and others, are to be employed expressly in aiding the prince of Conti and Count Soissons. But, as the ambassador is overwhelmed with debt, he has spent the money.* As it is some time since the queen of England gave any money to Soissons, and then only 5,000 crowns, which he spent on horses for which he has a fancy, it is probable that this King will have helped him to pay for the troops he has recently raised, as he has no other means of getting money, although he declares he has received it from the queen of England. Julius says that the reason why Walsingham has urged that the ambassador should be ordered to give Soissons these 12,000 crowns is that the Queen should discover that he had spent them, and so he might be disgraced and dismissed from here, as Walsingham is his enemy, although the Queen thinks well of him. Walsingham had, therefore, written to him in the Queen's name, saying that for the next four or five months, until the result of the present negotiations in France was known, he was to defer taking leave, and must not think of returning to England. This has been managed by the Treasurer, in compliance with the request which I advised Julius to make to him on the matter. In the meanwhile Julius hopes that the garb in England will be so changed that he may be avenged on Walsingham. So far as I can judge, he is most careful in advising your Majesty of what occurs.—Paris, 2nd October 1587.

* Burleigh, in a letter to Sir Edward Stafford, written exactly a year before the date of the above letter (Hatfield Papers, Part III.), says he hears that Stafford is in "great debt by unreasonable playing"; and in a statement in the same papers (p. 212) it appears that the man Moody, who was concerned with William Stafford in the alleged plot to kill the Queen, was answerable for the following debts of "his master," Sir Edward Stafford—to Alderman Martin bonds for 1,000*l.* for the payment of 500*l.*, and a similar amount to John Mabbe, Goldsmith. This was in January 1587, and may possibly explain Stafford's treachery in selling himself to the Spaniards.

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9 Oct. **154.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 72.

The only thing I have to report from England is that the Queen has dismissed Sir John Forster from the post of guardian of one of the three Scotch marches. He is a great heretic, and when the Scots entered his Government, burning and sacking, he did them no harm. The Queen has given the post to Lord Hunsdon. The king of Scotland had sent the Earl Marischal to Denmark to negotiate his marriage with the King's daughter. Don Antonio has sent to Diego Botello in Holland summoning him to England. There is no talk of armaments either in Holland or England, beyond what I reported in my last. There has been a rumour here that your Majesty's fleet had arrived in Scotland, and the Queen-Mother has been making great efforts to discover the truth of it, she having sent a person expressly to England to ascertain.—Paris, 9th October 1587.

17 Oct. **155.** DOCUMENT headed "Advices from London of 17th October 1587, new style."*

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 78. Portuguese.

By a master of the household of the French ambassador, I wrote last on the 12th September. I have now to report that they are assured here that the king of Spain had raised a fleet of 130 sail to send to this country, and that in the last audience you had with the king of France, you told him that as soon as the marquis of Santa Cruz's fleet joined the other, they would come and attack this country (England). In order to ascertain the truth of this they sent two light tenders (pataches) from here to learn what was being done in Lisbon, where it was said the fleets were to rendezvous. One of these tenders got as far up as between the tower of St. Gian and that of Belem, where it remained for a night; but as they could find no one with whom they could speak, they sailed out and returned up the river by the next tide. They then fell in with a fishing boat, the master of which they captured, and brought him home with them. He says that there were 80 sail ready in all, awaiting the return of the Marquis' fleet, and that it was asserted that the destination of the united fleet was to be this country. They have now sent another tender to try to land a man who may see the preparations for himself, and give them full particulars. It will be necessary to send instructions at once for them to keep a watch upon all vessels between the said two towers. Ships very frequently lie there, either on their way in or out of the river, waiting for wind or tide. They have decided to land their man at the beacon near our Lady of Cano, and return for him in four days. All ships have been arrested, and the whole of the Queen's ships are being made ready. Lord Hunston, the Lord Chamberlain, has gone to Berwick on the Scotch border, taking with him a present for the king of Scotland if he will accept it, and money to corrupt some of his officers. Orders are given for the borders to be manned, and the people are to be forced to form companies and drill on feast days. They are very sorry now they did not send Drake back to the

* The document is evidently a copy sent to the King of a letter from Antonio de Vega, as his peculiar diction and spelling are preserved.

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islands with more ships, as they thought that those that remained would be strong enough to disperse the fleet commanded by the marquis of Santa Cruz. They were also influenced in not sending him back by the talk of peace negotiations.

On the 7th instant they say they received a letter from the duke of Parma, saying that he had a reply from his Majesty, and that the commissioners might now be sent; and that as regards past occurrences ladies were always entitled to some consideration. They have, therefore, decided to send the commissioners in a week. I wrote to this effect on the 12th instant by a Venetian ship which has been stopped in the Downs; but since the return of the tender from Lisbon, the idea of their going is cooled. The earl of Leicester has sent back hither 22 companies of Englishmen to garrison the fortresses I have already mentioned, and I expect he himself will be back before long, for he was on worse terms with the States than ever. Botello was busy about 9 out of the 12 ships they had promised him to go to the Mina, as they will not spend money in sending ships to the islands, from whence they say they will get no return. Although the Earl (of Leicester) had written to a merchant saying that these ships shall not go in the service of Don Antonio, it will be well to advise the people at the Mina to be on the watch, and not to trust a certain Alfonso Diaz who was formerly there as interpreter, and went to France in the year 1582 with a letter for Don Antonio from Captain Vasco Pimentel, and who is to go with these ships to the Mina.

Some of the ships of Drake's fleet that remained at the islands have returned, bringing with them three prizes; a ship from Santo Domingo, one from Brazil, and one from Cape de Verde. They say they engaged a ship of the fleet and sank her, and bring with them 13 Spaniards of the crew whom they saved, and who are now in Southampton. They boast most inordinately of their prowess; and their intention is, if it should be true that a fleet of ours should come hither, to go out with a strong force of ships, meet it at sea, and give it battle. They are so proud that they say one of their ships is worth three of ours, and that they will destroy a fleet of 300 sail of ours with 60 sail of theirs. On the 13th they sent a clerk of the Council to the king of Denmark to inform him of what is going on, and to point out how he was being deceived after they had chosen him as the arbitrator in the peace negotiations. Please instruct me what you consider it necessary that I should do, as I was told to send news by every possible means.—London, 17th October 1587.

23 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 81.

156. DOCUMENT headed—"Advices from Zeeland, 23rd October 1587."

The earl of Leicester has been making great efforts to call the States together, and banish from their minds the suspicion that the queen of England was trying to come to terms with his Majesty without their consent. With this object the Queen has sent two deputies to Leyden to give an account to the States, and to assure them that she will not enter into any peace negotiations with his Majesty without informing them thereof. They have therefore

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agreed that the States shall meet at Haarlem, to consider upon what conditions it would be advisable to base any discussions as to a peace with his Majesty.

The earl of Leicester was at the Hague, and proclamation had again been made in the towns that he was to be obeyed as the queen of England's general.

News comes from Denmark that the King had sent out seven large and three small ships of his to Flanders and the English Channel. On their arrival there they are to open sealed orders, the purport of which is not known.

24 Oct. **157.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 85.

The servants of the queen of Scotland, as I wrote to your Majesty, have arrived here from England. Her apothecary handed me a letter written in the Queen's own hand, a copy of which I send to your Majesty, and also the verbal statement which the apothecary was ordered to convey to me, in company with Miss Curle, one of her ladies. The latter had private instructions from the Queen (as the latter says in the margin of her letter to hand me the keepsake from the Queen, a diamond ring worth 200 crowns, and to say that, as she was going to execution, she again enjoined her (Miss Curle) to assure me, if she found me in Paris, that she (the Queen) died confessing the Catholic faith, and with the same determination as she had before intimated to me, to renounce all her claims to the three crowns of the islands in your Majesty's favour, unless her son were a Catholic; and this she ratified in her dying hour. She also desired to supplicate your Majesty to try by every means to bring her son to the Catholic religion; and then she (Miss Curle) added the rest of the message that had been brought by the apothecary. She said that a fortnight before the Queen's death she had seen the confession of the Scottish secretary, Gilbert Curle, and had given a certificate, written with her own hand, to the effect that he had behaved as a good and loyal subject. This certificate I have seen. I understand the reason why the Queen did not give the message about her claims (to the English Crown) to the apothecary, is because he is a Frenchman, and she thought these ladies, Mistresses Curle and Kennedy, who attended her at the last moments, had a right to her confidence. In order to make it up to the apothecary, she charged him with the conveyance of the diamond ring for your Majesty, which he has handed to me, and asked me to retain it until the receipt of your Majesty's orders as to whether he is to carry it to you or not, as it would not be safe in his hands here. It is a table diamond which cost 850 crowns, and was the best jewel she had. By sending it the poor lady showed how much she was attached to your Majesty's interests. She has sent keepsakes to the king of France, the Queen-Mother, the Queen, and all her relatives; but they are mere trifles. I beg your Majesty to instruct me what I am to say to the apothecary, and what I shall do with the diamond. The Queen assured him (the apothecary) and the two ladies, who belong to good Scottish houses, that your Majesty would show them some favour for her sake, and they assure me that, until I learn your Majesty's pleasure, they will not return to Scotland.

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It is so worthy of your Majesty's magnanimity and greatness to extend your favour to the apothecary and these two ladies, and to Secretary Curle, since the queen of Scotland begged your Majesty so earnestly to do so in her last agony, that I add my own prayers to the same effect. Of the debts she mentions, I myself was witness that Charles Arundell gave her the 2,000 crowns at my request when I was in England more than six years ago. They were paid over in cash in my house to a person appointed by the Queen to receive the money. The 3,000 crowns owing to Charles Paget she mentions in a memorandum in the form of a will. Both I and her ambassador were aware of the debt two years ago.—Paris, 24th October 1587.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 60.

DOCUMENT headed—"Statement which Gorion, the apothecary of "the queen of Scotland, was ordered to make to me" (*i.e.*, Bernardino de Mendoza) "on behalf of the said Queen."

Lord Buckhurst having told the queen of Scotland from the queen of England that the latter and her Parliament had condemned her to death, and Amias Paulet having taken away her canopy on the ground that she was now nothing more than a private woman, the Queen retired to her apartment for the night. She then asked Gorion the apothecary whether he would remain as faithful to her after her death as he had been during her life, and he replied that he would, even at the cost of his own life. In consequence of this, and the trust she had reposed in him, she told him that she wished to write to a banker who was known to her ambassador, the bishop of Glasgow; Gorion asked her where this banker was, and she told him in Paris, and his name was Don Bernardino de Mendoza. Gorion replied that he was the Spanish ambassador, who had frequently been mentioned by those who came to examine her. After this the Queen asked him if he could find means to hide the letter so that no living soul should see it. He replied that he could, as he would undo some of his drugs and put the paper amongst them, and the letter would thus pass secretly. This he did after the letter had been handed to him.* She also told him to convey certain things verbally to the said ambassador with Miss Curle, her lady-in-waiting, whereupon Gorion said that perhaps the ambassador would not credit them. The Queen replied that she had asked him to do so in her letter, and for greater certainty they were to give as a countersign the message that when the said ambassador was in England he had sent her some Spanish dressed gloves. He would give entire credit to anyone who conveyed this message from her to him. They were to tell him, first, how cruelly Amias Paulet had treated her; secondly, that your Majesty had promised a sum of money for obtaining her release, and her ambassador had advised her that he had already 4,000 crowns of it in his possession. She prayed your Majesty to order Charles Paget to be paid out of this money 3,000 crowns she owed him, 2,000 to Charles Arundell, and 1,000 to the person who would be mentioned by the archbishop of Glasgow and Thomas Morgan. She very earnestly prayed that your Majesty would do this, as she believed that if these debts were

* This letter was dated 23rd November 1586, and was delivered to Mendoza on the 15th October 1587. See Volume III. of this Calendar.

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not discharged her conscience would suffer thereby. She enjoined them to tell Charles Paget and Arundell that she had assigned the payment of the debts to them. Thirdly, she ordered them (*i.e.*, Gorion and Miss Curle) to beg the ambassador to commend to the King her poor servants who had suffered by her side in prison, and particularly those who had been most loyal, such as Miss Kennedy, Miss Curle, and the said apothecary Gorion. Fourthly, they were to ask the ambassador to assure the King, his master, of the friendship and affection she had always borne him and would do so to the end. Fifthly, she commended to him (*i.e.*, the king of Spain) her good cousin the duke of Guise, and her relatives in France, to whom she hoped he would give good counsel. Sixthly, she begged the ambassador to commend to the King the archbishop of Glasgow, and the bishop of Ross, her faithful servants, whom she hoped he would reward for their services, since God denied her life to do so herself. She also commended her Scottish secretary, Gilbert Curle, unless it was discovered that he had confessed anything he should not have done; he having been the only person she had trusted to write on the various matters which had passed between her and the ministers of the king of Spain. Seventhly, she begged him (the ambassador) to pray his master, in her name, to continue the pensions to the English Catholics, such as the earl of Westmoreland, Lord Paget, Charles Arundell, Charles Paget, Thomas Throgmorton, Thomas Morgan, Ralph Ligons, &c. The night before she died the Queen asked Gorion if he did not find Don Bernardino de Mendoza in France what he would do with the letter; Gorion replied that he would go and seek him in Spain or elsewhere, and the Queen said that for this promise she would give him a diamond ring to deliver to the king of Spain as a last keepsake and remembrance of the friendship she had borne him, and as a pledge that she died in the Roman Catholic religion, begging him to grant these last petitions of hers now that she was so near to her death. These petitions were that he (the King) should have her soul prayed for in the Spanish churches, and would establish in some of them a pious foundation in her memory where God might be prayed to for her; that the King would help her son, and endeavour by every possible means to convert him to the Catholic faith in which he was baptised, marrying him with the countenance of his Holiness, as she had always wished. She hoped that the King would, notwithstanding her death, persevere in the English enterprise, as the quarrel was in the cause of God, and was worthy of being maintained by so Catholic a King.

She again commended to him her cousin, the good duke of Guise, whom she prayed he would help with counsel and support in defence of God and the Catholic faith, and since the King had granted that sum of money for the liberation of her body, she begged him now to apply it to her soul, by ordering the debts she had mentioned to be paid. She also commended to him again the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Ross, and the other three persons mentioned in her letter, as also the English pensioners and English Catholics in general; and enjoined his Majesty, on the day that he made himself master of England, to recollect how she had

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been treated by Treasurer Cecil, the earl of Leicester, Secretary Walsingham, the earl of Huntingdon, Amias Paulet and Waad, and she warned his Majesty that there were two cardinals in Rome who were in agreement with the queen of England.

24 Oct. **158.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 84.

I answer in this letter your Majesty's inquiries relative to the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross. Having regard to the understanding which exists between the former and Muzio (*i.e.*, of the duke of Guise), I consider him a very desirable person to act in these matters, and also in Scotch affairs, since the lords have acted through him and Muzio from the first. I have always found him much devoted to your Majesty's interests, but as he is now nearly 70 years of age, and cannot stir from here owing to his office as ambassador, he will not be a so convenient instrument, if it be necessary to deal with the Scots, as the bishop of Ross, who is more learned and younger than the ambassador. He is very much more active in his habits, and the queen of Scotland therefore employed him in many of her affairs. I have found him also to be much devoted to the interests of your Majesty, and since the Queen's death he has expressed to me a desire to go to Spain and offer his services to your Majesty. I have delayed his going hitherto by saying that it would be well for him to learn first whether the king of Scotland would consent to his going to his diocese, as he had restored him thereto. He recently went to the Netherlands, and I gave him a letter of recommendation to the duke of Parma, to whom he represented how destitute he was left now that he had lost the pension paid to him by the queen of Scotland, and expressed his desire to serve your Majesty. The duke of Parma, therefore, granted him an allowance of 50 crowns from the army chest. On the representation also of Don Juan de Zuñiga, your Majesty's former ambassador in Rome, you granted the bishop 300 crowns out of the revenues of one of the bishoprics. If your Majesty could increase this allowance to a sum sufficient for his maintenance it would pledge him entirely to your Majesty's interests, to which, as I say, he is already much attached.

The bishop of Dunblane is the Carthusian friar who has been here for the last three or four months awaiting a brother of his. During that period he has been in close communication with me about Scotch affairs, and has now gone to Scotland, by order of his Holiness, accompanied by Father Creighton, the Scotch priest who came from Rome. He told me that he was going for the purpose of speaking, if possible, with the King, and to ascertain whether he is desirous of becoming reconciled to the Catholic religion, of which, up to the present, he certainly shows small signs. The good friar, however, who belongs to a high family, hopes that his kinsmen will continue to obtain for him access to the King, who, he thinks, will listen to him more willingly than to another, judging that, as he is a friar, he cannot be influenced by any motives of self-interest. He, like the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross, is striving for the conversion of the King. They are like mothers, who, although they see their children do ill,

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continue to hope for their amendment; and they (the bishops) say, that as no one has spoken to the King yet on religious matters, it is no wonder that his eyes should still remain closed to the truth, considering the error in which he has been brought up. In the course of conversation I have conveyed to the friar what I have considered it would be most conducive to the interests of the Catholic religion and your Majesty's service to lay before the King. He is thoroughly imbued with this, and is convinced that, if the Catholics do not kill those belonging to the English faction and liberate the King, nothing good will be effected. As regards the King's conversion, I consider the worst sign to be the small hope which his mother entertained of it. Curle, her Scotch secretary, tells me that when he was leaving London his father-in-law came from Scotland to see him, and in conversation he asked him about the King's conversion, when his father-in-law replied that they would never see his Majesty a Catholic. Curle also informs me that when the queen of Scotland learnt of the alliance her son had formed with the queen of England, through the Master of Grey, and that her son had written a letter to the queen of England (who sent her a copy of it), saying that he approved of all that Grey had done, she (the queen of Scotland) was much grieved thereat, and told Curle that all her hope of her son's conversion had now vanished. She then knelt before an image and declared that if her son were not a Catholic she would at once lay her curse upon him.

I have no news of Bruce up to the present, and no ship has arrived from Scotland for months past, doubtless in consequence of contrary winds.

The Nuncio, as I have already intimated, leans entirely to the French, and shows it in many ways. He recently asked me slyly, as if deploring the fact, whether it was true that your Majesty was coming to terms with the queen of England. I replied that for some time past the queen of England had been desirous of the duke of Parma's appointing commissioners to discuss terms of agreement with the rebel States, and he (the Nuncio), with his long experience in State affairs, must know that Princes never suffered any prejudice in listening to the proposals made to them; because this did not prevent them from doing what was best in the interests of God and themselves. He seemed satisfied at this, and said that the course was very advisable. Merchants write from Flanders that his Holiness was furnishing himself with money in Antwerp to pay a portion of the troops that had come from Italy, but I have stifled it and stopped it from spreading, by saying that it is a fiction. I am also diverting, as much as I can, those who are asking me about the English enterprise, but I am doing so with the most plausible statements I can find, which do not fail to produce some effect upon the Nuncio and the rest of them. I am leading them on all the false scents I can, in order to conceal the laying-in of provisions by the duke of Parma; but the best point of the matter is, that these people here (*i.e.*, the French) are not in a position to help the Englishwoman, except by sending her information, whilst she and her ministers are so confident, that they think that if all the forces in the world were to land in England, the English themselves would

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be able to cope with them without the aid of foreigners.—*Paris* 24th October 1587.

24 Oct. **159.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 87.

In reply to your Majesty's inquiry as to the treaties of alliance in force between France and England, I beg to say that the treaty was made in the time of King Charles (IX.), and was subsequently ratified by the present King (Henry III.), when he ascended the throne.* The articles show it to be a purely defensive alliance, as the Queen was anxious not to derogate from the alliance she had with the House of Burgundy, and France did not wish to bind itself except to aid the queen of England with the forces specified in case she were at war. With regard to the clause to the effect that if any monarch should seize the property of English subjects the property of his subjects shall be seized in France, I understand that the provision was intended to refer to cases when the seizures were made without a declaration of war, as was done in Flanders by the duke of Alba; and the English have therefore not requested the enforcement of the clause in France by virtue of their present war with your Majesty, nor has any fresh clause been added to the treaty. The English proposed the additions I sent to your Majesty some months ago, but this King (Henry III.) promised to consider them, and the matter remains in suspense, trade having been opened freely by both parties without the arrangement of details, except to declare that mutual restitution shall be made both of the seizures and the robberies. I have kept your Majesty informed as to the armaments in England, and I learn by letters from there, dated 10th instant (new style), that Drake was still at Court, and that the Queen had made no preparations except to hold in readiness the 30 ships and the men who are to go in them, quartered at the place I have mentioned. The Queen has appointed lieutenants to all the counties into which England is divided, which is a step they usually take when they expect war. These lieutenants have to appoint the captains, who are charged with collecting the troops of each county, and when enemies appear such troops are concentrated on to the nearest ports. They were talking of raising some fortifications in Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the Cinque Ports, of which Dover is the principal; and Lord Cobham, the warden, had collected some small vessels to fit out and prevent the Dunkirkers from doing them so much damage as they do.

The commissioners the English were to send to the Netherlands had not left, and it is understood that the Queen was detaining them until she saw how French affairs would turn out. The English people in general were very desirous of peace, and the Queen said she had news from Spain that your Majesty had collected in Lisbon 16,000 Spaniards, but that the season was so far advanced that nothing was now to be feared from your Majesty's fleet. They are doing their best here (*i.e.*, in Paris) to warn her to be on the alert, and say that the reinforcement of the duke of

* A copy of the defensive league between Queen Elizabeth and Charles IX., dated 19th April 1572, referred to in this letter, and also in letter No. 146, is now numbered K. 1565. 1.

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Parma with so many troops is solely with the object of invading the island. This, they tell her, is fully proved by the fact that he had ordered 6,000 saddles and bridles to be made, and a great quantity of biscuits, in the Flemish ports where he had quartered the majority of the Spanish infantry. They also assert that he (the duke of Parma) is having some ships built there, and the Nuncio and the ambassadors are for ever throwing out hints about it to me. I answer them in the way your Majesty has instructed me, and I had previously adopted, as regards Flanders, whilst as to the Spanish fleet I point out the many reasons which may exist for your Majesty's employing it in Barbary.

There is no talk of naval armaments in Holland or Zeeland, nor has Diego Botello settled anything with the rebels, as your Majesty will see by Sampson's advices herewith, which are confirmed from other quarters.

The appropriation of the ecclesiastical temporalities by the king of Scotland, it appears, does not only apply to the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishops of Ross and Dunblane, but to all the bishops. The archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross were appointed by the Queen joint executors with the duke of Guise in the will she made the night she was beheaded. The will was brought hither by her servants, who were liberated by the English after they had buried the Queen in the same church where lies the body of Queen Catherine, who was no less a martyr in her life than the queen of Scotland in her death.* I will send your Majesty a statement of how she suffered death, from the relation of those who were present. When the headsman approached to undress her, she would not allow him to do so, but summoned two ladies of her own for the purpose. When she noticed that they were weeping she rebuked them, and said that they must recollect that she was suffering for the sake of the Catholic religion, and that they ought therefore to rejoice greatly. She said they, too, would have the firmness to sacrifice themselves for such a cause if it were necessary; and with this she showed a firmness and valour which astonished all beholders.

This King has appointed the son of Secretary Pinart as his ambassador in Scotland, and he is now in the country awaiting his despatches. The Scots ambassador here has represented that he is very young and inexperienced to be sent on such a mission, but he has been unable to get the appointment altered. The said ambassador has not yet despatched the gentleman who came from the king of Scotland to him, as the Christian King and his mother have no other answer except that they would write to his master, but the letters have not yet been handed to him.

The English ambassador here has had audience of the Queen-Mother, and asked her whether English ships could come safely to Bordeaux for wine without any risk of their being seized there. She replied that they might, but that the poor crop of wine that there was this year had caused the King to forbid the exportation — Paris, 24th October 1587.

* Peterborough Cathedral.

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Note.—In a letter to the King's secretary, Idiaquez, sent by the same courier as the above, Mendoza again urges the case of Dr. Nicholas Wendon, and encloses a "book of various poems which "have been written on the death of the queen of Scotland, as it "contains some smart epigrams on the life of her of England." Several of these poems are still in the packet, but none of them appear to be worthy of reproduction.

27 Oct. **160.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 90.

As the courier had his foot in the stirrup to take the accompanying letter, dated 24th, there arrived ships from Scotland which had been delayed for two months for want of a wind. They brought me letters from Bruce, and I have kept the courier back whilst they were deciphered. In one of them, of 21st September, he writes me that he had arrived safely with his packet, and in one one of the 24th, that he had seen the King twice, the first time at Hamilton and the second at Blantyre. On both occasions the King had received him very favourably and exhibited great pleasure at your Majesty's message. Bruce was going by the King's orders to Falkland to see him again and was in great hopes of being able to settle things much to his liking, having seen nothing hitherto in the King to lead to a contrary opinion. He promised to report the result to me immediately, which he did in a letter dated the 2nd instant, copy of which I enclose. I gather from it the slight prospect there is of the King's conversion, seeing how completely he is ruled by the heretics of the English faction, and also that this negotiation with the Catholic lords can now have no other result than to ensure a port when they are told to have one at our disposal. This can always be counted upon in England and Scotland for a strong force, as the ports are so numerous, with good facilities for landing, without the castles and forts in the harbours being able to prevent it. The Catholic lords might also, if your Majesty's fleet attack England, raise a disturbance in Scotland and thus oblige the King and the heretics to refrain from helping the Englishwoman. I am sending a special courier to the duke of Parma with a copy of Bruce's letter, in order that he may instruct me what is to be done with the money and that I may reply to the Catholic lords.

The ambassadors here and the Queen-Mother have been trying to ascertain from me by indirect means in what condition the marquis of Santa Cruz's fleet had arrived. I pretended that a mishap had overtaken him after passing Terceira, and they are judging from this that the season will be too far advanced for your Majesty to undertake an enterprise before the spring. I have secretly intimated the same to the new confidant.—Paris, 27th October 1587.

4 Nov. **161.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 96.

[EXTRACT.]

Julio assures me that nothing further has been done in the preparation of warlike armaments in England beyond those mentioned in my general letter. They write to him that they consider your Majesty's willingness to listen to the negotiations of

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the commissioners arises rather from a desire to gain time than with any intention of coming to terms.

The Nuncio is saying here that he is assured that your Majesty would undertake the English enterprise before the spring, only that it is not possible for you to decide the mode of execution of or the place to be assailed.

The Venetian ambassador here has recently made a long speech to the English ambassador, pointing out to him that his mistress was sustaining the war in this country, thus giving your Majesty time to make preparations for attacking her, which you would do when she least expected it. It was therefore for the Queen to accede to the wishes of the king of France, and join with him to check your Majesty's power, which was so dangerous to all other monarchs.—Paris, 4th November 1587.

Postcript—Barlemont has just arrived here, having been expelled from England, as I feared he would be.

Note.—Philip has added a marginal note saying he believes this to be the man who came from Portugal. Barlemont, however, was the Frenchman whom Mendoza had got appointed to a position in the French ambassador's household, for the purpose of his sending news from England.

4 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 97.

162. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. Advices from England.

Since my last report on English affairs I have received intelligence under date of 22nd ultimo from London, that the Queen had ordered that no ships of over 80 tons burden should be allowed to leave the country until further orders, but they are to remain in the ports where they now are. There is nothing fresh in the matter of armaments; nor has the Queen made any provision beyond keeping in readiness the 30 ships I have mentioned. There is no sign of arming ships in Holland or Zeeland.—Paris, 4th November 1587.

4 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 146.

163. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Thanks for your diligence in sending news from England. Send me reports frequently, and make much of Julio who is acting so well towards you. Keep Montesinos, and as to the others you employ to obtain information, you may use your discretion as to dispensing with some of them, as you suggest, although it is always better to have as many in hand as possible, unknown to each other, so that the news may be confirmed.

You acted quite rightly with Friar Diego Carlos. If he returns to the subject with as little appearance of sincerity as before, treat him in the same way. Has he gone to England?—San Lorenzo, 4th November 1587.

6 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 99.

164. EXTRACT of LETTER from the DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

With regard to Bruce, I have taken note of the copy of his letter which you send me. As he has given an account of the matter to his King, who is so contaminated by the sect and the English faction, and the season is so advanced, whilst the hopes

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which were entertained when the resolution was adopted have disappeared, it will be best to carry the matter no further at present, although I had arranged all my preparations for it here. You will, however, maintain the sympathy and attachment shown by the Catholic lords, in the hope that if occasion should arise they will give effect to their devotion. For this purpose it will be well for the 10,000 crowns to be retained there in the hands of Bruce, to whom you may write, requesting him to continue his good offices and understandings to this end, and asking him to keep you well informed as to his movements and negotiations.

6 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 100. French. **165.** DOCUMENT headed—"Copy of the Letter from Robert Bruce " dated at Lisleburgh in Scotland, 6th November 1587."

Captain Thomas Forster has been pressing very urgently to obtain letters, and to be specially employed in those parts, but he has not conducted himself properly in the business which was entrusted to him, as you will learn by another long discourse. Still it was not thought advisable to refuse him, and cool his desire to act properly and do his duty, and consequently a letter and credit have been given to him as if we had full trust in him. The Catholic lords, however, are of opinion that he should not be sent hither again or employed in these affairs, on account of his rashness, and other reasons, apart from his incapacity, although he should be entertained and kept in hopes of being sent back when opportunity shall arise, which may be deferred from time to time. In the meanwhile, without his knowledge, those who will be despatched from here may be sent back hither, or any other persons whom you may consider fit. If this course does not recommend itself to you, you can pretend that you have no further interest in Scotland or its friendship, which you can say costs too much and produces too little; or you may blame our fickle resolution, or adopt any other pretext which may seem good to you. You will shortly receive by another channel a full account of the state of affairs here.—Lisleburgh (Edinburgh), 6th November 1587.

8–13 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 101. **166.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from LONDON, 8th and 13th November 1587.

Pressure is being brought to bear upon Don Antonio from France to use his influence with the Queen to persuade the prince of Bearn to submit to the king of France, and become a Catholic. She is to be urged to consent to and promote this, as there is yet time for the King to receive him with open arms, to the confusion of those of the League. She is to be also shown how little profit has been gained by the expense she has incurred with the reiters and her other aids to the war; and to be told that as the principal cities in France had joined the Catholic princes, it was impossible for the King to avoid embracing the same cause or he would have been utterly ruined. It is therefore evident that he is forced to temporise with and aid the Catholics, although against his will. If the Queen had helped Don Antonio with forces to go to Portugal, as she has often been recommended to do by France, the King would certainly have openly supported him in order to avenge himself upon those who have fomented war in his (the king of France's) dominions.

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Don Antonio is much pleased, and Diego Botello affirms that the Queen will make him a grant to pay his debts. It is understood that he has some negotiation afoot with M. de Lansac the younger, and he is sending Antonio de Brito to Rouen about it. Lansac has left Bordeaux with ships of the fleet, as an escort for the wine flotilla coming from that place.

14 Nov. **167.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 104.

The news I send from England is not very fresh, and I have now only to add that I have intelligence from there, dated 24th ultimo, confirming the detention in the ports of all ships of over 80 tons burden.

They had also ordered a muster to be called of all the ordinary cavalry and infantry forces in the country, who were to hold themselves in readiness for further orders.

They report the arrival in England from Holland of over 600 Englishmen of those whom the earl of Leicester had dismissed, or who, rather, were turned out by the towns. They themselves say that no more English remained there except in Brille and Utrecht.

There is nothing new about naval armaments beyond what I have already advised, and there are no tidings of the king of Denmark's 10 ships, in consequence of westerly winds having blown continually for a month past,* which is contrary for them.—Paris, 14th November 1587.

15 Nov. **168.** SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 149.

[EXTRACT.]

I have not had time yet to speak to his Majesty about the queen of Scotland's servants, and although I think he will be willing to pay an allowance to Mr. Curle I should be glad if you will let me know how much you think it would be well to give him. I will then lay it before his Majesty.—The Pardo, 15th November 1587.

18 Nov. **169.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 111.

Since I sealed the enclosed, Julius has received letters from England, dated 11th instant, saying that in consequence of the Queen's having been informed that your Majesty had ordered your fleet to be detained, she had instructed to sail with all diligence eight of her largest ships and 22 merchantmen which were being held in readiness. She had also summoned the earl of Leicester, and was about to change her viceroy in Ireland.

News has arrived also from England of the defeat of the Flushing fleet, which was guarding the entrance to the Sluys, by your Majesty's ships from Dunkirk and Nieuport, 500 of the rebels being slain (an account of the action is given), and great sorrow is felt in England at this. The news comes from England, so it is safe to assume that the result was worse for the rebels than is reported.—Paris, 18th November 1587.

* The King underlines this statement about the wind and draws attention to it by a marginal note.

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16 to 22 Nov.
Paris Archives, K. 1565. 107.

170. DOCUMENT headed—"Advices from London of 16th and 22nd November 1587 (N.S.)." Translated from English to Spanish.

The Lord Admiral has been ordered to put to sea on the 12th December, and all merchant ships on the coast have been embargoed for the Queen's service. They have decided to engage at sea the Armada from Spain, in order to prevent, if possible, the Spaniards from setting foot ashore. Our fleet, however, is in very poor order, and anything but strong, as musters are being called everywhere but nothing being got ready. The people have never been so alarmed before, nor so little prepared to defend themselves as they are now. *The Queen has been scolding the Lord Treasurer greatly for the last few days, for having neglected to disburse money for the reparation and management of the fleet.*

Lord Buckhurst, who is in disgrace with the Queen, has retired to his house, and has now written a letter to the Queen, couched in somewhat rough terms, and trying to defend himself, whilst accusing many of the councillors of want of sincerity in their actions. He does not fail to warn the Queen to take care, as all the monarchs in Christendom are leagued against her and were even now ready to invade her realm. The Queen was extremely angry at this.*

Walsingham is in his house, attending to nothing else but his bloody plots, and he is keeping Throgmorton's brother in these proceedings as he well knows that he will help. This Throgmorton has much communication with the household of Chateauneuf, and I am very anxious for instructions as to how our friends should act, and what course we should adopt.

Although, as I say, all merchant ships have been embargoed, it is not known how many will be put to sea besides the 14 Queen's ships already appointed and the 16 merchantmen which are now being fitted out. It is certain that preparations they are making both on sea and on land are very meagre and inferior.

Throgmorton has been pressed by Walsingham to go to France for the purpose of coming to some understanding with Dr. Gifford, but I have not been able to discover what the object is. All the Catholics will be confined again, for fear that they should give help to the enemy, and every man is saying to his neighbour that the king of Spain is coming against us, *and this is the very time for him, as we are so ill prepared.* A strange malady is prevalent here, which has already caused the death of many great people. Although the doctors try their best they are unable to discover whence it comes or how to cure it.

For the provisioning of the fleet they intend to raise they have ordered 8,000 bullocks to be slaughtered, and have called a muster of all the mariners in the kingdom, who they say amount in all to 9,000. They assert that the 14 Queen's ships that are ready will carry 6,000 men, and the 16 merchantmen 5,000 men. This is all that has been arranged hitherto, besides embargoing all the

* A letter from Buckhurst to Burleigh (23rd September) will be found in Hatfield Papers, Part 3, in which he seeks to palliate the terms of this letter to the Queen, and deeply deplores her Majesty's displeasure thereat.

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merchantships as I have mentioned, which have been warned to hold themselves in readiness when they may be required.

The earl (*sic*) of Hunsdon is at Berwick, and has sent for 2,000 cavalry to guard the border, as they say that the Scot is arming and has 13,000 men in the field.

On the 8th of this month (by our style) the Lord Chancellor made a speech in the Star Chamber, setting forth that the king of Spain and the Pope had resolutely decided to invade England, and for that purpose had a most potent armada at sea. He therefore urged and admonished everyone to keep his eyes open and be on the alert, inferring that the sons of David were with them, and the holy scripture on their side; with other persuasions and remonstrances of the same sort, all pronounced with much severity.

Since my last I have heard from a good source that a servant of Courcelles, who is resident in the court of Scotland for the king of France, has come to England, bringing certain papers which he took from Courcelles, from which they have learnt many secrets that were being planned between the Scot and the Spaniard with regard to the conquest of England. These papers were at once sent to the Queen, who has given Courcelles' servant a crown sterling a day as a reward. This has again given rise to the rumour that they will fit out 150 sail, great and small, and will call together the 9,000 mariners from all the country. I can assure you, however, that all this cannot be done in a short time, and they have not yet even been able to complete the fitting out of 10 of the Queen s ships which it is said are to be taken out by the Lord Admiral. It seems as if they were still uncertain as to the direction in which they will send their forces, but they are most in fear on the side of Ireland, Scotland, and the West Country. Although they now expect the invasion beyond all doubt, they do not believe it will take place until the spring. They have abstained from making other preparations at present in consequence of some intelligence they have in France.

In Wales the captains and soldiers for the defence of the port of Milford have been appointed, although no munitions have yet been sent thither. They are afraid to collect a large body of troops in any one part, for fear of a revolt.

Oct. to Nov.

Estado, 949.

171. SUMMARY of LETTERS from COUNT DE OLIVARES from 2nd October to 22nd November 1587.

2nd October.—His Holiness sent for him to see the deciphering of a letter from the Nuncio in France, giving an account of a conversation he had had with the Scots ambassador. The substance of it was to show the jealousy conceived by the ambassador at Allen's elevation, and that he said that our King wanted to deprive the king of Scotland of his rights to the crown of England, and displayed suspicion of the Spanish Armada.

The Nuncio also reports that the king of France said that he could not take any part in the English enterprise until he had pacified his own affairs.

The Count says that he thanked the Pope through Rusticucci for having had the paper shown to him, and told Rusticucci that the

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Nuncio might be answered as if the reason given by the king of France for not taking part in the enterprise was believed in; that Allen's promotion had been granted because the enterprise was being deferred, and it was advisable to let the Catholics have someone who could console and encourage them, and that he (the Nuncio) should try to induce the Scots ambassador to urge his King to favour religious matters, and tell him that the Pope would then take care of his own people.

Cardinal Mondovi had complained that Don Bernardino de Mendoza had told the Venetian ambassador in France that Cardinal (Mondovi) was a vassal of his Majesty, and yet he was trying to persuade the Pope to believe in the conversion of the king of Scotland. The Count had replied that he did not believe it, but had reported the matter to Don Bernardino.

Mondovi had on this occasion let out that, notwithstanding his promise, he had persevered in the attempt to convert the King (of Scotland) at the instance of the Pope.

His Holiness was in fear that nothing could now be done and was sorry for having elevated Allen,

5th October.—The Pope told him (the Count) that the answer had been sent to the Nuncio as he (the Count) had recommended.

His Holiness made much of the fact that if the king of France were to complain of the enterprise being undertaken without him, he would have a very good answer by pointing out that he had been invited to take part and had refused.

The Pope said that he had foreseen the murmurs to which Allen's elevation would give rise. The Count replied, showing how beneficial it had been, and said the person who was crying out about it was the English ambassador. The day that Allen was promoted was a fatal one for his mistress, for the Sluys was captured at the same time

16th October.—The Count had received two letters from Don Bernardino by a courier of the duke of Guise, who had come in advance of the secretary of the ambassador of France. He told the Pope he was coming from the King (of France) to ask him for some troops, but he really only wanted money. The Pope was glad to know this.

30 Nov. Estado, 949. **172.** Count de Olivares to the King.

As the Pope was noticing the long delay in the arrival of the reply from your Majesty about the English affair, and as I saw the necessity of satisfying him in some way, I told him that I did not look upon it as a bad sign, because if your Majesty had no intention of undertaking the affair you would have sent an answer. I said that, although your Majesty did not write, the preparations for war were not ceasing, and it was not at all likely that these preparations were intended for any other purpose. It was certain, moreover, that your Majesty would not delay more than was necessary, seeing the great cost you are at; and that however unsafe it may be to navigate at this time, it would be more dangerous and inconvenient to defer the enterprise for another year. I said that if the Spanish Armada has not to go very far up the Channel before it anchors, there is no great danger in the navigation of the high seas from

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Lisbon,* besides the hope that God will help it, as it is in His service.—Rome, 30th November, 1587.

23 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 114.

173. ADVICES from LONDON (from ANTONIO DE VEGA) of 23rd November 1587, new style.

There is nothing fresh here, except that they are continuing their preparations, fortifying the ports, and supplying them with men and ammunition. All the Queen's ships have been made ready, and the rest of the vessels on the coast have been embargoed. Of these they are fitting out 33 to put to sea, nine of them being Queen's ships and the rest merchantmen. It is not known yet who will command them, but it is believed it will be Drake and that they will sail soon. On the 17th instant the Queen was in a tremendous rage with Walsingham, the Treasurer, and the Controller, upon whom she heaped a thousand insults; saying that it was through them that she was induced to negotiate for peace with the duke of Parma, who had drawn her on with fair words, so that whilst she was listening to them she might cease her preparations and so be caught unawares. She told the Treasurer that he was old and doting, to which he replied that he knew he was old, and would gladly, therefore, retire to a church where he might pray for her. She could not complain, he said, of his having badly advised her, for he had urged her on no account to continue to interfere in the Netherlands war, or to openly support the duke of Vendome, whom they called the king of Navarre; but she had insisted in both courses. When he saw she was determined, he had counselled her that if she intervened she ought to do so with a large sum of money. This she refused to do, and thought words would suffice, and matters in consequence had reached such a stage that the States were dissatisfied, and the king of Navarre in risk of having to repent of what he had done; whilst she was hated both by the king of Spain and the king of France, and even by the States themselves. All this, she said, arose simply from the delay in the arrival of the reply they expected from the duke of Parma respecting the going of the commissioners. This had quite cooled, but on the 19th instant a servant of the Controller, named Morris, arrived here with the duke of Parma's answer, and a letter from him, in which he says that the day on which the commissioners land on the other side the truce shall commence, and they are now better pleased. I think it will be well for you to advise the Duke to continue to keep them in hand, which is desirable for many reasons. They said here that, in the face of the reply sent, the commissioners would be appointed, but they waited for the reply of Dr. Herbert, Master of Requests, who had been sent to the States to prove to them that the Queen would only undertake peace negotiations with their consent, and for their benefit. He was accompanied by the agent of the States here, who went to persuade them.

On Wednesday the 18th, Christopher Hatton, who serves as Lord Chancellor, summoned the whole of the nobility and commons who had come to Westminster to plead their causes, and, in the name of

* In the King's hand—"Some of the Lisbon people will be of different opinion."

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the Queen, enjoined them all to return home and defend their wives and children, as well as their fatherland, for the Queen was now certain that the Pope and the kings of Spain and France were in league to ruin her, because of her religion, and as for the king of Scotland, although he was neither fish nor flesh himself, she was not sure whether he belonged to the league, but she was fully convinced by letters that she had taken that he was against her. She therefore enjoined those present who had offices in their counties to go thither and muster men on foot and horse, the lists of whom should be sent to the Queen before the 18th December. She hoped that as God had given so great a victory to the duke of Vendome over the duke of Joyeuse* (which victory she greatly praised), He would also vouchsafe her a victory by their help. During the present law term no causes should be carried on against them in their absence. Hatton mentioned the king of France several times in the course of this speech.

It is certain that the king of Scotland has entered the field, but his object was to go against certain rioters who were robbing. They (the English) are, however, daily becoming more alarmed of his doing harm if he has the chance, and it is said secretly that if the Spanish Armada comes he will welcome it. Lord Hunsdon was unable to do his business in Berwick, and writes that Scotland is not to be trusted.

The States are more at issue with these people than ever, as they all refuse to obey the earl of Leicester. The latter was at Flushing on the 12th instant, ready to embark, when it was seen that he had with him certain deputies from Holland, whereupon he was detained until a reply came from the Queen to their demands. They have beheaded at Leyden an Italian colonel named Cosmo, who was in the service of the States, and with him a Flemish captain and a minister, for having secretly plotted for the people to surrender the town to the English.† They have chosen the son of the prince of Orange as their governor, and he is so styled in books they are printing. They say they will not allow the queen of England to make peace to their prejudice; and when they can do no more they will make peace for themselves. They have garrisons only in Flushing, Brille, Bergen, and Ostend.

Botello arrived here on the 10th. He was sent off by the Earl with fair words and great promises, but it is all empty air and he will get no fleet. The Earl got rid of him by telling him to get the Queen to write a letter from here to the States and to him, and he should then have the ships he wanted. The Earl at the same time wrote secretly to the Queen saying that they were not asking for these ships for any serious object, besides which no ships could well be spared from the country at this juncture. The Earl also wrote

* The battle of Coutras, fought 20th October.

† This was Leicester's treacherous plot to seize Leyden. Leicester, whose position in the States had become more and more unpleasant since the loss of the Sluys, was at once recalled. *See* his fervent letter of thanks on the occasion to the Queen, Hatfield Papers, Part 3, p. 297. The persons sentenced for the plot were Cosmo de Pescarengis, Jacques Valmaer, and Nicholas de Maulde, the burgher being pardoned by Maurice.

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to the merchant,* saying that he would faithfully fulfil his promise; but he is the worst enemy that they (Don Antonio's party?) have on account of the merchant's telling him many things that Don Antonio says about him. Don Antonio was angry with the merchant and rapped out certain words which made him resolve on no account to see him again. He was for three months without seeing him. He (Lopez) was sent to him (Don Antonio), but begged the Queen to excuse him from going, giving her the reasons. Persuaded by me, however, he at last ended the feud, as he has better means than others of learning everything. He is still very cool with him (Don Antonio), but I promise you I was not at all desirous, in the interests of his Majesty's service, that he should so deliberately break with him. I am trying so far as words can do to keep him (Lopez) pledged to us, but if the resolution is to be longer delayed, I pray you to write to me saying that his Majesty will be willing to accept his services, and so relieve me personally of the responsibility of the promise made to him. Do not name him, however, but call him the merchant. Don Antonio has dismissed 17 of the persons he had with him, amongst them a servant of Diego Botello, called Bastian Figueroa. I have some suspicion that he is secretly sending him to Portugal as he went before. It will be well to keep on the alert for him,† as he must go first to Paris. I write direct to his Majesty at Lisbon about Leitao whom Don Antonio sent ostensibly to France for his health, but who has really gone to Barbary, and if he finds the King there not well disposed he is to go to Constantinople. Through all the kingdom (England) people are ordered to-day to retire to their homes, and the ports are closed.

Gives an account of the negotiations between Don Antonio and the Huguenots for the latter, with Vendome's consent, to furnish the Portuguese Pretender with a contingent of 4,000 men.

25 Nov. **174.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.
Paris Archives, K. 1565. 116. [EXTRACTS.]

Don Antonio has spoken to the Queen, urging how necessary it was for her that peace should be made in France. The Queen replied that she knew it, but she would take no steps in the matter unless the King (of France) requested her to do so. Don Antonio said that in a matter of such importance she ought to move at once, and not to stand upon a point like this.

Diego Botello got plenty of fair words from the rebels in Holland, but as the carrying of them into effect depended upon the Queen he has returned without doing anything.

Antonio de Brito has gone to France to deal with young Lansac with regard to the great offers of armaments he has made to Don Antonio. The latter wishes to send Botello to France to negotiate for a peace there, but he cannot do so for want of money. He would like to go to France himself, but it will not be possible for him to escape the watchful vigilance of the Queen. The latter has

* In a letter from Mendoza to the King, dated 14th November 1587 (Paris Archives, 1565) he explains that the "merchant," mentioned by Vega, is really Dr. Lopez.

† The King in a marginal note calls special attention to this.

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given him 400 crowns, and has promised him more, as that sum was only to pay a debt for which he was being pressed.

The Lord Admiral left here on the 22nd for Margate to set sail with 40 or 50 of the Queen's ships to cruise along the English coast, and perhaps as far as Cape Finisterre.*

27 Nov. **175.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 151.

Some of your letters of 24th and 26th ultimo were answered on the 14th instant, and the present will reply to those which were not deciphered in time.

I have been much touched by the letters relating to the queen of Scotland, although her end was so holy that consolation is found in that fact. With regard to her injunctions, I will take care of her servants and the rest of those whom she commends to me, and I will try to justify her confidence in me with respect to the prayers to be offered for her, and the foundation of a memorial to her; although our main trust should be in God and her saintly end, that she is now more able to aid than to need help.

For the payment of the 6,000 crowns which she declared she owed, 3,000 to Charles Paget, 2,000 to Charles Arundell, and 1,000 to the person to be indicated by the archbishop of Glasgow, I have ordered the sum to be sent to you in a credit at once. It will go either in this letter or its duplicate, and you will pay the debts as soon as it arrives. You will console the two ladies, Curle and Kennedy, and tell them they may be assured of my care for them, as they served faithfully to the last one who so well deserved their devotion. You will try to dissuade them from going to their own country, where they could not be comfortable, as they must be good Catholics, as befits the servants of such a mistress, and you will arrange for them to stay in Paris or in some place in my Netherlands. You may promise that if they live in either of these places I will provide for their maintenance, but not otherwise.†

You will advise me as to the sum which you think should be paid to them yearly, and how it should be divided. You will also let me know whether they purpose staying in Paris or going to the Netherlands; and as in the meanwhile, and pending the receipt of my decision, they will need something, you may furnish them with what you consider sufficient, taking it from the 8,000 crowns sent to you the other day.

As it turned out that Gilbert Curle, the secretary, had behaved well, he also should be given the allowance you think necessary,

* In the letter to the King, enclosing these advices (4th December), Mendoza says with regard to this information: "The statement about the Admiral's having gone to put "to sea with 50 ships is like those which Don Antonio's men are always fond of making, "and I do not believe it to be true; both in consequence of what the new confidant "tells me, and because my advices of the 25th from London, which are fresher than "Sampson's, say that the Queen was making preparations to arm, having embargoed all "the ships in the country, and that 15 vessels would shortly sail to cruise upon the coast, "the Admiral having gone personally to superintend the fitting out of some of the "Queen's ships and get them ready for sea."

Mendoza was right, the news was not true. Howard remained on board the "White Bear" at Queenborough, superintending the preparation of the Queen's fleet, until he shipped on the "Ark Raleigh" in February 1588.

† Miss Curle lived for many years with her brother Gilbert at Antwerp, where she died on the 29th May 1620, aged 60 years, and was buried at the church of St. André.

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in accordance with his quality but without excess, and you will ascertain whether he will go to Flanders, or if his staying in Paris as a foreigner will be of any service to you. Let me know your opinion upon this.

You may also proceed in the same way with the apothecary, Gorion; telling him to rest tranquil, and that there is no need for him to come hither to me, as he well fulfilled his commission by delivering the letter and rings to you. If he and the secretary need any little present assistance, apart from their allowance, you will provide them with it out of the said money, and on advice being received from you of what you have done, remittances shall be sent to balance this account.

You will keep the ring that Gorion handed to you for me until a safe opportunity offers for forwarding it, so as not to risk it by the ordinary road.

As regards the archbishop of Glasgow, who is recommended by the Queen, I think what was done for him lately through you will suffice, and the bishop of Ross shall be taken care of, as you may tell him.

The Queen also mentions Muzio (the duke of Guise), and you know what is being done in that respect. The rest of the Englishmen she names are already receiving pensions through you; the only name which seems new to me is that of Ralph Ligons, who is spoken of. You will see what is to be done for him, if he is not already receiving anything; and with this all her injunctions will be fulfilled.

In the Queen's letter to you about my affairs she mentions that she was writing to the Pope to the same effect. It will be well for you to ascertain from Gorion whether the letter was written to his Holiness, because, in such case, doubtless Gorion would have conveyed it as he did yours, and will be able to tell you how he forwarded it, although it may well be that the Queen was unable to carry out her intention of writing it.*

The original letter which she wrote to you last year, informing you of the will she had made, you will keep with great care, together with the last letter, in which she again refers to it. You will endeavour for these two women to be kept within reach and well affected, so that, if necessary, they may make a statement of what they know in confirmation of this, Miss Curle testifying to the message her mistress gave her for you, and the other saying what she may have heard. If the other two (*i.e.*, Gorion and Secretary Curle) have any inkling of it, as they well may have, they also may be treated in the same way, particularly the secretary, as you say he alone had to do with the correspondence with my ministers, and he consequently may have more information than the others about the will. For all reasons, therefore, and to be able to help them better, it will be well for them to be in some place where they cannot be corrupted. You will manage it all with your usual discretion, and advise what you consider best.

* This letter from the Queen to Sixtus V., dated 23rd November 1586, is published by Labanoff, VI., p. 447.

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From what Bruce writes to you there seems but little now to be hoped for from his mission, or of the conversion of the King, who is so completely ruled by the English faction. Bruce seems to be acting well, and you and the duke of Parma, between you, will see how you can best guide the matter into a more favourable position. You may be helped to this end, perhaps, by the arrival (in Scotland) of the earl of Morton, to whom we gave here 1,000 crowns for his journey to Lisbon, and 4,000 more for his voyage to his own country, where he was to hold himself in readiness until he received advices from me. You will shortly have there (in Paris) Colonel William Semple, another of my Scottish servants, whom you, no doubt, know, and who is going thither with my consent to employ himself in these matters. He seems a zealous man, although, doubtless, a thorough Scot, and you will consequently govern yourself towards him with the caution you always display, and will advise me of everything.—The Pardo, 27th November 1587.

27 Nov. **176.** ROBERT HEIGHINTON to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 117. Latin.

He has taken upon himself the task of proving that his Majesty (Philip) is the legitimate heir to the crown of England, in order that the truth may be made known, and those who speak in a contrary sense refuted.

By the persuasion of Don Bernardino de Mendoza he has written a treatise showing the whole genealogy of the descendants of both the York and Lancaster families, which he has taken the liberty of dedicating to his Majesty, whom he recognises as the true heir of the House of Lancaster, and the only Catholic Prince descended therefrom. He hopes to see his Majesty in happy possession of his realm, that heresy may be extirpated therefrom, and by the pious efforts of his Majesty the Catholic faith restored. He prays him humbly to strive to this righteous end, and to deign to accept and reward his services.—Paris, 27th November 1587.

28 Nov. **177.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 120.

[EXTRACTS.]

I send your Majesty herewith a book which has been written at my instance by an Englishman, and which I have had turned into Latin. It proves evidently that if your Majesty is the rightful heir of Portugal, which is indisputably the case, you must also be the legitimate successor to the English crown, and should be its possessor, preceding even the king of Scotland, apart from his disqualification for heresy. I have pointed this out to your Majesty in former letters, and this book proves it beyond doubt from the chronicles themselves, and the histories of England which are cited in the margin. When need may arise, and your Majesty thinks fit, it might be printed in all languages, as it is written learnedly and seriously. The book was composed with the utmost secrecy, and no one knows of it but Charles Arundell and myself. The author is an English gentleman who was formerly secretary to the earl of Northumberland (who rose with the duke of Norfolk), and since then he has been a fugitive for religion's sake. He is a person of understanding, very well versed in English affairs, and it was from

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his statements that Cardinal Allen furnished the duke of Parma with the information respecting the whole of the English ports whilst I was in England. The Duke, a few months ago, granted him (Heighinton) an allowance of 20 (Flemish) crowns a month, equal to about 13 French crowns, but he has not received it, being absent from that country. Knowing his good parts and attachment, and how useful he may be in England, I venture to pray your Majesty humbly to show him some favour in the form of a present grant in aid. I shall look upon any such favour as a special and personal boon to myself for the reasons I have stated.*—Paris, 28th November 1587.

28 Nov. **178.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 121.

I have intelligence from England, dated the 12th instant, saying that on receipt of the news that your Majesty had ordered your fleet to be detained, the Queen had sent the Admiral to visit her ships, and tell them they could now put to sea. Walsingham had told Sir William Fitzwilliams, who has been reappointed governor of Ireland, that the Queen had been cheated in the maintenance of her ships, as the Admiral had reported that out of the whole 30 only 12 were at present seaworthy, the rest being so worm-eaten and rotten that at least a month would be needed to repair some of them, and others would take two or three months. Drake was showing no signs of an intention of putting to sea at once with the 30 ships the Queen had ordered to be furnished him.

The sale of the spice ship (cargo ?) from India, captured by Drake, was concluded for 50,000*l.* for the Queen and 6,000*l.* for the Admiral. The Council was negotiating with the same merchants, who bought it for the latter, in consideration of this 50,000*l.*, to undertake to fit out 30 ships, providing men, stores, and other things necessary to send Drake to sea next spring. The merchants had not yet decided whether they would accept the offer or not.

The 600 soldiers who have come from Holland, and others who are arriving from there daily, are so poor and dissatisfied that the Queen, out of fear that they might raise sedition, has ordered that not more than 20 of them together may enter any village.

On the coast opposite Flanders, and in the West Country, they were keeping watch night and day, and the Queen has ordered a night watch to be kept in every village in the land, which has never been done in the winter time.

There was nothing fresh from Scotland, nor have any ships arrived in France from there.

I hear from England that the earl of Leicester is expected with the first favourable wind. I do my very best to keep your Majesty frequently informed on English affairs, but as the coming of news from there depends upon the weather, I cannot send as promptly or as regularly as I could wish.—Paris, 28th November 1587.

* It will be seen by the preceding letter that the author of the book in question was Robert Heighinton.

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4 Dec. **179.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 126.

I am entertaining and making much of Julius to the best of my ability in accordance with your Majesty's orders, and because I see how well he is acting in your Majesty's service. In consequence of Walsingham's enmity towards him the Queen is pressing him about the money he owes; and he is therefore in difficulties. He informs me that Secretary Pinart has sent word to the English ambassador that, in consequence of information they had received of the sailing of your Majesty's fleet, they had despatched the news to his mistress, and had offered her at the same time the aid specified in the treaties. The King had also taken into his service the Swiss troops who had surrendered to him, and they were travelling by short marches, in order that they might delay until they learnt whether she needed them. Although the King was following up the reiters he (Pinart) could assure him (Stafford) that it was with no intention of harming them—which is exactly what I suspected.

At this juncture I received your Majesty's despatches, and whilst thanking Julius for his advices I said that, to prove to him with what sincerity they were treating the English ambassador here, I could assure him that on the 4th November your Majesty's fleet had not sailed, which greatly pleased him.

Julius writes me under date of 19th and 25th that the Queen was again in treaty with Casimir for the coming of 6,000 reiters and 8,000 infantry to France, and she was now quite confident that your Majesty had come to an understanding with the king of Scotland, and that these naval preparations had for their object to place him in possession of the English crown. In conversation on this subject with the person through whom we communicate,* Julius said he did not believe your Majesty was so ill-advised as to incur such a great expense for the benefit of a person so far from being a Catholic as the king of Scotland, whilst neglecting to assert your own rights. This will show how well disposed he is to your Majesty's interest.

Every merchant's letter, and every traveller coming from Flanders, says that the duke of Parma is going over to England. I try to stifle this rumour with the best arguments I can find in furtherance of your Majesty's instructions.

Sampson's advices enclosed are taken from letters from Don Antonio that I have seen. Friar Diego Carlos was with him. Pardin says that the Queen keeps so close a watch upon Don Antonio that it is impossible for him to escape without her knowledge.—Paris, 4th December 1587.

4 Dec. **180.** ADVICES from FLUSHING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 127.

The earl of Leicester is leaving for England, his baggage being already shipped. He is on bad terms with the rebels.† They have stationed 60 ships, great and small, in the river at Antwerp to prevent the duke of Parma from going over to England with the

* Charles Arundell. Although an attempt at mystification is made by mentioning Julius and the English ambassador Stafford as separate persons, it is obvious to anyone who follows the correspondence closely that they were the same.

† For Leicester's own account of the reasons for his dissensions with the States, *see* his letter to the Queen in the Hatfield Papers, Part 3, p. 297.

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ships he has armed in Antwerp. They expect 20 more vessels from Holland, which they intend to place at the mouth of the Ghent canal to prevent the sailing of the ships the Duke has at that town. They are in fear lest the Duke should use his Antwerp vessels to seize the ships at the island of Tregus (Ter Goes).

6 Dec. **181.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 180. In case the amount to be granted to the secretary of the late queen of Scotland has not been decided, I may say in answer to your question that he might be given 30 crowns (a month).

Captain Pardin says there is a soothsayer in England who affirms that Don Antonio will pass the month of February in Portugal, and that he will be very peaceful and quiet in March. The man has foretold many things truly to the Queen, and I fully expect that in this case he is not lying; because as he (Don Antonio) cannot leave England, I hope to God our people will take him back in their galleons to Lisbon, in the month that the prophet mentions, and without war.

Colonel Semple has arrived here and writes the enclosed letter to you. He has asked me whether I have any message from you for him, and I have told him I have received nothing. I am welcoming him to the best of my ability, and will so continue to do until I hear from you what I am to say to him. I have done nothing but listen to him in the matters he has broached to me, and instruct him how to bear himself here towards those who speak to him.—Paris, 6th December 1587.

9 Dec. **182.** ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1567. On the 1st Morris returned with the duke of Parma's reply, and on the same day the Queen sent word to the commissioners that they were to make ready and leave shortly. The baggage and attendants were sent off on the 4th and the commissioners themselves left on the 8th. They have added another commissioner to those whose name I reported, Sir Amias Paulet, who was the keeper of the queen of Scots. They have received letters from Lord Hundson, who is at Berwick, telling them that Scottish affairs are going very badly, the Scots having taken up arms and had an encounter with the English, three companies of whom they defeated. They had also captured a fortified house belonging to an English gentleman 20 miles from Berwick. Hunsdon asserts that the duke of Parma has an understanding with Scotland. This news has caused an immense sensation and uneasiness here, and great activity is being exercised in preparations for defence by land and sea. Urgent orders were sent to the captain of the Sluys to raise 4,000 men to defend the port of Berwick, as they fear that if the duke of Parma has an understanding with Scotland an attempt may be made there, as the harbour is a good one. The earls of Cumberland and Huntingdon are being sent to the north with large commissions, whilst Colonel Norris is going to Milford in Wales, Grenville to Plymouth, Raleigh to Cornwall, George Carew to the Isle of Wight, and others elsewhere. They are working day and night making ready the Queen's ships and others, and have decided to divide them into three fleets. Drake is to leave as soon as

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possible with three Queen's ships and three pinnaces, for the purpose of collecting all the merchant ships there are between Portsmouth and Bristol, which have orders to make ready and await him at Plymouth, so that he may have a fleet of 30 sail to take to the coast of Portugal, although they say he will have more. Another fleet of 20 sail, under Admiral Winter, is to go to Scotland and Ireland, and the rest of the ships will be under the Lord Admiral to cruise in the Channel, all the Queen's ships being in this fleet. They are hourly expecting two pataches which they have sent to the coast of Portugal for intelligence. There is a commission out here in London to raise 10,000 men to guard the person of the Queen, and they say another 10,000 will be made ready to protect the city. Chains are to be put across all the streets. A council of war sits frequently, consisting of six members of the Council and others of little experience in warfare, but they expect the earl of Leicester within three days, as his factor has already arrived. They have summoned the nobles suspected of Catholic leanings and it is feared they will be imprisoned Orders have been given that any person who rises, or makes any disturbance whatever, shall be hanged at once on the spot without form of judgment. They delayed the departure of the commissioners to the duke of Parma, on the ground that the passport sent was not ample enough, and they requested that another in fuller terms should be sent, the object being to delay matters and discover something. They fear the Duke may be entertaining them the better to carry out his design. On the 6th they received news of the defeat of the reiters and the departure of the Swiss, a sad piece of intelligence for them, although they are reluctant to believe it, and Stafford has written saying it was exaggerated. Immediately after this the Queen ordered the commissioners to make ready to go within four days, and they will surely go, as there is nothing more for them to prepare. Even if they learnt anything they would be obliged to dissemble, although Paulet, who is the earl of Leicester's and Walsingham's right hand, is throwing every obstacle in the way of their going, and has given the Queen a list of reasons why peace cannot be made without danger. *It will be well for the Duke to continue in his course, as his reputation with them is high, and they say that they will do everything on his word.**

They are sending to Scotland one Douglas who was here as the king of Scots ambassador, and who promises that he will make peace between the Queen and the King, if the kings of Spain and France do not stand in the way. This Douglas is a creature of Walsingham and the Queen, and they treat him as ambassador, whereas he is really nothing of the sort.† On the 8th instant news came from Antwerp that a fleet of 250 sail, with 30,000 men and 400 artillery mules, had sailed from Lisbon. This news alarmed them so, although they do not believe it, that they are hurrying forward harder than ever, as they are determined to give battle at sea in such case. They are making musket proof shields for their

* The words in *italic* are in a separate cipher.

† The notorious Archibald Douglas, a great quantity of whose correspondence at this period will be found in the Hatfield Papers, Part 3.

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ships, and many new inventions and devices of fire, to burn the sails of the enemy's ships.

Note.—A note at foot of the above letter accounts for certain omissions and incoherences in it, by saying that the cipher key is so worn out as to make it impossible properly to decipher the despatch.

19 Dec. **183.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 137. [EXTRACT.]

Bruce has written me the enclosed letter by Captain Forster, who was the man that accompanied him, but the letter he mentions in this one has not arrived yet.* I have told the captain that the resolution adopted by the Scottish lords makes it difficult for your Majesty to help them, and that it would be better therefore that he should go and communicate his message to the duke of Parma, to whom I send a copy of Bruce's letter. The best way will be for him to entertain the captain there (*i.e.*, in Flanders) by telling him that the time has not yet arrived to deal with these matters. I do not wish to arouse the suspicions of Scotsmen by letting them see him stay here; and it will not be desirable for him to return to Scotland.

Julius is much pressed by his creditors, and by the account which is being demanded of him, and has begged me to signify this to your Majesty, in order that you may grant him some favour. I have written to him that I will do so, although I feared that pressure of affairs and the great cost of the fleet would prevent a very prompt reply being sent. I was certain, however, that your Majesty would bear his services in mind. I thus held out hopes to him until I could hear what your Majesty decided, as it is advisable to keep him well disposed at the present time.† Walsingham is pressing him greatly for the account of the money.—Closed at Paris, 22nd December 1587.

19 Dec. **184.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 139. Although I have nothing from England of later date than the 25th ultimo, which news I sent in my last, and the present intelligence is still earlier, I think well to send it as it comes from an Englishman with whom I am in communication here, and contains some points of importance as showing the difficulty encountered by the Queen in fitting out so few ships, let alone the great number they talk about. There has been no arrival from England lately, owing to contrary winds, but ships from Flushing and Scotland, which were anchored in the Downs on the 15th, say that none of the Queen's ships have left the Thames, except four small vessels which are also anchored in the Downs for the purpose of watching the ships that arrive there.

The Queen has issued a proclamation ordering all people to retire to their homes under great penalties. The reason of this is that many gentlemen resident on the coast have repaired to London, on the rumours that your Majesty's fleet was going to attack the country, which greatly alarmed them. The people of the coast villages have also fled inland.—Paris, 19th December 1587.

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* *See* letter from Bruce, 6th November, page 161.

† Note in the King's hand—"It will be well to see what has been done in this, and what will be the best course to adopt."

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22 Dec. **185.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 140.

I reply in this letter to the instructions contained in your Majesty's letter of the 27th November.

The moment the credit arrives I will pay the 6,000 crowns as ordered,* and will convey the message to the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross, and also to Miss Curle, by whom the queen of Scotland sent the credence to me. She remains here with her brother, Secretary Gilbert Curle, and his wife.

Miss Kennedy went to take a bed which the Queen left as a keepsake to the duchess of Guise, and another to Madame de Chalons, the Queen's aunt, and as soon as she returned hither she received an order from her brother to return immediately to Scotland. I was anxious for her to stay, but could not prevail upon her to do so, as she was alone here and without friends. The archbishop of Glasgow intimates to me that she is almost engaged to be married, and this was a reason for her going.† I have news that the ship in which she went had been driven into Portsmouth by storms, where she (the ship) was seized. I do not know whether they will let Kennedy proceed on her voyage. She did not say a word to me on the Queen's behalf, but only that she was present at her death, and placed the bandage over the Queen's eyes, as she was of better birth than Curle. Your Majesty will please instruct me whether I am to write your message to Kennedy in Scotland. She can only testify to what she has heard. As everything is so dear in this country she and Curle could not maintain themselves on less than a crown a day each, and as Kennedy is of nobler birth she would have to be given a larger pension than Curle if your Majesty wishes her to return hither from Scotland, and if not, a grant of money should be made to her in one sum. To give a pension to either of them will really be furnishing them with a marriage portion. I am not aware that Curle, her brother, or Gorion, the apothecary, are in any present need, nor are they talking of leaving here, pending the division of certain furniture which the queen of Scotland left to the servants who were with her; they are also awaiting your Majesty's reply. It will therefore be unnecessary to give them any money until your Majesty's decision is received. If Gorion be given 20 crowns a month it will be sufficient; and, although, having regard to his rank, 30 crowns would be ample for Curle, the secretary, yet as your Majesty allows Thomas Morgan, who was not the Queen's secretary, 40 crowns, it would not be excessive to grant Curle the same amount, especially as it was he who ciphered the despatch of which your Majesty enjoins me to take care. They confronted him with the draft of it, which the queen of England's Council had discovered, and it was impossible for him to deny it. When it was shown to Nau, the other secretary, he said it was in Curle's handwriting. As your

* In discharge of the queen of Scotland's debts.

† She married Sir Andrew Melvil, the queen of Scotland's steward, who was in attendance on the Queen at her execution. Lady Melvil was appointed by James VI. to attend upon his bride, Anne of Denmark. Such was her eagerness to join the princess in Edinburgh—although the latter, delayed by storms, did not arrive until long afterwards—that she insisted, against all remonstrance, in crossing from Burntisland in a tempest and was drowned. The Scottish witches confessed to the King that they had raised this storm, as the Danish witches confessed to have caused the storm which drove back to Norway the King's bride.—"Melvil Memoirs."

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Majesty instructs me in your despatch, it is important that neither the ladies nor Curle nor Gorion should depend upon anyone but your Majesty, so that if you should choose to grant them larger allowances than those I mention, it will be all the better, as pledging them the deeper. As the crowns paid by your Majesty are of less value in Flanders the grants will not be thought so much of if paid there. Curle is a worthy man, but not of much understanding. His sister will depend upon him, and I think it will be best for your Majesty's purpose that they should remain here, and that I should pay them (until the time comes for them to make the declaration of what they know, in some place where they may do so safely). I have held out hopes to them of your Majesty's reply, but I will not say the amount they are to receive until your Majesty's decision arrives, unless anything occurs which may cause them to wish to leave here.

Ligons is an Englishman who has been in Flanders for years past, and your Majesty granted him the allowance he now enjoys for the queen of Scotland's sake.

The letter that the queen of Scotland wrote to his Holiness was taken out by Gorion with mine, and, by orders of the Queen, handed to her physician for delivery to the Pope. The physician absented himself from here, and I concluded that he had gone with the letter; but when I asked the archbishop of Glasgow he told me that he had not done so, as he had not the means, and that the letter still remained in his hands. As it is open I will ask the ambassador kindly to let me see it, or get Gorion to tell me what it contains, because as the Queen wrote them hastily she had them read to him, so that they might be understood here. She did the same with the letter to the duke of Guise.*

The Queen wrote the will with her own hand, in accordance with what she wrote to me on the 20th May 1586 in cipher. It fell into the hands of the queen of England, and when she sent Wotton hither to complain of the queen of Scotland to this King he told him that such a will had been found, and that the two secretaries testified to the fact that it was written in the queen of Scotland's own hand. When M. de Belièvre was in London, therefore, he asked the Queen to show him the will, so that he might assure his master that he had seen it with his own eyes; but as I wrote to your Majesty at the time, the Queen replied that the queen of Scotland was such a bad woman that she believed she had found means of sending it to your Majesty. When she subsequently repeated to the Treasurer what had passed with Belièvre on the matter, he said that, since she had the will in her own hands, it was better in every respect that she should burn it, which she did. The false Treasurer told this to Julius,† who informed me of it for conveyance to your Majesty.

I will ascertain from the new confidant whether the papers brought by Wotton remained here, and if in these papers which contained the accusations against the queen of Scotland there is anything about the will. Julius can throw a good deal of light on this matter when the time arrives, and his statements will be of importance, as he is one of the party itself, and in nowise dependent

* This letter also, dated 24th November, will be found in Prince Labanoff's collection Volume VI., page 447.

† Sir Edward Stafford.

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upon the queen of Scotland. Secretary Curle wrote the letter, as I have mentioned, and his sister brought me the verbal credence from her. Gorion tells me he was present when the queen of England's councillors, whilst informing her of her condemnation, reproached the queen of Scotland for trying to disinherit her own son by ceding her rights to your Majesty, which, they said, was proved by her will. She told them that they were not empowered to address her upon any subject but those concerning the queen of England, and she had no reason for rendering an account to them of what had passed between her and other princes, as she was a sovereign. Nau, the Queen's French secretary, has been to me secretly, and told me that he saw the decipher of my letter. He says that Walsingham and all the queen of England's Council assured him about the will, and the queen of England had the matter published in Scotland and here, for the purpose of discrediting the queen of Scotland; so that, when need may arise, there will be no lack of witnesses, even without those now in hand, and Julius, as I say, will be of great importance. Colonel Semple arrived here some time ago and (as I wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez on the 6th) he said he had been ordered to follow my instructions. I have heard what he has to say, and will proceed cautiously with him in accordance with your Majesty's instructions, and as is necessary from the fact of his being a Scot, although I find him better disposed than any of the "cape and sword folk" of his nation that I have met hitherto.—Paris, 22nd December 1587.

22 Dec. **186.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 141.

Intelligence has arrived from England, dated the 14th instant, reporting that the Admiral had orders to put to sea with 18 Queen's ships, well armed with guns and munitions,* and

* The Queen's ships ordered to remain at Queenborough under the Lord Admiral (5th January 1588, State Papers, CCVIII. 6), were 16, as follows:—

Full Complement of Men.	Ships.	Diminished Complement of Men.	Captains.
500	"Bear"	275	Lord Admiral.
500	"Triumph"	275	Lord Henry (Seymour).
500	"Elizabeth Jonas"	275	Sir R. Southwell.
400	"Victory"	225	Lord Sheffield.
400	"Ark Raleigh"	225	Lord Thomas (Howard).
250	"Mary Rose"	125	Edward Fenton.
250	"Lion"	125	Captain Borough.
250	"Bonaventure"	125	J. Hawkins.
250	"Vanguard"	125	Sir W. Winter.
250	"Dreadnought"	100	Captain Beeston.
250	"Rainbow"	125	——
160	"Foresight"	80	Captain Frobisher.
30	"Merlin"	15	——
24	"Sun"	12	——
36	"Brigantine"	20	——
20	"George"	12	——
4,020		2,139 men	
1,881 abated.			

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15 merchantmen, which is one more than they had decided upon, besides which six of the merchantmen are to be replaced by six of the Queen's ships, which has doubtless been done by the Admiral, as he is to command in person. They say that in these 33 ships they will send 3,000 seamen and as many soldiers, and although the seamen were mostly ready, the soldiers were not mustering, which gives rise to the belief that the Admiral could not sail so soon as they say.

Drake had been ordered to sail to the West Country with 36 picked merchantmen, carrying 3,000 sailors and as many soldiers, but neither the ships nor the men were being got ready with the same furious haste as the Admiral's fleet. The most experienced people in the country were of opinion that it would be extremely difficult for the Queen to collect such a fleet, however much she might desire it, except after long delay, seeing the great fear and confusion existing all over the country. People were crying out for her to make peace with your Majesty. I am told this by the new confidant and by others. The fleet mentioned appears to be of the same number of ships as it was advised, in the letters of the 22nd, they wished to collect, which letters also spoke of the difficulty of doing so. I will report instantly all I can learn, and am informing the duke of Parma.

The Queen has sent Walter Raleigh to the West Country to join the soldiers there. Lord Hunsdon in the north, and Master Grey* and Colonel Norris,† who were in Flanders, are in London to take charge of soldiers there if necessary.

Sir William Pelham, the Master of the Ordnance, whom the English looked upon as one of their best soldiers, has died at Flushing.

Letters from Scotland of the 4th November report that the people on the borders of the earl of Morton's country, as the earl is absent from the country, were committing raids into England. The Queen had complained to the king of Scotland, and he went with 200 horse to the border to remedy matters. This was the foundation of the assertion here that the King had entered the field.

The Carthusian friar, bishop of Dunblane, and the other fathers had arrived at Petty Leith, and as the ship that carried them had no cargo, but only the five passengers, the rumour spread that five Jesuits had come in her, and a proclamation was at once issued ordering people, under penalty of death and confiscation, not to harbour nor help them.

The bishop and his companions travelled north to the house of the earl of Huntly, who is a Catholic.

The earl of Leicester had not arrived in England from Flushing on the 14th, and it was understood that the object of the Admiral would be to station his 33 ships at the mouth of the Thames, and prevent any of the duke of Parma's ships from going to the north of England, whilst Drake, with his 36 ships on the west coast, would oppose your Majesty's fleet from gaining an English port.

* Lord Grey de Wilton. † Sir John Norris.

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The two fleets are not to join unless they are obliged to do so to enable them to combat your Majesty's Armada. — Paris, 22nd December 1587.

24 Dec. **187.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.
Paris Archives, K. 1448. 156. [EXTRACT.]

Your intelligence from England is noted, and I am expecting to learn from your next letter how the armament of ships for the Admiral was going on, which you will, I am sure, have informed me with your usual punctuality. As you have not for some time past reported the sailing of any fleet from English or French ports, I cannot make out what ships they can be which have recently been seen in the neighbourhood of Cape St. Vincent, The number is too large for them to be unattached corsairs, although they are not strong enough to cause anxiety. Take continual care to keep me advised on this and all things you hear.—Madrid, 24th December 1587.

27 Dec. **188.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1565. 144. I saw the Scots ambassador yesterday, and he told me that he had news from Muzio's agent in Rome that his Holiness had instructed count de Olivares to write to your Majesty in his name, earnestly begging you to help the Guises, and that he was sending a special courier for the purpose. The count de Olivares had given the letters to Cardinal Rusticucci for submission to his Holiness. The Scots ambassador was very pleased at this, not that he had any doubt that your Majesty would help him, but because it would enable you to do so more openly, without giving the king of France any cause of complaint. I took the opportunity of telling him that, in the letter his (late) mistress had written to me, she had urgently begged your Majesty to help Muzio, and doubtless she had done similarly in the letter she wrote to his Holiness, and the latter would naturally be influenced thereby. My object was to get him to tell me what the letter contained. He replied that the point was not referred to in the letter, which was confined to the following: commending her soul to his Holiness's prayers, and asking him to found some memorial of her, as she was dying for, and in, the Catholic faith. She was reconciled to die thus, as it was God's will, but as they had refused to let her have a priest to whom to confess, or from whom to receive the Holy Sacrament, she besought his Holiness to give her absolution. She had sent her blessing to her son, on condition of his submitting to the Catholic faith, but if he would not do this, for the sake of her conscience (which she would not burden for her son or for anyone else) she declared that there was no prince more fitting than your Majesty to wear the two crowns of those islands, and to preserve the countries in the Catholic religion. This agrees with her remarks in the letter she wrote to me.

She also recommended all her servants generally to his Holiness.

The above, he (the archbishop of Glasgow) said, were the only points contained in her letter to the Pope, Muzio not being referred

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to at all, and he offered to show me the letter, as it had not yet been sent to Rome, in consequence of his not having any money to give to the physician who was to take it. As I had obtained from him what I wanted to know, I said I was satisfied with what he told me, without seeing the letter, and, if he thought it was of importance for the relief of his late mistress's conscience that the letter should be delivered to his Holiness, I had been so desirous of serving her that I would provide the money out of my own pocket for the physician to take it. He replied that if this King would pay what he owed to the queen of Scotland there would be plenty of money for this and other things, and he was not sure now whether the physician would take the letter to Rome, because if I found the money for him he would not dare to return to France. He (the Archbishop) had not ventured to send either the original or a copy of the letter until he learnt the wishes of the duke of Guise, who was the Queen's principal executor; but when the bishop of Dunblane returned from Scotland he would ask the duke of Guise whether it would be advisable to send the letter to Rome by the said Bishop. I have brought matters to this point, and thought better not to carry them any further with the ambassador until I received your Majesty's instructions. With reference to this, Secretary Curle tells me that when he was in the house of Philipps, one of Walsingham's officers, he showed him (Curle) the identical will made by the queen of Scotland, whose handwriting he knew well. When he read the clause in question, Philipps said what a cruel thing it was for a mother thus to disinherit her own son. According to this, Curle is not only a witness that he ciphered the letter in which his mistress announced her intention, but also that he saw, subsequently, her will written in her own hand formally executing it.

The Scots ambassador says that since his mistress's death the funds she provided for the Scotch seminary at Pont Monçon have failed, and the seminary is becoming deserted. He asks me to beg your Majesty to give some alms to prevent the loss of so pious a work, and in consideration of the influence the students there would exert in the conversion of the country. I promised him I would mention it to your Majesty.

As I report in the general letter, Arundell has died, and I beg your Majesty to instruct me as to what I am to do with the 2,000 crowns which the queen of Scotland owed him, and which for the relief of her soul your Majesty ordered me to pay to Arundell. The new confidant has sent me in writing the intelligence I send about England, through a perfectly unsuspicious channel. He says that the loss of the former friend forced him to write the news, as it was of the highest importance that your Majesty should be informed thereof at once. He did so on this occasion but it was unadvisable that he should continue to do so, and begged me to send some person to him who could be trusted, and who would convey intelligence verbally. I am puzzled to find a man fitting for the task owing to the qualities required. He says he must not be a Spaniard, but a person who may freely have access to his house, whilst for religious reasons it is unadvisable for a Spaniard to be intimate there. In

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order not to lose Julius I will myself run the risk of going to his house at night, until I can find a suitable person.

The Nuncio, as I have mentioned, is opening out with me, and is displaying a very favourable disposition towards the conquest of England; and I doubt not that his Holiness has written something to him on the subject, because he told me lately that there was nothing he desired more than that your Majesty should punish England. A person with whom he is intimate said to him that the people here had only come to terms with the reiters for the purpose of being able to help the queen of England, and he replied that, seeing as he did the evil intentions prevalent here, he had no doubt that such was the case. I do not answer him when he speaks of the matter to me, and when he asked me in what state your Majesty's fleet was, I replied that it was being got ready but nobody knew where your Majesty was going to employ it.

I am sending this courier off expressly to give your Majesty information of Drake's design, and am also informing the duke of Parma. Julius says he has it from the Admiral.—Paris, 27th December 1587.

27 Dec. **189.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1565. 145.

To the intelligence about England sent in my last, I now have to add that other news, dated the 14th instant, new style, has arrived here, saying that seven out of the 36 ships to be commanded by Drake are to be Queen's ships. Three thousand sailors are to be shipped on this fleet, and as many soldiers as can be carried, the number of which will not reach 3,000 as was stated, and Drake will sail with them to Spanish waters to fight your Majesty's Armada there or burn ships in Lisbon, like he did in Cadiz (which will not be an easy task), or in any other port where he may find them, as they have news from Lisbon that the Armada cannot sail in any case before the middle of January. In order to make sure of this, and ascertain the state in which the Armada is, they had sent two English shallops to Lisbon harbour to capture some fishing boat, from which they might learn what preparations were being made on the fleet, and whether the crews were being shipped. It was intended as soon as these shallops returned that Drake should at once put to sea with the object named; and to enable him to do this the more speedily he would take with him some of the ships which were ready to sail under the Lord Admiral, the latter being now undecided as to whether he would sail, and whether his fleet would put to sea so soon as had been intended. It was thought most probable that he would not go out, but if he did, his design, as I have said, would be to prevent the duke of Parma from landing in the north of England or executing any enterprise in Zeeland. Your Majesty's rebel States had intimated to the Queen that they had 80 armed ships in the river at Antwerp and other places to prevent the sailing of the duke of Parma's vessels. With these 80 and 20 more they would go to her assistance if your Majesty's fleet attacked England. The Queen, however, made no account of these offers as she could not trust them (the States).

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In conversation with some of his favourites about your Majesty's Armada, this King said they knew where your Majesty was going to employ the fleet, whilst neither the duke of Parma, the marquis of Santa Cruz, nor any other person was aware of it.

I understand that Chateauneuf writes that the English are in the utmost confusion and discouragement, and the Scots ambassador tells me that he has seen a letter from a private person there reporting that the Queen had ordered the Treasurer and Walsingham by all means to make peace with your Majesty; and when Walsingham asked her what about religion, she replied angrily that she would agree about religion and everything else.

The earl of Leicester has been informed by the Queen that she leaves to his discretion whether he should return to England or not. As he has delayed his departure it is thought that he would not go. —Paris, 27th December 1587.

1587. S.D. Estado, 839.

190. NAMES of the HERETICS, SCHISMATICS, and NEUTRALS in the REALM of ENGLAND, as follows:—

The principal Heretics.

The earl of Leicester.
Earl of Warwick, his brother.
Earl of Huntingdon, his brother-in-law.
Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer.
Earl of Bedford.
Lord Hunsdon.
Sir Christopher Hatton.
Secretary Walsingham.

These are the principal devils that rule the Court, and are the leaders of the Council.

Schismatics and Neutrals.

The earl of Shrewsbury, a great friend and follower of Robert Dudley, and principal judge that condemned to martyrdom my late mistress, the queen of Scotland.
Earl of Derby, another good servant of Lord Robert Dudley, but in his own conscience is neutral.
Earl of Cumberland, a good neutral, but his wife, the daughter of the earl of Bedford, is a great Calvinist.

These are principal persons in England whom his Majesty should not trust.

There are also other nobles and knights who are heretics in various parts of the country.

In Norfolk.

William Headon, the principal man in Norfolk, a great enemy of his Majesty.
Sir William Butts, with all his family.
Sir Nathaniel Bacon.
Sir William Woddons.

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The enemies of his Majesty in the county of York.

Sir William Fairfax.
Sir Thomas Fairfax.
Sir William Bele.
Grotick, knight, and all the rest of the Council of York, the president of which is Lord Huntingdon.

Catholics and friends of his Majesty in England.

The earl of Surrey, son and heir of the duke of Norfolk, now a prisoner in the Tower.
Lord Vaux, of Harrowden, a good Catholic, now a prisoner in the Fleet, with many other important knights and gentlemen.

The Catholics of Norfolk.

Sir Henry Benefield, who was formerly the guardian of Queen Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England, during the whole time that his Majesty was in England; Sir Henry keeping her by order of King Philip and Queen Mary. I wish to God they had burnt her then, as she deserved, with the rest of the heretics who were justly executed. If this had been done we should be living now in peace and quietness.
Sir William Paston.
Townsend Knight, and many other Catholic servants of his Majesty.

In the county of York.

Sir Richard Stapleton.
Sir Brian Stapleton, who would risk his life for his Majesty.
Edward Clerker, of Risby.
Henry Constable, of Holderness.
William Babthorp, of Babthorpe.
Robert Clerker, of Clerker, and many other gentlemen.

Catholics in the county of Lancashire.

Sir William Stanley, brother of the earl of Derby, a good Catholic.
Westby, knight.
Blundell, of Croke Abbey.
Blundell, of Ynce.
Irland, knight.

The greater part of Lancashire is Catholic, the common people particularly, with the exception of the earl of Derby and the town of Liverpool.

The worthy Sir John Southwell, who is now a prisoner in Chester Castle, and many other gentlemen there with him, are staunch friends of his Majesty.

Northumberland and Westmoreland are loyal friends of his Majesty, but there is no one to lead them now, as the earl of Northumberland has been executed as a martyr in York, and was succeeded by his brother, who was treacherously killed by a pistol

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shot in the Tower of London. the pretence being that he had killed himself.

The earl of Westmoreland is in Paris, maintained by king Philip. These two counties are really faithful to his Majesty.

If his Majesty intends to send a fleet to England it will have to encounter strong resistance if it does not come to one of these two counties. The way by Ireland is dangerous.

It would therefore be safer to enter and disembark at Kirkcudbright in the territory of the earl of Morton, who is now in Lisbon and would, I think, be glad to accompany them. If the force be landed there they might enter the rest of England with less risk than elsewhere. If it be asserted that it would be safer to land on the east coast of Northumberland, it must be remembered that in such case the ships would have to go round the Orkney isles and the isles of Scotland, and must therefore pass within a league of Edinburgh. God grant that all may prosper and that such a resolution may be adopted as shall prevent them (*i.e.*, the Spaniards) from being deceived either in England or Scotland.

I wish to God my own old bones were of any service to his Majesty in the cause, for I would willingly die in defence of the Catholic faith under the protection of his Majesty, whom God bless, &c., &c. Amen.—Jacobus Stuart, Natione Scotus.

1588. S.D. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

191. ADVICE sent to DON MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ about two ships.

Two Scotch ships either have left, or will shortly leave, London, where they are waiting for a wind. One of them is of 150 tons burden called the "New Ship" of St. Andrews, and the master is named Allan Livingston (?), of St. Andrews, a short (sturdy young fellow of fair complexion). There accompanies him a merchant named Patrick Morris, a native of Edinburgh (a tall man with a long face, a black beard, and sunken eyes). He is in charge of the whole cargo, of which he and Edward Johnstone, who is here in Paris, own 1,800 crowns' worth, the rest belonging to a Mr. Sapers (?) an Englishman, formerly the earl of Leicester's merchant, but now the principal dealer for the English and Scots in Turkey and Tripoli. He has loaded the ship with wrought tin, and tin and lead, in pigs, and a quantity of English serge. The goods bear the leaden seal of Edinburgh, but are made in England, and the seal is placed on them to deceive. The ship also carries Dutch cloths and English worsted half hose.

The other ship is from Little Leith, of 55 tons, the master's name being Hamilton (?), of Queensferry, but living at Little Leith. The merchant of this ship is James Wilson, of Edinburgh, a beardless young man. This ship carries similar merchandise to the other, and the cargo belongs to the same owners, with the exception of the 1,800 crowns' worth, the property of Patrick Morris and Edward Johnstone. The value of the cargoes is estimated at 14,000*l.* (40 reals to the pound). The ships will discharge at San Lucar or Cadiz, and will probably be accompanied by two other Scotch ships in ballast, to load Spanish goods there.

Note.—The above is given as a typical case of the continual traffic in English merchandise with Spain under cover of Scottish merchants

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during the period when all commercial communication between England and Spain was prohibited. In the present papers there are many reports of a similar character, and orders given for the embargoing of such vessels on their arrival in Spain. It has, however, been considered unnecessary to give particulars of them except in special cases as examples.

January. **192.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

I learn by letter of 27th December that Charles Arundell had died of lethargy (modorra), and that you had been obliged to assist him with money for his maintenance during his last illness. It was well that you did this, as it was an act of true piety; and as the severity of his malady prevented him from giving you a bill for the money so provided, and you had also to find the money for his funeral, he having left no property behind him, I approve of the sum so expended being vouched for by your certificate only, receipts being furnished by the English doctor who attended him, and by his servant, for the sums paid to them through his confessor, the English Jesuit, Father Thomas. You may therefore credit yourself in account with these amounts, and this shall be your sufficient warrant.—Madrid, January 1588.

January. **193.** DOCUMENT headed "What his Majesty wishes the Cardinal "Archduke to say to the marquis de Santa Cruz."

Estado, 594.

He is pleased to learn that the Armada is so advanced as to allow the men to be shipped by the end of January, and then to sail without further delay. As the time is now drawing near, his Majesty wishes his Highness to state to the Marquis the course he will have to pursue during the expedition, pending the sending of the formal instructions, which shall be despatched in due time.

The King wishes the Marquis with the fleet to put to sea and go direct to join hands with the duke of Parma, in accordance with the plan already agreed upon, which has been conveyed to the Duke and the Marquis. Although we learn by certain advices from England that Drake had sailed with some ships of the fleet for these waters, with the object of obstructing and diverting him, the Marquis is not to desist from the voyage, but is to persevere in it, without, however, seeking the enemy, even though he (Drake) may remain on our coasts. If the enemy follows and approaches him, however, he may engage him. He may also fight him if he should encounter Drake at the mouth of the Channel, off Scilly, Ushant, or anywhere thereabouts.

If the Marquis does not come across the enemy before he arrives off the cape at Margate, and should there find the Lord Admiral of England with his fleet, even though the latter be reinforced by Drake and his fleet, our Armada will still be superior in strength, inasmuch as the most favourable statements with regard to the English fleets admit that they can hardly muster 3,000 seamen, and as many soldiers in each of their two fleets; so that even when they are united they will be inferior to ours, both as to quantity and quality. With the hope of God, therefore, and in the confidence of

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his cause the Marquis may give the enemy battle, hoping that our Lord may give us the victory.

It must be understood that he must only fight in case it be necessary to ensure the passage of the duke of Parma to England. If this can be done without fighting, either by stratagem or otherwise, it will be better so to manage it, and keep our forces intact. If the Armada has not to fight, the Marquis will, according to orders, reinforce the Duke with 6,000 Spaniards. If the Armada has fought, the reinforcement will have to depend upon the loss we may have suffered in gaining the victory which, by God's help, we may have gained. When the troops have landed, the Marquis may station his fleet at the mouth of the River Thames, holding the passage from Flanders so as to give support on both sides of the Channel. If any other step be rendered necessary by circumstances, the Duke and the Marquis, being on the spot, will decide upon it, the Marquis carrying out their joint decision. But he must not land, or act alone, or on his own opinion, without the concurrence of the Duke, the engaging of the enemy on the sea (which is the essence of the business) being the only thing in which he is to act independently.

The Marquis must remain there until the enterprise is successfully effected with God's help. He may then return, calling in Ireland on his way. He will leave with the Duke the greater part of the Spaniards he has with him, and bring away in their stead the mass of the Italians and Germans, who may appear necessary for the Irish business.

4 Jan. **194.** JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Colonel William Semple left here by his Majesty's orders for the purpose of conveying certain intelligence to you. He met here the earl of Morton, and is a man who may be trusted. You will, therefore, welcome him and hear what he has to say, as he is a zealous servant of his Majesty, and then send him on to the duke of Parma to whom he is also accredited.* Instruct him to follow the Duke's orders, unless the Duke and you are in communication on the subject, and you, yourself, inform the colonel of the course he is to adopt. The King is pleased to refer to you and the Duke the decision as to whether the colonel shall go to Scotland. In any case it will be well that you should discuss the matter with him personally, and settle the plan before he sets out.—Madrid, 4th January 1588.

4 Jan. **195.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Don Antonio is still here, but knows not what to be at. Although they assure him that Admiral Raleigh with a great fleet is going to take him to Portugal, he is not much rejoiced thereat.† He has been with the Queen at Greenwich for two days, but she has not caressed him much.

* Colonel Semple had arrived in Paris a month before this letter was written, this being a reply to Mendoza's letter on the subject of 6th December 1588.

† This may well be understood. It might indeed almost be supposed to be a joke at the expense of the poor Pretender, as Raleigh was opposed to his claims, which Essex espoused. Raleigh accompanied the expedition to Lisbon in 1589, but took no part in the land operations.

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9 Jan. **196.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1567. [EXTRACT.]

I understand that this King (Henry III.) is arranging for the recall of his ambassador in England, who is a Catholic, and the appointment to succeed him of an abbé who is not considered so. This, together with the fact I have just heard, that four deputies have come from Rochelle hither to treat of the raising of a fleet in consideration of your Majesty's Armada, causes me to think that there is an intention of making some preparation to help the Englishwoman. I will try to get to the bottom of this.

The English ambassador has sent to beg the King for the *droit d'aubaine** on account of the relationship of his wife with the late Charles Arundell. The King has granted it, and his estate may now be administered by those who undertook the costs of his funeral, &c., *who may also give legal receipts for what is owing to him.*†—Paris, 9th January 1588.

9 Jan. **197.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1568. Juluis writes me that by advices of 19th ultimo the Treasurer tells him that they were discussing the sending of commissioners to the duke of Parma to treat for peace, but that the Queen would certainly come to no agreement unless she were assured that the duke of Parma would remain perpetual governor of the States for life. This would be the principal point which the commissioners would be instructed to press, and if this were not conceded they would go no further. The Queen would also demand that Flushing, Brille, and Ostend should remain in her possession until she were reimbursed the 100,000 crowns she had spent. Sir Amyas Paulet, who was the keeper of the queen of Scotland, was to be one of the commissioners. To this man had been given the verbal commission which I mentioned your Majesty some months ago they wished to cram down the duke of Parma's throat.‡

The Queen had come to no decision as to the means of drawing closer to this King (of France), and I understand since the departure of the reiters she is providing Bearn with money. She offered this King when the reiters were on the frontier of Lorraine that they should not enter France unless he wished, but the King refused the offer, by which it is evident that they have an understanding with Epernon. I have told Julius to be very careful to inform me if this King again opens negotiations with the queen of England on any point. He is very vigilant in this, and in all other matters that it behoves me to know. I was obliged to see the new confidant, and he has again pressed me to lay before your Majesty the necessity in which he finds himself, in consequence of his allowances being detained by his enemies, with the object of forcing him to change his position. I told him that I had already conveyed this to your Majesty, to

* The "*droit d'aubaine*" was the right of the king of France to inherit all property belonging to a foreign subject dying intestate in his dominions.

† Philip II. has written in the margin against this:—"Perhaps he says this with reference to the 2,000 ducats."

‡ The alleged secret commission to the duke of Parma said by Mendoza to have been entrusted to Sir John Herbert. *See* letter, 18th September 1587, page 140.

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which he replied that if the answer was long delayed he was so pressed that he would be unable to hold out, unless in the meanwhile I lent him 1,200 crowns. I am putting him off, but if he presses me again about it I have determined to seek the money for him, as I think it very important to your Majesty's interests at this juncture not to lose him, by his having to change his place. I have also in view that it is nearly a year ago since your Majesty granted him the 2,000 crowns, and it is well to keep such people as this in good humour, especially when money is given to them to help them in their need, as this stops their mouths.

I understand that Charles Arundell owed 2,000 crowns in England, which he had provided for the queen of Scotland, and other sums; that is to say, that he took these amounts from the money under his charge belonging to the queen of England, he having been the treasurer of a province. When Arundell left England the Queen at once claimed the sums from his sureties, and these sureties will receive the 2,000 crowns your Majesty ordered me to pay on this account in discharge of the conscience of the queen of Scotland. Both the Queen's soul and that of Arundell will thus be absolved, and the debt extinguished. I beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to act in the matter. I have written to Antonio de Vega as your Majesty commands. The advices from England "translated from English" as a further disguise, are from him.

Sampson says that Don Antonio writes that it will be difficult for him to leave England without the Queen's knowledge, and he consequently will not attempt to do so unless she gives him leave. All I know about Fray Diego Carlos is that he is in England. Secretary Pinart said last night that this King had news that the earl of Morton had arrived at Nantes; perhaps bad weather has forced him upon that coast. I have no other advice of this.—Paris, 9th January 1588.

9 Jan.(N.S.) **198.** ADVICES from LONDON, translated from the English.*

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

The earl of Leicester arrived on the 19th ultimo, and was well received by his mistress, but badly by the public. On his arrival it was decided that the fleets should put to sea, and that the frontiers should be manned as had been agreed upon. The earl tried to prevent the peace negotiations, persuading the Queen that no peace could be arranged except to her prejudice and disgrace. This delayed the departure of the commissioners, and the Queen gave leave to the earl of Derby to go to his estates.

The Admiral went to Rochester on the 2nd instant to embark, followed by many of the nobility, but as the wind is unfavourable he is still there. There are 26 ships belonging to the Queen ready for sea, of which Drake is to take five and two pinnaces, and to be accompanied by 30 merchantmen. He is to go to the coast of Spain, the intention being to burn all the ships on the Biscay and Galician coasts, especially in Corunna. The weather has not yet allowed Drake to sail, and warning should therefore be sent at once. The rest of the Queen's ships, 19 in number, are to be taken out by the

* From Antonio de Vega.

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Admiral, with 20 merchantmen, although the English say a larger number. But the truth is that the whole number fitted out for the Queen is 68, and 15 for private adventurers. On the 5th instant Morris arrived here with the passport from the duke of Parma, and permission for the commissioners to go over. Many councils have been held on the subject, and the Queen has decided that the commissioners are to go, notwithstanding the arguments of Leicester, Walsingham, and Paulet against it. They alleged that the Queen would not be able to make peace unless she surrendered the fortresses she held, which would not only be a disgraceful and injurious thing to do, but it would also be delivering the key of dominions which had submitted to her, and which she had taken under her protection. As the Queen was determined to make peace at any cost, it being most important for her to be sure of Spain, now that France is in so disturbed a state, the said councillors next day said that, since it was necessary that peace should be made, the Queen, at all events, should make it on honourable terms. They said that on no account should she give up Flushing or Brille to the king of Spain. If she delivered Ostend and Berghen to him, she should deliver Flushing and Brille to the States. This was agreed to on that day, and nothing further was done at the time; but at 11 o'clock at night, after the Queen had heard a comedy, she flew into a passion with the earl of Leicester, who was present, and told him that it behoved her at any cost to be friendly with the king of Spain, "Because," she said, "I see that he has great prepara-" tions made on all sides. My ships have left to put to sea, and if " any evil fortune should befall them all would be lost, for I shall " have lost the walls of my realm." The Earl argued that she need not lose confidence, as the enemy's Armada was not so powerful as was asserted, but even if it were, it would still be much inferior to hers, instancing that Drake last year effected so much with quite a small force. The Queen replied that Drake had never fought yet, and she did not see that he had done much damage to the enemy, except to scandalise him at considerable loss to her. Leicester thereupon told her to do as she liked, he could only give his opinion as he understood it.

The earl of Derby has been summoned in haste, and the commissioners will certainly go.

9 Jan. **199.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

In the matter of England I have continued to send your Majesty the advices I have received. From these, and from the report of a trustworthy person, who saw the Lord Admiral and Drake in London on the 16th ultimo (new style), it is to be concluded that the ships your Majesty informs me were seen off Cape St. Vincent on the 24th were English or French pirates, which had joined together in view of the queen of England's orders that no ships were to leave her ports, and rather than go in there to be starved, they have preferred to range abroad and pillage. I can assure your Majesty that no large body of armed ships has left either France or England hitherto. I hear that Don Antonio writes hither, under date of

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17th ultimo, that the Admiral and Drake were saying that they would put to sea in the fleet, but God knew when.

The earl of Leicester arrived in England on the 16th ultimo.—Paris, 9th January 1588.

Note.—Philip II. has written in the margin of the above letter that the news contained in it should be sent to Portugal.

9 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **200.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

[EXTRACT.]

I have decided to do with Julius, as you will see by my despatches, as I think it advisable, so as not to lose him and to keep him in a good humour. It is nearly a year since we gave him the 2,000 crowns, and we cannot give him less now.—Paris, 9th January 1588.

Note.—This refers to the bribing of Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador.

12 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **201.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

No news from England later than 19th ultimo, and there is no intelligence of an English fleet having sailed.

The result of the earl of Leicester's arrival has been the sending by the Queen to the Scottish Border of a Scots heretic called Douglas, who was at her Court. He is taking a sum of money, and is to offer the King the title of duke of Lancaster from the Queen, with a pension of 6,000*l.* sterling (equal to 24,000 ducats of 10 reals each), holding out great hopes also that ultimately this may lead to his being declared her successor. It is not known how the king of Scotland will reply. The king of France has despatched the gentleman who brought the letter from the king of Scotland eight months ago, saying that his occupations had prevented him from replying earlier. He then refers him to an ambassador whom he is sending thither.—Paris, 12th January 1588.

16 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **202.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since mine of the 12th I have received advices from England, dated 26th ultimo and 2nd and 4th instant (new style). The Lord Admiral had started on the 1st for Rochester, with the intention of sailing with all the 32 Queen's ships. If the weather be favourable he hoped to leave the Thames in 5 or 6 days, and would sail his fleet along the coast of England in a northerly direction to prevent or oppose the landing of a force from Flanders. These ships are heavily armed with large and small pieces and take three lords with the Admiral. They say that, altogether, with sailors and soldiers, there will go at least 5,000 men; they assert even that 8,000 will go, but stores will be carried only for a month. They will depend upon supplies being sent from shore. The intention of the Admiral is to remain on the coast, and if Drake reports that the Armada of your Majesty is approaching England the Admiral with 16 of his best ships will effect a junction with Drake, and take command to encounter the Spanish force. In that case Lord Harry Seymour and Captain Winter will remain with the rest of the ships to oppose the landing of the duke of Parma.

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Drake accompanies the Admiral to Rochester and will then start for Plymouth to take out the 36 ships which it was arranged he should command. The Queen orders him to try to sail by the 15th instant, and to take with him all the armed pirate ships which were on the west coast or he might meet at sea. Drake will have 4,000 men in his 36 ships and victuals for four months. His ships are all armed merchantmen but three, which belong to the Queen.

Drake's intention is to endeavour to burn ships of the Armada in the river at Lisbon, and to land men at some point in order that a diversion may thus be effected and the Armada prevented from sailing. Drake consented to serve on the fleet only on condition that the Queen gave him an absolutely free hand to fight or not as he thought fit, to land forces or not, to burn, sack, or pillage Spanish towns; and in fact to be ruled solely by his own discretion, according to circumstances. As some of the pirates your Majesty informed me had been seen off Cape St. Vincent have returned to England, it is probable that the shallops they sent out to reconnoitre have also come back, after having informed them of the intention of Drake. They are keeping their eyes fixed on this plan to prevent your Majesty's Armada from sailing, and my new confidant assures me that the Queen has advices from Lisbon that the victuals there had gone bad, and had caused sickness amongst our men on the Armada, which consequently could not sail for a considerable time.

All the news I send your Majesty are confirmed by the assurance of my new confidant, and the reports of other persons I have, besides those sent by the French ambassador in England to this King. The said ambassador also reports that the Admiral intended to take his ships to Scotland and seize the person of the King, who, however, is so entirely given up to the Scots faction in the interest of England that it hardly seems probable that the Queen of England would take the trouble of fitting out a fleet for the purpose of capturing him.

The French ambassador also writes that your Majesty had bought the Scottish Catholic nobles with 50,000 ducats, and had promised the chancellor* 100,000 to keep him on your side. The latter, however, had refused, and had reported the whole matter to the queen of England. The English tell the ambassador these things. Raleigh had left the day before Leicester arrived in order not to meet him. He has gone to the west country as the Queen's Lieutenant-General there, and certain councillors had been appointed to assist Lord Hunsdon on the northern border. A council of war has also been formed to advise the Queen, and also a secret committee of the Privy Council, consisting only of four members. All reports from England agree that great alarm and confusion reign, and that the fleet the Queen had fitted out was the only effort that England was capable of making.

Since the 10th the wind has been all that Drake could desire to carry him to Spain, and if he has put to sea and his plans remain unchanged he will be off the coast of Spain some days before this letter arrives. I am despatching this courier to give your Majesty

* Sir John Maitland.

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an account of these two fleets, and I have also reported the same to the duke of Parma. The wind is entirely against the Lord Admiral, which makes me think he may anchor in the Downs at the mouth of the Thames.* The Carthusian friar, bishop of Dunblane, had but little hope now that the king of Scotland would give him audience. He, the King, had retired from the frontier to Edinburgh, and the faction against the Chancellor who rules the King was growing. The letter containing this news is dated 24th November from Scotland.

16 Jan. **203.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Julio wrote me the news I send in the general letter with regard to the Lord Admiral's plans, which had been told him by the Lord Admiral himself.

He (Julio) also assured me that, so far as can be judged, these fleets will not take so many men as I have said, and that if the Flemish fleet delays, the Admiral's fleet will not keep at sea, the great hope of the English being founded on what Drake may do to prevent the sailing of the Armada from Spain. He confesses that the Queen is in the utmost alarm, and recognises how disproportionate are her forces to oppose those of your Majesty.

The Treasurer is much grieved at the ill success of the Reiters in France, and throws the blame upon the Frenchmen who led them, as they had not formed a junction with Bearn.† He (the Treasurer) was doing his best to bring the Queen to peace with all her neighbours. Leicester is delighted to be quit of the Dutchmen and Zealanders, who would not hear of peace, although they were powerless to continue the war. Walsingham says, with regard to this, that the rebels did not wish to avoid peace, but by reason of the Queen's not sending the Commissioners they saw that the Duke of Parma was cooling in the negotiations.

Julio writes to me saying that no orders are given to this ambassador to endeavour to bring about a closer union between the Queen and this King. As both in this particular, and the other English news I send in the general despatch, I have seen the original letters themselves, I have not lost more time than was necessary in sending your Majesty account thereof, but I had to wait until night before I could go and hear the news from my new confidant, who turns himself inside out for me. In view of this and his need, I have begun to give him some of the money he asked me for.

* This was exactly the case. Howard remained at anchor off Margate for a considerable time.

† The mercenary army raised for the Huguenot cause by Hans Casimir, and commanded by Von Dohna, had been unable to effect a junction with Henry of Navarre, Guise being in their rear, whilst the troops of Henry III. were in front, opposing the passage of the Loire. In these circumstances the Swiss mercenaries, who formed the bulk of the army, were bribed by Henry III. to desert the Huguenots and return home, on payment to them of 400,000 ducats. The German reiters thus abandoned, were surprised by Guise's army and great numbers were slaughtered with the help of the peasantry. Henry III. gave the remainder of them a safe conduct on their promise to retire; but as soon as they crossed the French frontier and entered the Franche-Comté, they were cut to pieces by the troops of the League. The Frenchmen referred to in letter were doubtless the body of French Huguenot refugees under Chatillon, the son of Coligny, who had led the van of the mercenaries into France.

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The substance of Nansic's (the duke of Parma) despatches is to desire me to keep hold of Muzio (the duke of Guise) and persuade him not to consent to a general peace, or to anything else that may impede your Majesty's plans.—Paris, 16th January 1588.

25 Jan. **204.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

I note what you say relative to the servants of the queen of Scotland. There seems to be no need for pressing Miss Kennedy much to return to France, since she could only depose as to her mistress' intentions by hearsay. If, however, she should have been so coldly received in Scotland as you hear, and she returns to France of her own accord, it will be as well to make use of her if opportunity offers, through her companion and the rest of them that remain in Paris. In this case you will advise me what grant should be made to her.

Although Miss Curle has, you say, business there at present, it will be advisable to fix a pension for her at once, to be paid through you, in order that she may depend the more entirely upon you. You have not mentioned the sum that should be paid to her, as I asked you to do on the 27th November. If there be time, let me know your opinion on this point, but if there is any risk of her entertaining other ideas, you had better tell her that she has been granted a pension, fixing the amount you think advisable, but not exceeding what may be needful.

You will inform Secretary Curle, her brother, that he has been granted 40 crowns a month, and the same to Gorion; and the pensions had better, as you say, be paid by you for several reasons. The Secretary knows all about the Queen's will, considering what he saw and wrote, and also what Walsingham's officer told him afterwards.

It will be well for the letter the Queen wrote to the Pope to be sent to Rome. The fact of the archbishop of Glasgow's keeping it back so long, argues not necessity alone, as he might have sent it without incurring any expense, but perhaps also unwillingness that it should reach the hands of the Pope, because, being a Scotsman, he may be inclined to his own King and country; although his cloth and devotion to the Catholic cause should lead him otherwise, seeing how the King has behaved. You will therefore bear this in mind, and take care that the letter does not disappear. Try to get a copy of it, and if you see there is any further delay in sending it, consider whether it will not be advisable to cause the Nuncio to be informed of the matter, so that he may, if necessary, ask for the letter and send it himself. You might either tell the Nuncio yourself, or have it conveyed to him in an indirect way, according to the opinion you have of him.* You will act as you think best in the matter and report.

With regard to the 2,000 crowns that the queen of Scotland desired should be paid to Charles Arundell, it will be well to learn

* By a mistake of the ciphering clerk, Mucio (the cipher name for the duke of Guise) has been substituted for Nuncio. This error has been noted by the King, who in a long marginal note, says surely Mucio has nothing to do with it and it must mean Nuncio, as it obviously does.

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whether he left any debts behind him,* or whether he expressed any wishes about it to you before he died. Let me know about this, and whether he left any children, and any other particulars; a reply shall then be sent you. With regard also to the seminary of Pont Monçon, for which the archbishop of Glasgow requested aid, inform me what sort of seminary it is, its foundation, revenues, etc., and the matter shall be considered.—Madrid, 25th January 1588.

29 Jan. **205.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1442.

Since the accompanying letters were written, yours of 16th instant is to hand with advices as to the plans of the English fleet, and as to Drake's intentions. It was well to send this by special courier, and you will do so in future whenever my service may seem to require it. Julio is doing so well that the money you gave him was well spent. You will see by subsequent letters that you are authorised to pay him the same as you did before, in accordance with your recommendation. You may also seek some trustworthy confidant to carry on the communications between you, because, apart from the trouble, it would be extremely dangerous to do this in person, and every possible precaution must be adopted against discovery.—Madrid, 29th January 1588.

30 Jan. **206.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1563.

I enclose advices from England of 9th January (n.s.), and I need only add to them, that I have full confirmation of the intelligence from other quarters.

The Admiral was still in the Thames, the weather preventing him from putting to sea. There are only four of the Queen's ships outside, as I have already informed your Majesty. They anchor in the Downs, and when the weather permits them they go in the direction of Dunkirk to prevent ships from entering. A fishing boat that left the mouth of the Thames on the 12th asserts that up to that date none of the Admiral's ships had left the river.

The letters from London of 9th, state that Drake was at Plymouth. Advices from Rye, a port 10 leagues from Plymouth (*sic*) dated 20th instant (n.s.) say that Drake's ships at Plymouth are not sufficiently advanced to put to sea even if the weather would allow them to do so.

The London letters of 9th also say that they have there news from Barbary dated 10th December, sent by English merchants resident there, that the king of Fez had ordered them to return two French ships which an English corsair had taken on the coast, which French ships took from France scarlet cloth which had been made here to the king of Fez's orders. He threatens the English that unless they restore them he will seize English property and prohibit all English trade.

* In the King's hand:—"According to this, then, he must be dead. If so he will be a great loss, and we shall need means for communicating with the other." The other was, of course, the English ambassador Stafford, with whom Charles Arundell had carried on communication for Mendoza. The King had been informed of Arundell's death, but had apparently forgotten it.

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It is reported from Antwerp, under date of 17th, that a ship belonging to the queen of England, with 600 soldiers, had been wrecked on the banks with loss of all hands. The news I sent that the earl of Morton had landed on the coast of Brittany was true. When this King heard of it and that he was coming hither, where he now is, he publicly said at table, that it would now be seen which could do most in Scotland, your Majesty's pistoles or the broad angels that Archie Douglas took to Scotland from the queen of England.—Paris, 30th January 1588.

30 Jan. **207.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Julio confirms the news that neither the Admiral nor Drake has sailed, as I advise in the general letter, and also that the queen of England has resolved to raise another force of reiters to come to France. He asks whether it would be to your Majesty's interest for him to try to prevent this levy, or to forward it, and get the men sent to France. Your Majesty will please instruct me on the point, as he boasts of being able to arrange matters as your Majesty may command. I understand that Marshal de Biron has sent word to the English ambassador here that he wishes to see him, and the ambassador suspects that he desires to learn on what conditions the Queen would strengthen her alliance with this King.

The news of 9th instant from London which I send to your Majesty, is from Antonio de Vega, confirmed by letters from the French ambassador in London. Secretary Villeroy in view of them told a friend of his the other day that the queen of England would certainly come to terms with your Majesty.

The earl of Morton arrived here on the 18th instant, and saw me the next night. He said he was ready to comply with your Majesty's wishes, and asked for my orders. I thanked him in general terms, and said I would advise your Majesty of his arrival. I sent to the duke of Parma in order that he might decide whether it would be well to let him go to Scotland with Colonel Semple, or whether he had better wait for the return the bishop of Dunblane, that we may see what intelligence he brings.

The duke of Parma has sent me some letters that were brought to him from Scotland by a Spaniard, from Lord Claude Hamilton and George Earl of Huntly, two Catholic nobles: and the Duke tells me that he is sending the Spaniard to inform me verbally. He asks me to send the man back with such an answer to the lords as I may consider advisable, to maintain them in their good intentions and devotion to your Majesty. The Spaniard fell ill at Lille and the letters are not yet deciphered, so that I am unable to inform your Majesty whether there is anything important in them. Doubtless the duke of Parma will have done so.

Sampson saw me as I was closing this letter. He knows nothing of what Vega reports. I have told him to keep his eyes open. He says the Queen-mother has asked him to get news from the English ambassador as to whether his mistress really will come to terms with your Majesty, and if her fleets will put to sea.—Paris, 30th January 1588.

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Since closing this, my new confidant reports that Marshal de Biron has seen the English ambassador, and made him great offers, and assurances of his desire to serve the queen of England. He says the King wishes for a private interview with the ambassador, but did not venture to see him for fear that his mistress might make use of his (the King's) approaches to come to terms with your Majesty. The ambassador said that he desired nothing better than to be made the instrument of such negotiations, which should only be known to his mistress and himself.

31 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

208. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since closing the accompanying letters I have received advices from Julio from London, dated 21st instant (n.s.), saying that the Treasurer assured him that Drake was at Plymouth with 30 well-armed ships, which would be off the Spanish coast within 30 days, and would there do all the damage they could, the intention being that which I report to your Majesty in another letter, namely, to burn what ships they could in Lisbon and other ports, to land men, and to pillage.

The Admiral was at Queenborough, at the mouth of the Thames, with 36 ships, some belonging to the Queen, and some to merchants. They are so well armed and fitted that they would ensure the duke of Parma's not daring to attack them, and he (the Treasurer) talked a great deal about the large sum the Queen had spent upon these two fleets. Julio also informs me that the Treasurer had ordered the English ambassador here to send him a report of the English rebels in Spain, Flanders, and France. Julio reports that the Treasurer has written that the French ambassador in England had signified to the Queen that his master was aware that she would like to see him at peace, and France tranquil. Instructions had therefore been sent that the English ambassador here, either through third persons or directly, should represent to the King that the League, supported by the Pope, your Majesty, and the duke of Parma, had adopted the cloak of religion simply to forward their own designs; and that this rendered it necessary for the King to come to terms with Bearn, in which case he (the King) would be stronger than the League, and could force them to agree to peace, which the King desired, and the Queen (of England) would forward for the advantage both of the King and herself. He (Cecil) enlarged greatly upon this point. He (the English ambassador in France) is also to report who are the Huguenots that submitted to the King in the arrangement made with the reiters

Julio adds that the Treasurer tells him that they have sent a notification to the duke of Parma, that as Flanders is in a state of war it would be more convenient to carry on the negotiations for peace in England. They suggest Canterbury, but they did not think the duke of Parma would agree. If he did, however, the Treasurer would be one of the principal Commissioners. Having in view Julio's good behaviour, I cannot help urging your Majesty to confer some favour upon him. In the meanwhile I am encouraging him (as I think the circumstances demand) by giving him from time

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to time the amount he asked me to lend him.—Paris, 31st January 1588.

31 Jan. Estado, 594. **209.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

I have been somewhat disturbed to read what your Majesty has ordered to be written to me in your letters of 11th and 24th December, as it seems to infer that I may have done what your Majesty emphatically ordered me not to do until the arrival of the marquis of Santa Cruz with the Armada to ensure the passage across. I wrote by your Majesty's orders my own opinion, that in the interests of the facility, success, and efficacy of the expedition, it was necessary that secrecy should be maintained, the French kept busy, and these States assured. I said also that the passage across from here was convenient, in consequence of its shortness and the facility of obtaining boats. The latter, however, obviously are not fit for anything but the passage itself, as they are too small for fighting, and so low that four of the skiffs (*esquifes*) of the fleet could send to the bottom as many as they might meet. They could hardly live through a freshet, much less a tempest, so that they can only be used in settled weather. As your Majesty ordered me to undertake this business and make all necessary preparations, although the time given to me was very short, and the supply of money very limited, I have done my best to perform the impossible, in order to please you and carry out my duty to your Majesty. Things have been drawn out longer than I like or than is desirable; both men and money having been delayed beyond the time your Majesty indicated, and particularly the Spanish troops, who are the sinew of the whole business, the numbers, moreover, being less than those agreed upon. They have arrived, after all, so dilapidated and maltreated that they do not look in the least fit for effectual service for some time to come. The Italians and Germans have dwindled very much in consequence of having marched so quickly in such bad, wet weather; and in order to keep them near the points of embarkation they are so badly housed that very many of them are missing. Notwithstanding all these impediments, and though I saw our men were dying and falling away, I made every effort to get them to the ports in accordance with your Majesty's orders, and went personally to expedite them, on the understanding that there would be no delay in the arrival of the marquis of Santa Cruz with your Majesty's Armada, as your Majesty assured me in your own letters. I sent persons in search of the Marquis, in order that we might jointly settle what course would be best in your Majesty's interest, and thus be more certain of success. I now see that everything has turned out the reverse of what I expected and hoped. Secrecy, which was of the utmost importance, has not been maintained; and from Spain, Italy, and all parts come, not only news of the expedition, but full details of it. Both the king of France and the League have raised enormous numbers of troops, and as they are Frenchmen the less they are trusted the better when their own interests are concerned. It appears, however, that so far, although they have caused anxiety, they have not obstructed the carrying out of the enterprise.

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The preparations here, although not so complete as I should like, are, at all events, ready. Holland and Zeeland have armed with their usual promptitude, and have prevented the few vessels of the fleet which are in Antwerp from getting out, whilst the English themselves have promptly and energetically set about their preparations for defence. Your Majesty is perfectly well aware that, without the support of the fleet, I could not cross over to England with these boats, and you very prudently ordered me in your letter of 4th September not to attempt to do so until the Marquis arrived. I thought that his coming would be so soon that, notwithstanding my utmost haste, I should not be in time; and I hurried all my men into the port. If the Marquis had come then, the crossing would have been easily effected with God's help, because, what with the Dunkirk and other coast boats, as well as those I had prepared, I could have taken the men over without the Antwerp boats, neither the English, the Hollanders, nor the Zeelanders being then in a position to offer resistance to your Majesty's fleet.

I consider that I have carried out orders and served your Majesty with my invariable loyalty, exactitude, and affection in this matter. Your Majesty expressly instructed me to wait for the marquis of Santa Cruz, and repeated the order in subsequent letters, adding, in every case, that I was not to cross if there was any fleet to interfere with me; but if, instead of this, your Majesty had ordered me to cross without reserve, I should have unhesitatingly obeyed, even if we had all been lost. The cloth I wear, and my own honour, would not allow me to act otherwise, as I consider that my first duty is to obey in this as I have in all other things.

I see that the contretemps still continue; and your Majesty is now aware of the preparations that have been made by the English and the rebels. You know also that the marquis of Santa Cruz has not come, and the reason of his delay; and yet, notwithstanding all this, you suppose that I may be there (in England?). I must confess that this has caused me great sorrow. Your Majesty has the right to give absolute orders, whilst I can only receive them as special favours, and fulfil them; and for you to write to me now with a presumption diametrically opposite to the orders sent, naturally gives me great pain. I therefore, humbly beg your Majesty to do me the great favour of instructing me how I am to act. I shall make no difficulties in anything, even if I have only a pinnace to take me across. My arrival at Bruges and the stay of troops in the neighbourhood have given rise to much talk; the affair is so public that I can assure your Majesty there is not a soldier but has something to say about it, and the details of it. I, for my part, have kept the secret, knowing how important it was, besides which it was indispensable if we were to embark the men in good time, as your Majesty ordered.

The state of affairs is now so different that it is meet your Majesty should be aware of it, in order that you may instruct the marquis of Santa Cruz to come in great force. This will be necessary, in case the English and the rebels form a junction, so that, with the help of God, your Majesty may carry off the victory.

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They have no foreign troops yet in England. I send enclosed my latest intelligence from there, although your Majesty will have advices from Don Bernardino (de Mendoza) and elsewhere.

This delay (*i.e.*, in the coming of the Armada) is causing the total ruin of the province of Flanders, and is hardly less disastrous to the rest. The country can bear the burden but for a short time longer. The worst of everything is the lack of money. The cost of maintaining the boats, the keep of the soldiers, besides Mucio (the duke of Guise), Lorraine,* arrangements with Germans, etc., is so great that it will be necessary for your Majesty to provide a large sum of money. If we run short, as, indeed, we are doing, your Majesty may be sure that something very untoward will happen, and all the past expense and trouble will be fruitless. The only thing I have been able to do is to send to Antwerp the Inspector-General, Juan Bautista de Tassis, to try to get what money he can from the merchants there; but there is no certainty of this, as I lack warrants (*asignaciones*), and in any case the sum would be insufficient.—Bruges, 31st January 1588.

31 Jan. Estado, 594. **210.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

The intelligence which I receive from all quarters seems to prove that the queen of England really desires to conclude peace; and that her alarm and the expense she is incurring are grieving her greatly. But after all, it cannot be believed that she is turning good except under the stress of necessity, as I have written to your Majesty on former occasions. If the negotiations are opened at once we shall at least be able to see what they are up to; and if matters look promising it will be in your Majesty's hands to choose the course that suits you best. The first difficulty raised is the question of the place of meeting. I should prefer Antwerp. I understand that Saint Aldegonde and Longorius have been appointed by the rebel States to attend the conferences on behalf of those provinces. Your Majesty may be sure that if they come I shall try my best to get into negotiation with them, and even to make some terms with them. I do not think, however, that we can base much hope on this, only the assurance that I shall leave no stone unturned to bring them to the right road.—Brussels, 31st January 1588.

S.D. End of Jan.? Paris Archives, K. 1568. **211.** DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The last despatches from his Majesty which you forwarded to me contained an instruction that I should give my opinion as to whether it would be advisable to send a trustworthy person to the king of Scotland with a letter of credence from me, setting forth the efforts that were being made to avenge the death of his mother in his interest, and that if the remedy had been long delayed it was only because the nature of the case rendered it necessary that it should be so; and although he (the King) had not been directly informed hitherto of his Majesty's intentions in this respect, the reason of this was that secrecy was so vitally necessary. There was, however, no

* That is to say, the Spanish subsidies paid through Parma to the army of the League in Lorraine, etc. for the purpose of preventing an amicable settlement in France.

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doubt that, urged by his natural obligations, he (king James) would do everything in his power to aid the execution when the moment arrived, and thus to avenge himself upon the queen of England, who keeps him so oppressed by her faction, whilst at the same time showing his gratitude to his Majesty for the said intention of avenging the death of his (James') mother for his sake. At the same time, I and the other servants of his Majesty are anxious to serve him (James) in this matter; but without entering into other particulars or mentioning the question of his succession or religion. The person to be sent should be instructed to ascertain minutely the strength and present position of the Catholic nobles, trying to encourage them to persevere in their good intentions. His Majesty suggests to me that Colonel Semple, who is a servant of his, may be entrusted with the mission, and as I had already decided to send the Colonel to you when the earl of Morton arrived there (*i.e.*, in Paris) this suggestion comes very opportunely. I am very glad that he (Semple) has not yet left,* as I can now send this letter by him, informing you of his Majesty's suggestion, in order that you may discuss it with the earl of Morton and Semple, and we may thus decide whether it will be advisable or not to send such a message by Semple to the King (James). You are so thoroughly well informed of every detail of this matter that I can do no better than refer the decision to you. He (Semple) takes with him my letter of credence, which he may use (*i.e.*, in Scotland) if it is considered desirable.

My own opinion is that if the present position and humour of the King (James) will allow of the visit being paid, it can do no harm, and may enable a better idea to be obtained of what may be expected of him, as well as of the Catholic lords. If, however, it is decided to send Semple with the mission, it is important that he should go and return speedily, and you can press diligence upon him, with such other injunctions as your experience and dexterity suggest as being necessary. He has simply been told here that he is to make the journey, if you order him to do so, and to follow your instructions; but no particulars whatever have been communicated to him.

1st Feb. **212.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have a letter dated Antwerp, 26th ultimo, saying that the duke of Parma, having received a letter from the queen of England, he had left Ghent for Brussels, and had ordered Count Mansfeldt. M. de Champigny, and President Richardot to go to Antwerp to treat with the Queen's commissioners, for whom lodgings were being prepared in the town.—Paris, 1st February 1588.

5th Feb. **213.** REPLY of the QUEEN of ENGLAND to the REQUEST of the STATES for GREATER AID.—Greenwich, 5th February 1588.

Paris Archives, K. 1567. French.

She has been frustrated in her intentions but her fears have come true. There is a good proverb in England which says the sooner a threatened misfortune falls the better. Complains of the ingratitude of the States after all she has done for them; it is very strange

* Semple had been sent on from Paris to the duke of Parma, and was now sent back to Mendoza with this letter.

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they should ask for further aid without giving her any account of what had been done for them before. She swears by the living God it is terrible, and she does not believe such ungrateful people as they live upon the earth. She has sent them thousands of men, whom they have not paid, but let them die of hunger and despair, or else desert to the enemy. Is that not enough to irritate England, and make the States ashamed of themselves, for Englishmen to say they have found greater civility from Spaniards than from them? She cannot suffer such conduct, and in future shall please herself. She can do without them. They are not to think she is obliged to help them for her own safety. Nothing of the sort. It is true she does not want Spaniards for near neighbours, as they are her enemies at present. But why should she not live at peace and be friendly with the king of Spain, as she was originally? He has always desired her friendship and has even sought her in marriage. She sent them the earl of Leicester, intending that he should manage their resources, but they conducted things in their own way, and threw the blame on him. They had given him the title of Governor, which he had accepted without her consent, and so risked his person and property as well as his Sovereign's displeasure. But after he had made this sacrifice for them, what authority had they given him? They were simply playing with people. Leicester was a gentleman, and a man of honour, and should not have been treated thus. If she had accepted for herself the title they offered her, by God! they would have found she would not have put up with such treatment. God will punish them for their conduct, of returning evil for the good she has done them. They are now saying that the queen of England is making peace without their knowledge. She would rather be dead than give ground for such an assertion. Besides, Princes can discuss matters together, as private persons cannot do. They are States, it is true, but they are simply ordinary persons in comparison with Princes. She will do nothing, however, without them, and will not allow their consciences to be assailed. What more can they want of her than that? The States have issued an edict forbidding the discussion of peace. That is good in its way; but let Princes act as they think fit on the understanding that they (the States) will not suffer. Princes do not use many words, but with such few words as are said by them (the States) they must be satisfied and have faith. Whatever else she may do for them in future she expects to be better treated in return. She will probably depute certain members of her Council to deal with them in future.

6 Feb. Estado, 950.

214. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING. (EXTRACT.)

A Spanish doctor here, called Ricalde, who says that he studied in Paris, tells me that he has seen a letter from Villeroy, Secretary of State, to Cardinal de Joyeuse, saying that when the King (of France) returned to Paris a meeting of very few persons was held to decide what had better be done in face of the certitude that existed that your Majesty's forces were being prepared to attack the

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queen of England. Marshal de Retz and others were of opinion that the King should avoid meddling in the business, but should devote himself to arranging the affairs of his own country; and he reminded him how badly he had fared in consequence of similar movements on other occasions. On the other hand the Queen-Mother and the duke d'Epernon pressed the opposite view so warmly that it was decided that Epernon, as admiral, should collect the sea forces on the pretext of going against Rochelle, but that he should not join the forces of the queen of England unless he saw an opportunity of suddenly falling upon those of your Majesty, or otherwise do you some great damage.—Rome, 6th February 1588.

7 Feb. **215.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

My advices from England are dated 24th and 26th ultimo (n.s.), and only report that the Admiral had gone post to London to see the Queen, and that it was not known whether Drake had left Greenwich. It was therefore concluded that the return of the Admiral and the making ready the Commissioners to go to Flanders might cause Drake to wait. I have no assurance of this, however, either in the letters or from the new confidant. The French ambassador in London writes, that even if the Queen has not already come to terms with your Majesty she will certainly do so. The fitting out of the two fleets, he says, is all show, and so far as he can judge they will not put to sea.—Paris, 7th February 1588.

7th Feb. **216.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

The papers sent to me by the duke of Parma are a letter written to him by the earl of Huntly and Lord Claude Hamilton, in reply to that sent to them by the hand of Bruce. The substance of the letter is to deplore the blindness of their King, and to express their esteem for the assistance your Majesty desired to give them, whilst regretting the impossibility of their sending ships to carry the reinforcements over, in consequence of the suspicion it would arouse in the heretics. They say at any time that notice is sent to them they will have possession of Little Leith,* where not only the 5,000 Spaniards would be received, but twice as many if they were sent. If it be necessary to delay the sending of the forces, they beg that they should be provided with 50,000 crowns to enable them to hold out against the heretics. Bruce says to the duke of Parma what your Majesty will see in the accompanying paper, and in accordance with this and the Duke's remarks, I reply to the Catholic lords, adding that the earl of Morton will shortly be with them and will give them further instructions as to how they are to proceed. I say this because Morton tells me that he is sending a servant to Scotland to beg the King's permission to return to his country, but he only takes this step to reassure the King and the heretics, and to give his own friends notice that he is coming at once. He will start immediately after he receives your Majesty's orders, and I tell him to go. He asked my opinion about sending his servant and I approved. He is very zealous in religion and in his desire to serve your Majesty.—Paris, 7th February 1588.

* In the King's hand:—"I do not know whether this is appropriate for our business here."

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15 Feb. (N.S.). Paris Archives, K. 1568. Portuguese.

217. ADVICES from LONDON.

Will follow instructions received about Don Antonio. He shall not do the smallest thing without my knowledge. I do not write oftener as couriers to Calais are so uncertain. The present is only sent with the King (of France's) packet. I ought to write every day, matters are so changeable and uncertain. On the 11th the (peace) Commissioners took leave of the Queen, and each one is to travel his own way to Dover, where they are to meet to-morrow, 16th, except Sir Amyas Paulet, who excused himself. On the 12th, Dr. Derbar, with two commissioners from the States of Holland, arrived, saying that they had decided not to come to terms with the King, and requesting the Queen to surrender the fortresses she held, as they themselves will defend them. They were to return to-morrow, but will stay a few days longer. The Queen after hearing them yesterday referred them to the Council which is to meet to-morrow. She is determined to make peace if she can, but meets with great opposition from Leicester and Walsingham, whose main object is to delay matters till March to see what course the King takes with the Armada. They fear the loss of dignity it will be for them, if the King carries through his project after they have sent the Commissioners. The Commissioners are only being sent to gain time, with talk and appearances of peace until it is too late for the King to take action. They know very well that peace will not be made, as the King will not be satisfied unless they restore that which belongs to him, and they say they will not do this, as it will be against both their honour and their safety. I know this is the idea they have and think necessary to report it.

With regard to the fleets, the admiral has gone to (Queenborough ?) with 14 of the Queen's ships and some merchantmen with five pinnaces. He was to go thence to Dover, but was delayed by weather until yesterday. He came to Court in the meanwhile and returned in two days. The Queen's ships which have been fitted out are the best she has; four being 1,000 to 1,500 tons burden, three of 900, five of 600 to 800, six of 300 to 400 and up to 500, five of 200 to 250. These are being armed by the Queen in addition to pinnaces. They are all armed with bronze pieces, the four great ships with 48 guns, the 900 ton ships with 40 to 42 guns, the 600 to 800 ton ships with 34 to 38 pieces, the 300 to 500 ton ships with 22 to 28 guns, and the 200 to 250 ton ships with 18 to 20 guns. They are well provided with artificial fire, and instead of harquebusses, carry muskets and half-muskets. Amongst the ships is one that was made by Raleigh very strong by means of a new invention of castles, so that she could never be taken broadside on (?) (*alla banda*). She is 600 tons burden and is victualled for six months.* They

* The "Ark Raleigh" was called 800 tons in the English official lists. She had been built for Raleigh by Richard Chapman and was launched 12th June 1587, previous to which she had been sold to the Queen for 5,000*l.*, the sum to be deducted from Raleigh's debt to her. The Lord Admiral, when he took her as his flagship, wrote as follows to Burleigh (28th February, 1588): "I pray you tell her Majesty from me that her money was well given "for the 'Ark Raleigh' for I think her the odd ship in the world for all conditions; and "truly I think there can be no great ship maxe me change and go out of her." The exhaustive survey of the ship published in Laughton's "Defeat of the Armada" does not enlighten us as to her peculiarity of construction. The above expression might also mean, "*would never heel over.*"

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have held a review of sailors and although they say there were 11,000, there were not really more than 7,500, and some of these refused to serve.

Of the above ships, Drake takes five, one of 800 tons, two of 600, one of 400, and another of 300, with two pinnaces and two others. The admiral has 14 ships and four not yet ready. Drake is accompanied by 20 ships, and six pinnaces belonging to private persons, some being his own. They are all armed with iron artillery, except a few that have the guns taken from the Indiaman they captured. The merchant ships are five of 300 to 400 tons, four of 200 to 250, six of 160 to 200, five of 100 to 140. He (Drake) has not left Plymouth yet, as the ships are not ready. It is expected he will be told to stand by as the Commissioners have gone, but the intention is that which I have already reported, namely, that he shall go to the Coast of Biscay and Galicia, and destroy all the ships he can find, whilst the other fleet remains in the Channel.

Very few of the nobility embarked with the Admiral, only a few barons and knights, and a very small number of soldiers, nearly all the men being seamen. Drake takes 3,000 men, and the Admiral 3,800. Four of the Admiral's ships were sent to Flushing with 10,000*l.* to pay the garrison. There was a disturbance in Flushing between the inhabitants and the English, and they fear a massacre there.

With regard to the (French) ambassador, I know that no negotiations are going on for closer alliance (between France and England), but his King does not wish for a settlement to be arrived at with the master (*i.e.*, the king of Spain); and he has taken care to let them know of some things to arouse their (*i.e.*, the English) suspicions. They (the French) sent to the ambassador a copy of a letter written by the marquis of Santa Cruz to his Majesty on the 24th October, saying that the Armada should not be allowed to sail for England before March, in consequence of the dangerous and uncertain weather here and in Scotland. He (the ambassador) also received a list of the ships and men his Majesty was preparing in various places for the purpose in question. All of the information was furnished by the agent of the king of France in Madrid, and has been sent hither for the ambassador to use it as he pleases. I have persuaded him that it will be better not to show it or say anything about it (to the English), in consequence of the suspicion with which they look upon him here, but I will find out more about it and report *

Some days ago the Queen received news that the king of Scotland had fallen into the hands of the Catholics. God send it may be true.

Note.—The above letter, although unsigned, is evidently from the Portuguese spy, Antonio de Vega, and like all his communications is insufferably verbose, confused, and obscure.

15 and 19 February.

218. SAMPSON'S ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Don Antonio says that he understands from the Queen that she greatly desires peace at any price; and his own opinion is, that

* The King has underlined this passage.

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seeing both she and the rest of them are so anxious for it, peace will be arranged.

The Queen told him in conversation that she had heard that the king of France and the Queen-Mother were trying to attract him hither (to France) with great promises, and she would be glad to know whether such was the truth. Don Antonio says he did not know what answer to make, except that if such were the case he was not aware of it. He suspects that Chateauneuf has done this for him, or else that Stafford has heard something about it in France. Some days ago Don Antonio wrote to France that they were not to discuss his going thither, but the Queen-Mother wishes him to send his sons.

Don Antonio was grieved at the news from France of Leiton's imprisonment.

16 Feb. Estado 455. **219.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I reply to your letters of the 11th. In that which you write to me by his Majesty's orders you inform me that the malady of the marquis of Santa Cruz has become so serious that but small hope is now entertained of his recovery; and you say how deeply his loss will be felt, as the Armada will be ready to sail by the middle of this month, and to delay its departure will be inadvisable for a host of reasons. His Majesty has therefore, you say, fixed his eyes upon me to take charge of the expedition and to perform the hoped-for great service to God and his Majesty by joining hands with the force under the duke of Parma and attacking England; the intention being for the fleet which is being fitted out here (*i.e.*, San Lucar) to join that at Lisbon under my command. In reply to all this I first humbly thank his Majesty for having thought of me for so great a task, and I wish I possessed the talents and strength necessary for it. But, sir, I have not health for the sea, for I know by the small experience that I have had afloat that I soon become sea-sick, and have many humours. Besides this, your worship knows, as I have often told you verbally and in writing, that I am in great need, so much so that when I have had to go to Madrid I have been obliged to borrow money for the journey. My house owes 900,000 ducats, and I am therefore quite unable to accept the command. I have not a single real I can spend on the expedition.*

Apart from this, neither my conscience nor my duty will allow me to take this service upon me. The force is so great, and the undertaking so important, that it would not be right for a person like myself, possessing no experience of seafaring or of war, to take charge of it. So, sir, in the interest of his Majesty's service, and for the love I bear him, I submit to you, for communication to him, that I possess neither aptitude, ability, health, nor fortune, for the expedition. The lack of any one of these qualities would be sufficient to excuse me, and much more the lack of them all, as is the case with me at present. But, besides all this, for me to take

* There is in existence a manuscript book of accounts of the Duke's expenditure in the expedition, which shows that the amount spent by him was 7,827,358 maravedis, equal to about 2,245*l.* (*See Documentos Inéditos*, Vol. XIV.)

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charge of the Armada afresh, without the slightest knowledge of it, of the persons who are taking part in it, of the objects in view, of the intelligence from England, without any acquaintance with the ports there, or of the arrangements which the Marquis has been making for years past, would be simply groping in the dark, even if I had experience, seeing that I should have suddenly, and without preparation, to enter a new career. So, sir, you will see that my reasons for declining are so strong and convincing in his Majesty's own interests, that I cannot attempt a task of which I have no doubt I should give a bad account. I should be travelling in the dark and should have to be guided by the opinions of others, of whose good or bad qualities I know nothing, and which of them might seek to deceive and ruin me. His Majesty has other subjects who can serve him in this matter, with the necessary experience; and if it depended upon me I should confer the command upon the Adelantado—mayor of Castile, with the assistance of the same Councillors as are attached to the Marquis. He (the Adelantado) would be able to take the fleet from here (San Lucar), and join that at Lisbon; and I am certain that the Adelantado would have the help of God, for he is a very good Christian, and a just man, besides which he has great knowledge of the sea, and has seen naval warfare, in addition to his great experience on land. This is all I can reply to your first letter. I do so with all frankness and truth, as befits me; and I have no doubt that his Majesty, in his magnanimity, will do me the favour which I humbly beg, and will not entrust to me a task of which, certainly, I should not give a good account; for I do not understand it, know nothing about it, have no health for the sea, and no money to spend upon it.

The galleons here will sail as soon as the infantry arrives . . . . . The Levantine ships will wait for them as the Cape is so infested with corsairs that I have not ventured to let them go. The governor of Algarve writes to me, under date of the 10th, that there were there 22 small vessels, and he learns from the captured sailors they had sent ashore that they were expecting Drake this week with 30 ships.

It is of the utmost importance that galleys should go with the Armada; and it will be well, as you say, to take four of the Spanish galleys for that purpose, or even eight, which, joined with those at Lisbon, would be 12. They would be of the greatest use and value.

I conclude that in view of the representations I make to you here, his Majesty will permit me not to undertake the voyage. I am incapable of doing so for the various reasons I have stated. I therefore do not reply to your question about the defence of this coast during my absence, as I shall remain here to attend to it myself, and serve his Majesty here as I have always done.

The proposal has been kept secret as you direct, and I send this reply with all speed after commending the matter very earnestly to God.—San Lucar, 16th February 1588.

Note.—The marquis of Santa Cruz died before the above letter was written, and on the 18th February the King sent a peremptory order to Medina Sidonia to depart at once, and take charge of the

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Armada at Lisbon, making everything ready for sailing by the 1st March at latest. The Duke made no further resistance, saying that he had satisfied his conscience by confessing his incapacity. In his letter of acceptance he rather ominously expresses a hope that he and the duke of Parma will agree well together. The King replied (11th March) very graciously, encouraging the Duke to exert himself to make the expedition a success for the cause of God. He points out to him the great example set by his (the Duke's) ancestors, refers to his "great qualities and zealous past services," and regrets that he himself is prevented by his duties at home from accompanying the Armada. The King adds in his own hand the following words: "I am quite confident that, thanks to your great "zeal and care, you will succeed very well. It cannot be otherwise "in a case so entirely devoted to God as this is. On this account, "and in view of what is contained in the letter, there is no reason "for you to trouble about anything but the preparation of the ex- "pedition, and I am quite sure you will be diligent in this respect."

18 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1448. **220.** The KING to BENARDINO DE MENDOZA.

[EXTRACT.]

With regard to the return of the reiters to France, you will do all in your power to prevent it, as it would be very injurious to the Catholic cause, and objectionable in many respects. You will set afloat, and also carefully suggest to the new confidant, the idea that the return of the reiters would be against the welfare of France, and that it would be unadvisable to impoverish England by her finding the money, as she must pay for such a levy. You will manage this in the way you see most convenient, letting me know the result.*

I am awaiting with interest to know whether you have penetrated the meaning and result of the interviews between the Christian King and the English ambassador for the purpose of rendering closer the alliance between the two countries. If the business seemed serious enough you will doubtless have advised me and the duke of Parma with your usual care.

It was very desirable to impede Don Antonio's departure from England, and your answer to the man who asked you the question was excellent. Continue in the same way, and if Friar Diego Carlos goes to France try, through Sampson and others, to frighten him with ideas of the risk Don Antonio will run in France, reminding him of what happened in Brittany, and alarming him generally.

You might even, in a roundabout way, through Julio, signify to the English ambassador, that, as the French were so anxious to bring Don Antonio to France, it would be to his mistress' interests not to let him go. You will choose the best means and arguments to attain this end, and get Julio to make use of them, since he seems to keep friendly with you. This is well; and you will do all in your power to keep him very well disposed, as you have hitherto done.

* This is in reply to the suggestion of Sir Edward Stafford to Mendoza, mentioned in a former letter, 30th January 1588, that if Philip wishes he will prevent the queen of England from subsidising a new levy of German reiters for the Huguenots.

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You acted wisely in welcoming the earl of Morton. As he is so good a Catholic he will, doubtless, be willing to aid personally in the object aimed at. You will encourage him in his good resolutions, and will follow the duke of Parma's instructions as to the reply to be given to him. Report to me what is done, and also as to the contents of the letters sent to you by the duke of Parma from Lord Claude Hamilton and George Earl of Huntly. Let me know also the verbal message brought by the bearer of the letters, if he has arrived after his illness.—Madrid, 18th February 1588.

18 Feb. **221.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Letters of 30th ultimo and 1st instant duly received, with enclosures. Thanks for care in sending advices from all parts, as is needful in such times as there be.*

I note the forces which are collected in England, and the intention they have of attacking us on the coast of Spain. If their force is no stronger than your reports from so trustworthy a source affirm, it would not be altogether a bad thing for us to divide them. For this very reason it may be inferred that they will not do as they say, but in any case they will find us quite ready to receive them if they come But it is of the utmost importance that we should know what decision they adopt. Pray use every effort to discover this and write with all speed.—Madrid, 18th February 1588.

18 Feb. **222.** ROBERT BRUCE to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1567. French.

I wrote to you in October by Captain Thomas (Forster) on behalf of the Catholic lords, and subsequently, at the end of November, I again repeated the information, with additions, and sent the letter by the Biscayner, Francis Garie. Since then I have received your favour written in September, which arrived at the beginning of December, and yours of 18th November which came to hand at the end of January. We await with great devotion the replies to the above-mentioned letters, but no other matter has occurred since which made it necessary to write, nor has any opportunity presented itself of sending a letter. I have shown your letters to Lord Claude, and to the earl of Huntly, who thank you for them. They and their adherents persist in their original resolution, and will submit to the will of his Catholic Majesty; as the English and Scottish heretics, seeing the power that threatens them, are now trying to destroy all the Catholics in the island, and especially in Scotland, in order that the forces of his Catholic Majesty may be deprived of assistance when they arrive here. If, therefore, the support agreed upon does not arrive quickly, the Catholic lords will be obliged to defend themselves prematurely, under overwhelming difficulties, and to the great risk of the cause, as their enemies are in a strong position, being armed with the authority of the King, the ministers, and the queen of England, who has provided them with gold, and has a force ready to launch upon the Catholics in union with them. If the

* The construction of the sentence is, as will be seen, somewhat clumsy, and the King has underlined the last word, writing against it in the margin :—"I do not understand this word here." This is mentioned as an instance of the great care with which Philip read every word of the despatches and drafts of replies.

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principal body cannot be sent soon, pray send such men and money as may be ready, or at least the latter, to enable your Catholic friends to hold out. The bearer is in haste, and I cannot therefore write to you more at length, but you will learn from him, through the archbishop of Glasgow, many particulars touching the state of the Catholics and the proceedings of the bishop of Dunblane with the King, of whom there is now little hope if he be not withdrawn from the hands of the heretics. This will be attempted, in order to facilitate matters pending the arrival of letters from you. The heretics, to render themselves stronger, have united the Church and State.* The Catholics are doing their best to hold out, but unless your support arrives very soon they will be done for, in consequence of the powers against them. They therefore supplicate you to reply effectively to their letters, and to do all that time will permit for the cause of religion, and the service of his Catholic Majesty.—St. John's (Perth), 18th February 1588.

22 Feb. Estado, 594.

223. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

The preparations here are now completed, and I am anxiously awaiting the arrival of the marquis of Santa Cruz with your Majesty's armada. The munitions are on board, the transport boats are collected at Dunkirk and the Sluys, and the men are concentrated near the ports ready for embarkation. The English preparations have been carried on apace, and in face of their strength I am, of course, powerless without the Armada to protect the passage across. My troops have dwindled sorely, and do not now exceed 18,000 men; and, owing to exposure and evil lodging, they continue to die in large numbers, but the rest are still in good heart and spirits. It will be necessary for the Armada to come strong enough to assure the victory, and the Marquis must remember that the English and the rebels are now strong and fully prepared with their fleets. I am greatly pressed for money; as without it I cannot even provide the men with the necessary food, for lack of which they must perish.

I am raising 400,000 crowns from the Antwerp merchants, but I have to pay very high interest. Of this sum I shall be obliged to give the duke of Lorraine 60,000 crowns on account of the 150,000 owing to him; and for the extra troops he is raising 80,000 more will be wanted. Our own German levies are in a state of mutiny for their pay, and must be paid at once. I must have, moreover, at least 25,000 crowns for artillery, stores, &c.—Ghent, 22nd February 1588.†

224. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

22 Feb. Estado, 950.

In my last interview with the Pope he spoke to me of the current rumour that your Majesty was making peace with the queen of England, and expressed his displeasure thereat, especially on account of your Majesty's prestige, which he thought would not be maintained even though Holland and Zeeland were restored to you. I thanked

* The appropriation by the Scottish crown of the Church revenues.

† A letter from the Duke to Idiaquez accompanied the above, saying that he was ready and anxious to set out on the expedition, but complaining that he was ill of worry.

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his Holiness warmly for the interest he took in your Majesty's prestige, and said I was quite sure your Majesty yourself would not lose sight of it. I had, however, no word from your Majesty on the subject which hinted at peace, or anything in the slightest degree contrary to the messages I had given him from your Majesty. I said that negotiations for peace were as frequently carried on with the intention of making war as otherwise. I did not know what else to say to him. He always ends his conversation on the subject by expressing his hope of success if we have to fight.

The new bishop of Cassano* has communicated to me the letters sent to him by the bishop of Ross, which letters had passed between the latter Bishop and the king of Scotland respecting the King's conversion, and a letter written by the bishop of Ross to the Pope. Copies of all of them are enclosed. The bishop of Cassano told me that Cardinal Mondovi and he had agreed that nothing else should be given to the Pope without my concurrence. As I saw the letter did not contain anything of importance, I told them to give it to his Holiness, so that they shall not be able to say that I wished to conceal it from him, or that I have any objection to the conversion of the King.

As the Pope is of opinion that this Bishop (*i.e.*, Cassano) may be useful in the English business, he has prevented him from going to reside in his diocese, as I had informed the Bishop from your Majesty that he was to do. As I judged that your Majesty's intention in giving him the bishopric was rather to get rid of him (since I see nothing in his services to your Majesty which has deserved it), I told the Pope that I had orders from your Majesty to send the Bishop to his diocese, that having been the intention with which you had appointed him. The Pope thereupon promised to send him thither. Allen says the Bishop causes him no end of trouble, because, although he is a man of good life, his ambition and want of tact are terrible.

Allen has sent me word that Englefield had communicated to him three points upon which he had been instructed by your Majesty to ask Allen's opinion; the Cardinal being desirous that I should know everything that passed has informed me thereof. The first point is how the enterprise should be effected, which question the Cardinal knows is a mere compliment; the second is about the succession (*i.e.*, to the Crown of England), to which he replies that he submits the point entirely to your Majesty, and that after the first appointment is made by your Majesty the Infanta and Parliament can make what future arrangements may be necessary; the third question is, what persons of rank and position should be promoted to higher titles, and receive grants of the confiscated estates of the heretics. Allen has considered this point with me, and is of opinion that it can only be settled after the event, as otherwise we should banish hope from those who are anxious for conversion, whilst those who

* The bishop of Cassano was Dr. Owen Lewis, a Welshman. He was a strong opponent of Allen and the Jesuits, and had been raised to one of Philip's Sicilian bishoprics on the King's nomination, with the object, apparently, of removing to a remote diocese an influential advocate of the Scottish party at the Vatican, who were desirous of forcing catholicism upon James and securing to him the inheritance of Great Britain and Ireland.

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have hitherto appeared worthy, may, in the interim, fall away, and others, at present unknown, may prove deserving. The Cardinal, however, is of opinion that, as soon as the conquest is successfully effected, a beginning should be made by conferring some titles and rewards, and that the bishoprics should be granted to worthy and independent men, so that a parliament might be summoned as early as possible to settle what may be necessary.

He (Allen) has frequently spoken to me on this point of filling the principal offices, but I have deferred writing to your Majesty about it until the time for action was near. I thought also that your Majesty with your great memory would certainly have kept it in view, although it is so long since you were there (*i.e.*, in England). Nevertheless, I send the statement to your Majesty with my remarks thereon. Cardinal Allen also tells me that Englefield persuades him that on his way to England it would be better for him to pass through Spain and salute your Majesty. Allen himself (unless your Majesty wishes otherwise) is more inclined to go direct from here, seeing that his speedy arrival there will be advantageous, always supposing that your Majesty should not intend him to accompany the Infanta In any case I return to the need for providing him with money for the journey, for the Pope will not do so, and he himself has nothing. Even the abbacy, which your Majesty granted him, he says, is insufficient to pay the pension and charges upon it. He has given me a long account of it, and has asked me to write about a supplement. Before doing so, however, I have submitted the figures to count de Miranda, who gave me the information about the value of the abbacy which I wrote to your Majesty.—Rome, 22nd February 1588.

25 Feb. **225.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

As I wrote to your Majesty, it was necessary for me to have an interview with the new confidant to open up the communication. This has been done, and he is now assured, whilst I am enlightened without any suspicion being possible. I have given him the 2,000 ducats as ordered by your Majesty, and from what I can see the money will be well spent.

Julio writes me by letters of 7th instant from England,* that the Treasurer told him that Drake had not left, and that for his part he would do his best to prevent him from going, as his voyages were only profitable to himself and his companions, but an injury to the Queen, as they only irritated foreign Princes. He said the English ambassador in France was of the same opinion. They had written to the ambassador asking him to try and discover when the Spanish Armada would be ready, and let them know. He said that although they had brought Scotch affairs into a quiet condition, they were afraid the King might be carrying on some secret negotiations with Spain, and they instruct the ambassador to discover if this be so.

The Commissioners were leaving for Flanders to treat of peace, but at the instance of the Treasurer and Walsingham the verbal

* This suggestion that Julio was in England is evidently only a mystification, in case the letter should be waylaid. Julio was, of course, Sir Edward Stafford himself.

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mission which he knew had been entrusted to Amias Paulet for the duke of Parma had been revoked, as it was considered that the time had now passed for such child's play, and it would be better to proceed straightforwardly if your Majesty did so. If peace was made, France might do as she liked, but until he (the ambassador) received news that terms (with Spain) had been settled, he was to continue the efforts he (the English ambassador) was making to bring about a good understanding between the King (of France) and his mistress. With this object he (the ambassador) was to endeavour to learn how the question of peace was regarded in Spain, and how the duke of Parma would proceed. The new confidant informs me that in the audience the English ambassador had with the King, whilst speaking on the subject of piracy, the King repeated that he hoped the Queen would use her good offices to prevail upon Bearn to agree to the edict, and his (the King's) wishes; as in this way he could bring about peace in this country, and he would then be free to help her in compliance with the alliance between them. The ambassador replied that he had already written to this effect, and would do so again. He then took the opportunity of making the representation which I conveyed to your Majesty in mine of 30th as having been sent to me by Julio. The substance of it was the suspicion inspired in him by your Majesty's armaments, because even if you did not employ your forces in aiding the League in France, but directed them against England, it would always be prejudicial to France. The King replied that he would discuss the matter with his mother, and send him a reply later.

The Nuncio tells me that he hears the English ambassador here has made great offers to the King to bring about a closer union with his mistress against your Majesty, but that the King would not listen to it. But this is only false coin they foist upon the Nuncio, as my advices prove; for the King himself it is who is seeking a closer alliance, under cover of an attempt to reconcile Bearn, as he doubtless thinks it will be imprudent to disclose himself entirely, for fear the Queen might make use of his approaches to better her position in the peace negotiations. As soon as I hear from the confidant what the King replies, I will communicate it to your Majesty. I am writing also to count de Olivares in case the Nuncio should send this intelligence of his to the Pope.—Paris, 25th February 1588.

25 Feb. **226.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have advices from England of 4th and 7th instant (N.S.) saying that the Admiral had returned from Greenwich, where the Court was, to Queenborough, where the fleet of 52 sail was assembled. The total number of soldiers and sailors on board does not exceed 4,000 men; and as the ships are old, the great weight of the artillery and stores they carry had told upon them, so that it would be dangerous for them to attempt any great voyage. It was believed that the Admiral would not again leave Queenborough until he had news that the duke of Parma's fleet was ready. In the meanwhile he would receive a regular supply of victuals from shore, so as not to consume what was on board the ships. This was the

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course I reported before would be adopted. The Admiral assures the Queen that if peace is not made by the Commissioners, he will burn the ships that the duke of Parma had in the Sluys, Dunkirk, and other ports; and, although this is not very feasible, I have warned the duke of Parma of it some days ago, and also of the capture at Dover of an Englishman named Shean, who had been sent to England by Colonel Stanley. They took him to the Tower of London, where he had been examined by Wotton, but his confession is kept very secret. The three Queen's ships which Drake was to command had dropped down the Channel towards Plymouth to join the rest, but my advices say that the forces they were to carry had not yet gone on board; this being confirmed by my new confidant. He also tells me that Drake had not departed, and that things were not in condition to enable the people of the West Country to sail soon. The maintenance of the soldiers, now that there was no commerce or navigation, was being felt severely, and the common talk was that, until the Spaniards came to rule the island, there would be no quietude or business. He (the new confidant) adds that the English are much given to superstitious prophecy, and are saying that the old prophecy about the soldiers who are to dominate England, coming with snow on the crests of their helmets, is now to be fulfilled, as the end of February or March is usually the time when it snows most in England.

The Queen had again offered the king of Scots the title of duke of Lancaster, with 20,000 crowns pension a year; and that Parliament should restore him to the same position as that he occupied before his mother's execution, which had incapacitated him from succeeding to the English Crown. In order to satisfy his honour in this, and other respects, the Queen would write him a letter in her own hand setting it forth, and would send it by an ambassador. She would also send another letter to the Christian King to a similar effect. The king of Scots answered that, considering the death of his mother, he could only be restored to his honour by the Queen and Parliament acknowledging him as heir to the Crown; to which the English replied that this was rather a point of profit than of honour, and he had no right to raise it in a discussion as to his rehabilitation.

Lord Hunsdon, who was on the Scottish border, was discussing with the earl of Arran,* formerly Chancellor, and a great enemy of the present Chancellor, an arrangement by which, if he sides with the Queen, she will oppose the Chancellor and promote Arran's return to Court and to his office.

The English ambassador here had audience of the King on the 15th, Villeroy and Gondi alone being present. Villeroy after a short time sent for the Queen-Mother, and the King presently followed him, attended only by a captain of his guard, whom I met in the Queen-Mother's courtyard after the audience with her. As it is very unusual for the King to visit her at such hours, it is probable that they have some important matter in hand with the English. I will try to discover what it is.—Paris, 25th February, 1588.

* James Stewart, who at this time was trying to overthrow Sir John Maitland.

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25 Feb. **227.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1568.

In accordance with your Majesty's instructions with regard to the queen of Scotland's servants, I caused Miss Curle to write to her companion Kennedy, asking how she had been received in Scotland, and saying that for her own part she (Curle) is very comfortable in France, and hopes that it will be profitable to her (Kennedy) to have been recommended by their late mistress to she knows whom. This will have the effect of discovering whether Kennedy intends to return hither or not, and I will duly advise your Majesty.

Secretary Curle and his sister have concluded their business here, and for this reason, and because I thought it advisable to ensure him, I told him of the allowance of 40 crowns a month your Majesty had granted him. I thought also it would be well to oblige his sister, as they are the two persons who can depose most positively as to the intentions of the Queen, and I therefore told Miss Curle that your Majesty had granted her 300 crowns a year, or 25 crowns a month. This was in accordance with what I wrote to your Majesty on the 22nd December, in reply to your Majesty's despatch of 27th November, to the effect that we could not give less than this to any of the ladies-in-waiting; and as Plato says that "distributive justice must be in harmonious proportion," and if the apothecary Gorion had been granted 40 crowns a month, the ladies-in-waiting ought to have had much more. This made me fix Gorion's allowance at 20 crowns, with which he is perfectly satisfied, as are also Secretary Curle and his sister. I told all three of them that the grant was to be payable as from the first day of this year, which gives them only a month in advance. They are very pleased at this, however, as they look upon it as a windfall, whilst this 85 crowns saves your Majesty from having to make them any advance or recompense for the time they have waited. They asked me where they were to be paid, and I told them that I had your Majesty's orders to pay the pensions and would do my best to do so with all punctuality, which doubled their joy. I will attend to it, as I think it will be beneficial to your Majesty's interests to keep them in good humour. If I have erred in curtailing with the mean fist of Don Bernardino de Mendoza the bounteous liberality of your Majesty's royal hand, I humbly crave pardon, as I have acted for the best, and if your Majesty wishes Miss Curle and Gorion to enjoy further benefits from your magnanimity the door still remains open.

Curle and his sister intimate that they will be very glad to leave France if your Majesty will permit them, and I believe Gorion would also be glad to go. I am afraid if he stays here long his friends will force him to marry, as he is a young man, and he could not then live out of France, his native place. If your Majesty only wishes to make use of him to depose to what he knows, there would be no objection to this, and after he had made his deposition he could enjoy his pension for the rest of his life where he pleased.

I had already advanced very far in my efforts to obtain a copy of the queen of Scotland's letter to his Holiness, when I received your Majesty's despatch—Gorion had aided me very much in this, and I am now able to enclose a copy of the said letter. I can assure your Majesty that its retention by the archbishop of Glasgow has not

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been for any cunning object (as he is very straightforward and honest with me, so far as I can judge), but only to see whether there would be any funds left on the balancing of the accounts of the Queen's dowry here, that he might send the money by the person she indicated for the punctual fulfilment of her instructions. I have agreed with the archbishop of Glasgow and an intimate friend of his, a Scots Jesuit father named Tirius (Tyrie), in all that has been done in the matter; and in the renunciation of the Queen in favour of your Majesty. I have never lost sight, however, that he is a Scotsman, and that in all negotiations the aim should be to make the other party think that what you desire will suit *him* best. I have therefore continued to point out the queen of Scotland's fervent zeal for the promotion of the Catholic faith, and her firmness to that end; inasmuch as the possession of an only son to hand down her royal succession to posterity had not prevented her from the heroic operation in order to convert the island. This was, I said, a trial almost incredible for a mother, and even for many men, and it was their duty to publish it far and wide as a testimony to her zeal and a proof of her martyrdom. They received these arguments very favourably, and really what I say is fully borne out by the Queen's own confession, which would soften a heart of marble. My efforts in this direction caused, as soon as they found there was no money to defray the doctor's journey to Rome with the letter, the ambassador to come to me and say that it would be better to hand it to the Nuncio sealed, accompanied by another letter from him (*i.e.*, the archbishop of Glasgow) to the Pope, simply saying that the letter in question was from his mistress, which he had to forward to the Pope; and he proposed to send another copy to Cardinal Mondovi, as protector of the Scottish nation in Rome, asking him to pray the Pope not to make known the channel through which the letter had reached him, in order to avoid injuring the queen of Scotland's servants.

As I already had a copy of the letter and the Nuncio is a Venetian attached to this King (*i.e.* of France), and Cardinal Mondovi is a confidant of count de Olivares, I told the Archbishop (of Glasgow) that it would be better for the letter not to pass through many hands, and that it would be preferable to send the original direct to Cardinal Mondovi, sealed, with the letter he (the Archbishop) would write to his Holiness; and the Cardinal would hand them to the Pope, and take such action with regard to them as he (the Archbishop) desired, when he gave his Holiness the translation of them, as they were written in French. I also said that if he liked I would ask the count de Olivares to take such steps in the matter as he (the Archbishop) considered desirable.

He accepted my suggestion, and begged me advise count de Olivares of the going of the letter, so that he might co-operate with Cardinal Mondovi to prevent the matter from being made public. I said I would do so, and asked him to inform me the day the letter was despatched, so that my advices might arrive in due time. He has done so, and I have managed to delay the letter until it could go by a trustworthy person, who takes it with all speed to Rome, so as to avoid the risk of ordinary posts, whose packets are sometimes lost

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between here and Lyons. It leaves here on the 28th. I have managed all this, and have obtained the copy of the letter with the utmost artifice, so as to make the (Scots) ambassador think that I am interested in the safe arrival of the letter in the hands of his Holiness, not on account of your Majesty's interest, but out of the affection I bore to his mistress. I have been most careful not to arouse suspicion, so that my anxiety for the going of the letter should not lead him to discuss the matter with anyone who might have recommended him to retain the letter. Although I did not breathe a word to a soul, I must confess that I feared, in my own mind, that he would do so. If I had conveyed my ideas to your Majesty before I had succeeded in my objects I should simply have been recounting dreams. I have written to count de Olivares, in the terms your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy;* so that when he speaks to Mondovi about the letter the Cardinal may not suspect that the Archbishop (of Glasgow) told me he was sending it, and to prevent Mondovi from cogging the dice.

Charles Arundell left no sons; he was not married. The money he lent to the queen of Scotland, as I wrote on the 9th ultimo, had been taken by him from the queen of England's funds, he having been treasurer of a province. Since he left England the Treasurer claimed the money from his sureties. There were 15 sureties—amongst others, Arundell's elder brother, and other relatives. They had to pay 50*l.* each. Charles Arundell often told me he wished very much the Queen (of Scots) would pay him, that he might settle with the sureties, as he said he had left no other debt behind him in England; as he also assured his confessor. I went to see him in his illness, and to tell him that your Majesty had ordered the 2,000 crowns to be paid to him, but he was then unconscious. If your Majesty orders the 2,000 crowns to be paid, *pro rata*, to the sureties, the queen of Scotland's debt will really be extinguished, and both her soul and that of Charles Arundell disburdened. In order that this may be carried out punctually I have written to Arundel's elder brother in England, asking who are the sureties.

Please instruct me as to the 3 months and 25 days' pension owing to Arundel when he died. He left a few trifling debts here, and servants whose wages are owing.

This King gave up his right of "*aubaine*" in favour of the discharge of Arundell's conscience, at the request of the English ambassador, who, they tell me, is obliged to me, as he was a relative of his wife, for not having abandoned Arundel on his death-bed, and for having provided money from the allowance owing to him for his care and maintenance during his illness.

The last Pope gave 900 crowns a year to the Scottish college of Pont Monçon, and this is continued by the present Pope. The queen of Scotland used to pay them 400 (crowns?) a year, and 300 for Scottish students at this university (of Paris). There are at Pont Monçon 23 or 24 Scottish students, as no more can be kept with the 900 crowns, which is all they have now. Any alms your Majesty may deign to give to increase the number would be very

* *See* following letter.

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gratefully received. It is important for the conversion of Scotland to bind them to your Majesty.—Paris, 28th February 1588.

S.D. **228.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to COUNT DE OLIVARES.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

This letter will be conveyed to you by the means through which you received my other most important letters. Under cover for Cardinal Mondovi there is being sent a letter written by the queen of Scotland to his Holiness in her own hand before her death. It is of the highest importance to his Majesty's service that your lordship should take extreme care that this letter shall reach the hands of his Holiness, and that on no pretext whatever, of translating it or otherwise, should the original be lost sight of. As this is of the most vital importance I am sure that you will manage it with the prudence and dexterity that the service demands, and will not divulge the details of the letter, when you learn them, to a greater extent than you will see is convenient, having regard to the attitude of the Pope in the matter and to the feeling at the time in the Papal Court. If you are not as yet so fully informed on the subject as I am, I doubt not that his Majesty will shortly send you the necessary information.

In order that Cardinal Mondovi may not imagine when he receives the despatch who gave the information about it, do not in conversation with him open out any further than by saying that I had lately written that advices had been received from England that certain letters left by the queen of Scots had been forwarded to France, amongst which was one for his Holiness; and you expect that if this letter has not already arrived in Rome by a recent ordinary post, it will probably arrive by the next. As Cardinal Mondovi is the protector of the Spanish* nation, and the affair will doubtless pass through his hands, you may thus through him keep in touch with it and so proceed as seems most fitting.

Pray pardon me for writing in this way to you, who are capable of instructing others, but the service of his Majesty and the importance of the subject must be my excuse.—Paris, S.D.

27 Feb. **229.** LETTER written by FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE† and PEDRO DE SANTA CRUZ, Prisoners of War in England, to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA (?).

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

(After statements as to their parentage and other preliminary matter the letter continues thus—) Santa Cruz was captured in April of last year, 1587, as he was on his voyage from the Canaries to Lisbon as commissary of one of the two ships loaded with wine and vinegar, which cargo he had bought on his Majesty's account. Four English pirates appeared and captured us, so we declared that the cargo belonged to merchants; the English were going to put us ashore in Spain, but a traitorous Italian Franciscan friar who was with us, and has now turned heretic, said that the merchandise was the property of the King, and they therefore

* Philip II. has underlined this word and written Scottish in the margin. Certainly Scottish is meant.

† See this man's report of what he observed in England, under date of 12th April 1588.

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brought us to this country in the belief that we were persons of rank, as we were in the royal service.

Valverde was taken in 1586 in a ship of his own, which he was bringing from the Indies. The ship got separated from the flotilla in a storm and he (Valverde) was also brought to this city of London. Valverde was given into the keeping of Simon Borman, and Santa Cruz to that of John Naunton, merchants, who told us that unless certain Englishmen in Seville were released we should not be set at liberty. In effect two men for whom Valverde was held have been set free, and are now in England; and Valverde in consequence is now being sent away from England. Of five men for whom Santa Cruz was held four have returned, the fifth man being at liberty, but as he is ill of malignant fever he is unable to make the voyage hither. His name is James Lomas and he is still at Seville, and lodges in the house of the Archbishop's cook; John Naunton asserts that he (Lomas) is not allowed to leave Seville. Lomas is a partner of Naunton and of John Bort, who have continually taken out two ships to pillage at sea, and have done at least 100,000 ducats' worth of damage on the Spanish coast. We know them to have captured our two wine and vinegar ships, and a large vessel from Brazil loaded with sugar, and another from Santo Domingo with sugar, hides, and ginger, which was driven into the Channel and was carried by the captors to Algiers for sale. Although they assert that they landed the crews, etc., in Spain, they really sold them all with the ship. They have also captured a ship loaded with Malaga raisins, and another with oil and wine. I (*i.e.*, Santa Cruz) beg your lordship, in case James Lomas be still in Seville, that he may be arrested and kept fast until I obtain my liberty.* Even if he comes to England there is a sailor's wife waiting for me whose husband is in the galleys, and who wants me kept till he be set free. When she asks for me Naunton will be just as anxious to give me up to her as she to get me, for there is no justice in this country. James Lomas might be treated in the same way, and be held for the liberty of the poor pilots who were captured by Richard Grenville of Cornwall, and are now held prisoners by him. He is a pirate; and brought to England 22 Spaniards whom he treated as slaves, making them carry stones on their backs all day for some building operations of his, and chaining them up all night. Twenty of them have died or escaped, but he still keeps the two pilots. If James Lomas be kept fast we shall be released, but not otherwise. An Englishman named Robert Bort also should be seized. He is married and lives at Ayamonte, and has had in his possession a large sum of money belonging to John Naunton and John Bort, concealed since the general embargo; which money he has sent to them during the last month in specie and wine by a Flemish hulk. With her came three other ships from San Lucar loaded with oil and wine, bringing with them all the Englishmen who were arrested in Seville at the time of the embargo. It will be easy to discover who loaded these ships. There was a Flemish flyboat burnt by Drake in Cadiz, which was

* A marginal note in the King's hand orders this to be done.

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loaded with merchandise and had been embargoed for the King's service. Your lordship must know that both the flyboat and the cargo belonged to Naunton and Bort; and Drake has paid them for the loss out of the ship from the Portuguese Indies. I understand now that powers of attorney have been made out for a claim against the King on account of this flyboat.

We understand that your lordship has friends in the city from whom your lordship can learn more about the forces and armaments here than we can tell you. All we can say is, that they are simply a mob of riffraff, with but few leaders, and they are more cunning at banquets than at war. *However careful your friends here may be to supply information, we are sure they are not more diligent than the Portuguese Geronimo Pardo, in Lisbon, and Bernaldo Luis, in Madrid,** who are relatives of Dr. Nuñez who lives here. They carefully report hither everything that passes at Madrid and Lisbon, and transmit their news by ships which they send from Spain in the following way. Last year Bernaldo Luis took a ship from here loaded with cloth worth 70,000 ducats. When the ship arrived in Lisbon it was embargoed, on suspicion that the cargo belonged to Englishmen, as in fact it did. But they arrranged so cleverly as to get permission to deal with the merchandise, on condition that neither it nor they were to return to England. They have fulfilled these conditions in the following manner. Geronimo Pardo arrived in London in June last in a ship with a little salt as an excuse, but the rest of the cargo consisted of spices, cochineal, and a large sum of money. He brought on that occasion two packets of letters in cipher, giving a full account of the warlike preparations which were being made in Spain. After translating them, he carried them to Secretary Walsingham, and within two months Pardo was on his way back to Lisbon. Since then he has sent three more ships; the first with raisins and wine, from Ayamonte, the second with wine and cochineal, and the third from Algarves, with wax and figs in barrels, many of the barrels also containing bags of money. By this latter ship full accounts were sent of the ships, men, and stores for the Armada in Lisbon. The despatches were delivered to Dr. Hector Nuñez whilst he was at a dinner to which he had been invited. He rose in great haste, and went direct to Secretary Walsingham's house. On one occasion we asked a certain Francisco de Tapia, who is a servant and relative of Nuñez, whether there were any letters from Spain from Geronimo Pardo; and he replied in the following words: "Gentlemen! Geronimo Pardo dares not write anything, " little or big, for they have had him straitly shut up in Lisbon on " suspicion of being a spy in the service of England; and the master " of a German ship who knew Pardo here, tells us that when he " was in Lisbon, Pardo said to him, 'Brother, since you are going " 'to England, it is a matter of life or death to me that you should " 'carry this letter to Dr. Hector Nuñez.' The shipmaster consented, " and Pardo then gave him a packet of letters, again repeating that " the lives of both depended upon their safe delivery, and their not " being seen in Spain. The shipmaster hid the packet in a feather

* The King has underlined and called special attention to this passage.

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" bed and on coming up the Channel in a storm he ran ashore, and " lost everything but the lives of his crew. You may see by this " how poor Pardo is to be pitied.' This Tapia may be captured in Lisbon as he is going thither in a ship bound for Brazil. She is one of those that went last year with the marquis of Santa Cruz to Terceira, and was captured off Cape Spichel (her crew being sick) and brought to England. She must call at Lisbon, and will be taken from there either by Tapia, Pardo, or by one Pero Freire, of Lisbon. She will land also in a port of Galicia or Portugal a man well disguised in the garb of a pilgrim. The ship and cargo are entirely English property, nothing belongs to the Portuguese who ostensibly own her, but to Mr. Cob, Mr. Richard Mayo, his son-in-law, and other Englishmen. Even if the goods belonged to the Portuguese, it would be well to embargo them, for the latter are all heretics, and attend heretic service. When your lordship was here perhaps some of them went to mass for their own ends, but none of them go now.

Another English ship, called the " Black Crow," is also going to Spain, carrying a false deed of sale and transfer in favour of certain Flemings. She is loaded with goods belonging to the same Englishmen, but only the master is English. She is consigned to Geronimo Pardo. We have all the information here set down from good Catholics, and we swear on this cross ✝ that we are writing it in all zeal for the service of God and our King.—London, 27th February 1588.

FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE.
PEDRO DE SANTA CRUZ.

28 Feb. **230.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

As the courier was leaving with my letters of 25th, the new confidant informed me that Secretary Pinart would go that same day to carry the King's reply to the English ambassador; and as neither the news from here nor about English armaments were of great importance, I delayed the courier until I could learn the King's answer. The substance of it is to point out at great length the many attempts that have been made to induce him to take up arms against Elizabeth, not only by neighbouring princes, but also by his own subjects; but he had always turned a deaf ear to such approaches, and opposed them. In return for these good offices the King desired the Queen to persuade the prince of Bearn to submit to him and become a Catholic, in which case the Guises and the League would be deprived of excuse for their action or for continuing the war; whilst he (the King) would be able to help her against your Majesty. This step should be taken by the Queen as if of her own motion, as it was not desirable for the King to request her mediation between him and one of his own subjects. The King requested the ambassador personally to write warmly to his mistress on the matter, although Pinart, as a private friend, admitted that it was a hard thing for the Queen to ask Bearn to become a Catholic, but he (the ambassador) must press it upon her. The ambassador replied that if they were acting straightforwardly his mistress would do the same. He would convey the message to her, but he was sure

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she would not like it. Pinart said that he had heard in Spain that the Queen was in communication with the duke of Parma, and that on this account your Majesty had sent a bastard son of yours to the Netherlands, of whose arrival in Genoa the King had received intelligence. He also heard that the queen of England was determined to make peace with your Majesty, but that they (the French) would make peace first and at her cost, as your Majesty was beseeching them. The ambassador replied that it was hard to believe that the King, who was unable to control his own subjects, should be sought by your Majesty. His mistress, he said, would gladly be at peace with all the world, but if she made terms with Spain she certainly would not run after France. Two ambassadors had gone from Holland, he said, to persuade his mistress not to make peace with your Majesty, and he understood that they had been put up to it from here. This ended the subject, and Pinart complained that the queen of England was aiding another levy of reiters. The ambassador reminded him that he had offered that they (the reiters) should not come to France, but his offer had not been accepted; and he therefore thought that they (the French) would be glad for them to come. Pinart replied in a rage, "The devil take them; why did not they stay in Lorraine, where they could have done what was required?" It is evident, from this reply of Pinart's, that what I wrote to your Majesty before was true, namely, that this King was glad for a German heretic army to have come. The new confidant heard all this from both of them, and he assured me that this King has written to his ambassador in England to prevent the Queen from making peace with your Majesty. I have written to Julio in answer to his question as to how he should act in these matters, and what course he should lead them into. I point out to him how little the Queen can trust the French; in order to prevent any agreement to disturb your Majesty, or for this King to help the Queen.—Paris, 28th February 1588.

28 Feb. **231.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Since writing about England on the 25th, I have advices from a person who left London on the 14th, and was on board the fleet that the Admiral has at Queenborough. He confirms from his own observation that the Queen's ships were so ruinous that they had not dared to tell her their condition, and that over a thousand of the men who were to go with the Admiral are still on shore. He had ready 15 Queen's ships, 19 merchantmen, and some pinnaces. In order to arm the Queen's ships they had taken every gun out of the Tower of London, and they even brought down the pieces which were mounted on the White Tower, as they call it. The Queen's arsenals and all the country were very short of powder. It was not known in London on the 14th whether Drake had sailed. He had orders to do so, but it was said he could not put to sea till the end of February.

The Queen had ordered Grenville (an Englishman, who, as I have informed your Majesty, has several times gone on plundering voyages, and was lately on the coast of Spain) to remain with

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20 merchantmen and pirate ships on the English coast opposite Ireland.

The intelligence I have obtained from the man verbally is confirmed by letters I have received, and also that it was being said that if the Queen had to continue to maintain her two fleets, she would be obliged to levy fresh taxes on the merchants to pay for them.

The new confidant assures me that Drake has not left.

In case an enemy should succeed in landing, the Queen had arranged that Lord Grey should raise 30,000 men in Sussex, and a similar number should be collected by Colonel Norris in the midlands; whilst Lord Hunsdon is to gather men on the Scottish border. The only step they have taken yet towards forming these three armies is to warn their militia for service, the men remaining in their homes in the meanwhile. They think that before any enemy could land they would have time to muster their forces.

Two commissioners from the rebel States had arrived from Zeeland to tell the Queen that they did not wish her to treat with your Majesty in their name, and to request her to give up to them the fortresses they had handed over to her, *to make peace,** and they would defend them.

The Commissioners from the Queen to the duke of Parma had already been despatched, and were to meet at Dover on the 16th to embark.—Paris, 28th February 1588.

28 Feb. Estado, 594.

232. DUKE OF PARMA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I am anxiously awaiting letters from the King and your Lordship to learn what is to be done in his Majesty's service, as the time is getting on so rapidly. I will only now remind you of the importance of the question of money, and of its timely supply, both for the purpose of fulfilling the engagements entered into with merchants, and for the maintenance of the preparations already made, if we are to avoid the trouble and inconvenience which otherwise will, as usual, be caused.† I have set forth all this fully in my other despatches, to which I refer you.

28 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1567. French.

233. ROBERT BRUCE to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The heretics of the English faction omit no ruse that the devil himself could design to destroy the Catholics, from the smallest to the greatest. The Catholic lords, the better to defend themselves and divert suspicion, have formed a league with divers earls and barons, who, although heretics, are discontented with the present management of affairs. Reform in the administration is now the professed aim of all our enterprise, until the arrival of your support enables us to promote openly the Catholic religion. The elder Lord

* In the King's hand:—"This does not fit in here." The position of the words is evidently wrong, doubtless by a mistake of the decipherer. They should follow the word "*name.*"

† In the King's hand:—"This is the matter which gives me the keenest anxiety. "But in this and in all things, unless the weather frustrates us, I have firm hope in "God."

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Hamilton* especially displays great fervency in the defence of the earl of Huntly, his nephew, and has brought with him for that purpose a great following of heretics, who will embark with us so far, by God's grace, that they will be unable to turn back when it becomes a question of our holy Catholic religion. We have shown Lord Hamilton that the opponents' design is to dismember his house, in order to ruin it more easily afterwards. First, they began against the earl of Morton, his cousin, and now they are persecuting his nephew (Huntly) and Lord Herries. Several heretic lords have adhered to the earl of Huntly, and have promised to obtain liberty of conscience through him, but Lord Hamilton has bound himself further than this by oath in my presence, promising that if the earl of Huntly can obtain adequate support for the purpose, he and his adherents will join him against England. We therefore only await the promised support to do our duty worthily, and we pray you to hasten its coming. In case it cannot be sent at once, we beg you to send a good sum of money to help us to hold out, which money shall only be employed in raising soldiers. Perhaps also you would send what Bailly and I had in Paris; it would help to a certain extent.†

Some harquebusses and morrions also are wanted.

POSTCRIPT, 6th March.—I am going to the Court to-morrow, and will there use my best efforts with God's grace to forward the Catholic faith and the interests of his Catholic Majesty.

2 March. Estado, 950.

234. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

I explained to his Holiness the reasons for the delay in the sailing of the Armada, the difficulties in getting so large a fleet together, etc., and assured him that your Majesty was in hope that it would now shortly be at sea with good expectations of success, having regard to the means that had been adopted. But I said the greatness of the necessary preparations had involved very vast expenditure, and the future charge thereupon would be correspondingly heavy. This was said in terms conformable to your Majesty's letter to me. In the best terms that I could devise, so as not to run counter to his humour, and provoke a flat refusal, I dwelt upon this point of the loan of the second million. He replied in general terms, pointing out how extraordinary and unprecedented had been the aid he had already extended to the expedition, but holding me in some hope that he would accede to our request, but without pledging himself in any way, although I tried every possible artifice to induce him to do so. Seeing that I could do no more I . . . . . ‡ turned his words to the best advantage . . . . . , appearing to be quite satisfied with them, taking care to give him no opportunity to abate the hopes . . . . . I cast myself at his feet, and said I would write to your Majesty to send the bond (for the loan) hither. But . . . . . still

* Lord John Hamilton, Lord Arbroath.

† Apparently some funds, perhaps for travelling or other expenses, at the disposal of Charles Bailly and Bruce.

‡ The document is much mutilated at the edges.

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he showed me the customary favour of embracing me. I can assure your Majesty that this was the only course to pursue with him, such is his temper. If I had pressed him further on the matter at that time I should have got but a flat refusal. Although I have brought him so far, I beseech your Majesty not to depend upon anything being obtained from him. I think it will be advisable for your Majesty, however, to send the bond, as I shall continue to work upon the foundation I have laid, and shall do my best to induce him to lend the money, or at least some portion of it. The coming of the bond for the whole sum will strengthen my hands. With regard to the details of the arrangement, I am satisfied that the Pope will expect good security, and I accordingly conferred with John Agustin (Pinelli), and asked him what guarantees he thought would be required. He said he thought the security of the barons or bankers in Naples would be demanded. I hardly know what to think of this. The barons might, perhaps, be settled with in accordance with memorandum enclosed herewith. Juan Agustin thinks that the Pope would not accept the security of the Genoese merchants, however high their credit might be. He (*i.e.*, Pinelli) thinks the Pope would ask for security for a sum somewhat exceeding the amount of the loan, but it is impossible to lay down precise rules for that at present, and the point cannot be submitted to his Holiness at this juncture for fear of frustrating the whole business. It will be necessary for your Majesty to have full instructions sent to me for every eventuality, and I will follow them implicitly. I have thought of the plan of offering the barons a counter indemnity to secure them against loss, without which I fear it will not be easy to obtain so large a sum as this. As soon as certain intelligence comes of the landing of the force from the Armada, every possible diligence shall be exercised in arranging for the duke of Parma to have prompt command of the million subsidy, and John Agustin will certainly do his best in this according to his promise. He, however, is careful to avoid promising anything on the Pope's behalf, as he is of opinion that no money will be obtained from his Holiness until intelligence is received of the landing of the force. As they have learnt that the duke of Parma is engaged in the negotiations mentioned in your Majesty's letter, and that the whole of the nobility of Spain is flocking to the Armada, they are of opinion that the real object of your Majesty is to make peace; and nothing I can say will induce the Pope to think otherwise. The small amount of credit they give to us is the measure that we should mete out to them.

It will be necessary for your Majesty also to send directions as to the duration of the loan, which cannot be very short, but should be made as short as possible. His Holiness will, I am afraid, not be very free-handed either on this point; although he has the money, and will only want it to return to the Castle.* As I wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez, he is so fond of money that he would rather lose the interest than let it go out of the Castle.

* The castle of Sant'Angelo, where the Papal treasury was kept.

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I can assure your Majesty that there are very few people in Rome who believe that anything will be got from him towards the enterprise, and when it is made public that he is to give a subsidy of a million they will look upon it as something phenomenal, great as are the reasons for his giving it. It would be well for your Majesty to send me proper authority to receive this million, and give a legal receipt. His Holiness consented to grant the jubilee, and I hope he will execute it at the first consistory, in order that it may be done with greater solemnity, as it will be the beginning of Lent. I had not hitherto mentioned it, as I had no orders to bring it forward until the arrival of intelligence that the enterprise had commenced. It was necessary also for your Majesty to instruct me that no details are to be entered into at the jubilee, because in accordance with clause 3 of your Majesty's letter of 26th August, I caused Allen some time ago to draw up the memorandum with the justifications of the enterprise. This, however, will be useful for the "legate's" bull, if your Majesty has no objection. Not a word shall be said about the succession and investiture until your Majesty orders. From what the people will learn as soon as this is ratified in the consistory, they will understand that it is not your Majesty's intention to keep the Crown of England for yourself, and this will avoid the difficulties which might arise if such an impression gained ground. Perhaps it might be best to defer any other action on this point until your Majesty decides and announces whom the Infanta is to marry.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders, Allen shall be given enough money to take him to Flanders as speedily as possible. If his Holiness can be prevailed upon to defer his appointment as legate until his arrival he will be able to go the more speedily, and the appointment to Canterbury could also be deferred.—Rome, 2nd March 1587.

2 March. **235.** ADVICES from SCOTLAND, 2nd March 1588 (N.S.).

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Guerth,* a gentleman follower of the earl of Huntly, killed a brother of the Earl Marischal, and took refuge under the protection of the earl of Huntly. The King sent orders to Huntly on pain of death for treason to give up the said Guerth and James Gordon of the Society of Jesus, uncle of the Earl. The earl of Huntly took time to warn his friends, and the earls of Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, Caithness, and other nobles of the North met at Dunfermline with 600 horse, whilst Lord Arbroath (Hamilton), Lord Claude Hamilton, Herries, and Glencairn, united at Linlithgow with 900 horse. When the English faction learned this, they withdrew the King to the town of Lisleburg (Edinburgh), and sent to Lord Hunsdon at Berwick asking him for money to raise troops. He sent them 2,000 broad angels the same day, and they raised 200 harquebussiers, by whom the King wrote to Lord Arbroath (Hamilton), ordering him to

* The laird of Gicht, who had murdered Keith. In a letter from Robert Douglas to Archibald Douglas, 2nd February (Hatfield Papers, Part III.), it is stated that the real object of Huntly's gathering was not to see justice done to his kinsman, the laird of Gicht, but to attempt to seize the King. In view of the letter from Bruce to Mendoza of 18th February, *ante*, there can be no longer any doubt that this was the case.

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return home under pain of high treason. He replied that he would do so, and that his discontent only arose from seeing the office of Lord Chancellor in the hands of so inferior a person as now held it; and that without any just cause he (Lord Arbroath) had been deprived of the office of Lieutenant of the West, and the earl of Huntly of that of Lieutenant of the North. The King replied that the matter should be considered, and they therefore returned home. The King has ordered Huntly to come to court with only 30 horse, but he has refused, saying that he could not come without security.

6 March. **236.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. [EXTRACT.]

What you say about the negotiations between the King (of France) and the English is of great importance. You will do your best to get at the bottom of them by the same means as you learnt of them. So far as Julio, without risk of discovery, can give details of his instructions, you will endeavour, through the new confidant, to induce him to do so. Let the new confidant add, as of his own accord, that the only object of the French is to pacify their own country, and that they will trouble themselves very little about any other interest after they have attained their own ends, particularly as they make no secret of the fact that the Huguenot war has been fomented in England, and are secretly very resentful thereat. Some of them, indeed, have suggested that it would not be bad for France to come to an agreement with Spain to make war jointly on England, and to divide the prize between them. Suspicion of the French may thus be engendered, and it may be suggested that the safest course for England would be to come to terms with Spain, from which the French are desirous of diverting them. You will arrange for these things, or all that is possible of them, to be whispered in their (the English) ears. Try also to discover what is being proposed by the French ambassador in England.

The matter of the Scottish Catholics and the earl of Morton is being well managed. On the next opportunity thank them very warmly again from me for their offers, and encourage them earnestly to persevere in their good intentions. You will defer the answer about the men and money they request until the fitting time arrives, but will keep them (the Scottish Catholics) in very good humour the meanwhile.—Madrid, 6th March 1588.

Note.—In the margin the King expresses his approval of the earl of Morton's going to Scotland as he suggests.

11 March. (N.S.) **237.** ADVICES from LONDON (from Antonio de Vega ?).

Paris Archives, K. 1568. Portuguese.

I wrote at length on the 15th ultimo.

The Commissioners have gone over, but little hope is entertained here of their effecting anything. The Queen, however, is more desirous of peace than ever. The commissioners from Holland are dispatched; they were told that the sending of the peace Commissioners from here was only to hear what the duke of Parma had to say, and that nothing should be done to their (*i.e.*, the States') prejudice. The Queen is trying to arrange matters in Scotland,

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and has sent thither Robin Cary, the son of Lord Hunsdon. He has not yet gone beyond Berwick. Their only hope is in the chancellor of Scotland, who is devoted to the English, and governs the King absolutely. The Queen sent Rogers, clerk of the Council, to Denmark, three months ago, to renew her friendship with that King, and give excuses for certain arrests of ships here because they were carrying munitions of war to Spain. Rogers, at the same time, was to impede (?) the marriage which is being discussed between the king of Scotland and the daughter of the king of Denmark, and to induce the latter to send someone hither to rectify the same* (*sic*). The King sent back with Rogers, as his ambassador, a Scottish captain who serves him as Vice-Admiral. The Queen has made much of him, and gives out that he has come to her with offers, in order to make people think that she is not without friends. But I know that he has pressed upon her, in the name of his master, the great importance of her coming to terms with the king of Spain, and the risk she runs if she does not do so. Drake's fleet has not sailed, but is ready. The Admiral is at Dover with his ships, excepting only those which carried the Commissioners across. Don Antonio is sad, and wishes to get away, but cannot do so for lack of money. In order to do so the more easily, he went yesterday with only three persons to a pleasure house eight miles from London for a week, without telling anyone where he was going. He acted in this way so that the Queen and others may not think it strange if he considers it necessary to absent himself.† Leiton, who was said to have gone to Barbary, has really gone to Portugal. A sailor named Francisco Ferreira came hither last year, and took from here some Englishmen in two ships to the River Gambia, near Cape de Verde, and they recently came back with much ivory and skins. These Englishmen had agreed to give to Don Antonio 8,000 cruzados, and, with the permission of the Queen, a patent is granted to them by which for ten years no persons but they shall go from England to that country.‡ Two of their ships will leave here in May for the same place, conducted by the same Portuguese. It would be very easy to have them captured from Cape de Verde Island, which is only 100 leagues from the place. I will in due time advise particulars of the ships.

15 March. **238.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

There is nothing fresh since my last about the audience of the English ambassador with the King. They are waiting for the Queen's reply.

I have written to Julio about the levies in Germany and the stay of Don Antonio in England, so that he may act as your Majesty instructs in both cases, in accordance with the points I have given him.

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* Daniel Rogers' instructions (Hatfield Papers, Part III.) do not contain any reference whatever to the proposed marriage of James. Rogers was to condole with the Regents and the young king Christian IV. (a minor), on the death of the late king Frederick II., and apologise for certain outrages on Danish subjects committed by English privateers.

† The King calls special attention to this passage.

‡ In the King's hand :—"Give notice of this."

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At the same time Sampson is taking steps with Don Antonio, and has communicated with the English ambassador in order that he may write.

I have news from Julio of the 19th ultimo, reporting that the Treasurer told him that the Commissioners were already at Dover, prepared to embark in spite of every effort against it, and this on the faith of the signature of the duke of Parma, sent to them secretly. They depend upon the Duke much more than your Majesty for the conclusion of peace, but keep this a profound secret.

Drake was being hurried off, but the new confidant advises that if he did not sail before they got the news of the death of the marquis de Santa Cruz he believes that he will not sail, on account of the negotiations in progress, and also because the (English) ambassador here thinks that the Armada cannot sail before the end of April owing to the death of the Marquis.

Julio is also of opinion that the Admiral will not sail from Queenborough until they see what movement is made by the duke of Parma's fleet, and that if Drake sails it will only be with the ships he now has. The fear of your Majesty's forces in Flanders will prevent Drake and the Admiral from uniting their fleets. Both upon this subject and others, I judge that Julio is doing his best to keep me well informed of everything that appears important, and I use every effort to obtain intelligence from other quarters as well.

Julio also informs me that the Treasurer tells him that they have brought Scottish affairs to a favourable position; and he gives the details on the subject which are set forth in the general letter. The duke of Parma has sent Colonel Semple to me here, and has written me the enclosed letter. (*See* Letter, Parma to Mendoza, end of January, page 201.) Bearing in mind the very small effect produced upon the king of Scotland by the messages your Majesty sent him by the archbishop of Glasgow and Bruce, and the close intimacy which the Treasurer tells Julio exists between him and the queen of England, I do not consider that the going of Colonel Semple would have any other result than to arouse the English faction and the king of Scotland to opposition and distrust of the Catholic nobles, and to prevent the latter from raising head. For this purpose they might utilise the forces the Queen has upon the frontier under Lord Hunsdon, who is devoted to the (Scottish) Chancellor and his party. My opinion is shared by the earl of Morton and Semple, with whom I have discussed the matter. I am advising the duke of Parma of this; and that the earl of Morton is ready to go to Scotland whenever he may receive instructions to do so. As soon as he arrives there he will take up arms in union with the other Catholic nobles, either against the Scottish heretics, or for the purpose of crossing the English border; or else they will remain with their forces in their own lands for the purpose of preventing the king of Scotland and the heretics from giving any aid to the queen of England. The moment the Earl receives instructions from me, he will leave here to put into execution one of these three plans, always with the object of converting the realm

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(Scotland) to the Catholic faith, and your Majesty's service. When he departs, he says that Colonel Semple can accompany him, and they will both land in the north of Scotland, where the earl of Huntly and Lord Claude Hamilton are, and then resolve whether it will be advisable or not for the Colonel to undertake the mission to the King which the duke of Parma suggests. As the Duke signifies that, if the Colonel is to go, he should do so with all speed (and if he had the ship freighted, and a wind "up his sleeve," he could not make the voyage in less than six weeks), I have decided to write to the Duke in the same sense as I now write to your Majesty. I am also pointing out that, owing to the suspicion felt here that your Majesty may be carrying on some negotiation in Scotland, it will be very unadvisable to freight a ship in a French port, or for the earl of Morton and Semple to embark therefrom. I recommend that the Duke should have a small vessel ready for them in Dunkirk when it is desirable that they should go, and they could start from Gravelines at night, and embark safely, which they could not do in the Channel as it is crowded with English ships. The voyage from Dunkirk to Scotland is much shorter and safer than from any other port at which Morton could embark. I will report to your Majesty the Duke's reply. I also tell the Duke that if he orders Bruce to pay to the Catholic lords the 10,000 crowns he holds, as soon as Morton arrives, it will enable them without fail to commence their movement at once.—Paris, 15th March 1588.

15 March. **239.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders of 18th, I am using every effort to penetrate the designs of the English armaments, and although the assertion that Drake was going to the coast of Spain may well give rise to the suspicion that he had some other object in view, Drake has always promised the Queen to try to destroy the Armada in Lisbon, and says that, even if he could not completely undo it, he would do so much damage on the coast of Spain as to force your Majesty not to send your fleet to sea. Some persons are of opinion that Drake's preparations are for the purpose of capturing the ships leaving Lisbon for the East Indies, but this is unlikely, as it is certain that they would not go out unescorted, now that your Majesty is so strongly armed; and even if Drake wished to lay in wait for them beyond Terceira,* it would be taking the Queen's forces too far away at such a time as this. Differences of opinion in the Council as to whether Drake should be allowed to sail or not have delayed him, together with the fact that he could not be ready so quickly as was expected. By letters from England of 19th and 21st ultimo, I learn that the Queen had ordered Drake to hasten his departure.

The English peace Commissioners were, on the 19th, at Dover ready to cross, and Dr. Rogers had been appointed in the place of Paulet. Rogers is not considered a man of much understanding. Howard was also going. Some representatives of the merchants and adventurers were accompanying the Commissioners. The sittings

* In the King's hand—"He is not well informed as to the route."

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were to be held at Bourbourg, a league from Gravelines, and they expect to be there two or three months, as they will have to await a reply from Spain. The Admiral was at Queenborough, and would accompany the Commissioners with some armed ships till they arrived on the Flemish coast.

The commissioners from Holland (Loze and Councillor Casimbrot) had had an interview with the Queen's Council, her Majesty herself having declined to receive them, putting them off by saying that she had to receive Archibald Douglas, the Scots ambassador, and the Danish envoy.

The mission of the Dutch commissioners was to urge the Queen not to make peace with your Majesty, informing her that if she did so they would not accept it unless they were granted freedom of conscience, and maintained in all their ancient privileges, the (foreign) troops being withdrawn from the country. They said without these terms, even if the Queen gave up to your Majesty Flushing and the rest of the fortresses she held, they had solemnly sworn to defend themselves until the end of their lives. These commissioners came over from Flushing with Daniel Rogers, who was on his way back from Denmark, in company with an envoy from the king of Denmark, a Scotsman, who had been sent to treat of Scottish affairs and the marriage of the king of Scots with the daughter of the king of Denmark. Things in Scotland were favourable, the King being attached to the Queen (of England) who had sent to Scotland Robert Cary, son of Lord Hunsdon.

I send enclosed copy of a letter I have received from some Spanish prisoners in England,* in which they say nothing of Drake's having sailed. This King's ambassador, under date of 2nd March (N.S.), says he had not sailed at that date. Paris, 15th March 1588.

18 March. Estado, 950. **240.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 2nd instant, the Pope has withdrawn, on the most absurd pretexts in the world, the promise he made to me that he would at once proclaim a jubilee. With great trouble, and after an infinity of controversy, with which I will not tire your Majesty, I had induced him to consent to grant it at once, and to publish it in the Consistory of the 16th instant; so that it could be gained in Holy week, and timely notice might thus arrive in all parts. As I could get nothing more from him than this I was obliged to content myself with it, but when he arrived at the Consistory he began with a great preamble about the conversion of the Swiss, the king of France's preparations for the spring, &c., and said that, in order that God's blessing might rest upon these and other things, he had decided to grant a jubilee which might be gained in Rome and elsewhere in Christendom at Whitsuntide. I was perfectly thunderstruck. I informed him that I had written to your Majesty, saying that he had consented to grant the jubilee at once, and I showed him your Majesty's own statement that it could not be further postponed. I was sure, I said, that if his

* *See* Statement of Francisco Valverde and Pedro de Santa Cruz, 27th February, page 219.

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Holiness did not so grant it, it was because he did not desire to help your Majesty at such an hour of need as this, or did not believe your Majesty's statement that the time had arrived. There is no possible answer to this, and he could find none. I shall speak to him to-morrow; but I do not yet know in what terms, for it is enough to drive me out of my wits to see the way in which he acts. The day after to-morrow, at the church of Santiago, the forty hours' prayer will commence; next Sunday at the church of the Aragonese; and the Sunday following in the church of the Portuguese. I will try to get the celebration continued in all the churches here frequented by your Majesty's subjects, and I will remind the governor of Milan and the viceroys of Naples and Sicily to do likewise. If I cannot persuade the Pope to expedite the jubilee, I will not send a courier to your Majesty, as there will then be no hurry. With regard to the loan, I told his Holiness in my audience of the 5th, that I had sent to your Majesty for the security. He replied in fair but equivocal terms that left me nothing to take hold of, and when I attempt to press him, he eludes me. This, and the grief he exhibits now that the time has nearly arrived for him to pay the million, fills me with anxiety that I shall have small chance of success in obtaining the second million. I am even in fear that the first million will not be met with exact punctuality; and I beg your Majesty not to depend upon anything but my untiring efforts to obtain the first million as quickly as possible, and as much of the second million as can be obtained. Since the 28th ultimo, when he learnt that the affair was really in earnest, and that the moment was approaching when he would have to disburse his million, his extreme and extraordinary perturbation is evident to everybody. The things he says about it are very strange; he does not sleep at night; his manners to all are more than ordinarily abrupt; he talks to himself, and generally conducts himself most shamefully. One of the reasons he depends upon most for saying that the time has not come for proclaiming the jubilee, is, that they forced him to elevate Allen, and that he has spent a mint of money on him; whereas, really, all he has given is a thousand ducats for his outfit, and a hundred a month for his maintenance. I say all this to show that the fear I express is not without reason.

He is also talking about his rights over the English bishoprics and other things. I have just received a letter from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, dated 27th ultimo, in which he advises me of a certain letter from the late queen of Scotland to his Holiness, which is sent through Cardinal Mondovi. He urges me to do my best to prevent the letter from being lost, and to follow instructions I shall receive from your Majesty. He does not enter into particulars. I will see about the letter to-morrow, and advise.—Rome, 18th March 1588.

20 March. **241.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Estado, 594. Before I left Brussels news came through merchants that the queen of England's Commissioners for the peace negotiations had embarked to come hither. One of them had put into Dunkirk, where he had been welcomed by the Commandant, Francisco de

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Aguilar Alvarado, and had proceeded by land to Nieuport, where he had also been fittingly received and had continued his journey to Ostend, where the rest of the Commissioners had landed. It was very evident that, although they had decided to come to your Majesty's dominions for the conferences, their intention was that the first interviews should take place between Ostend and one of the towns in your Majesty's possession.* I had already summoned Count de Aremberg and M. de Champigny, who were at Antwerp, and I brought hither with me President Richardot, Maes the fiscal of Brabant, and Secretary Garnier, that they might be at hand to go to the place agreed upon for the meeting. In the meanwhile there arrived, sent by the (English) Commissioners, a gentleman whose sister is married to the eldest son of the earl of Derby. His errand was to tell me that they had arrived at Ostend and were ready to enter into negotiations with me, and at the same time to thank me for the welcome that Crofts had received in your Majesty's dominions.† The gentleman performed his errand with every appearance of submission, and of a desire to conduct the negotiations to the successful issue which the Queen and the Commissioners really seem to aim at if they meet with a corresponding desire here. I replied in a way that appeared to satisfy him, and as I thought it fitting that their visit should be returned, I sent Secretary Garnier, who speaks languages and possesses the necessary ability, to accompany the gentleman back and to ascertain their views as to where and when the first meeting should take place. With him I sent a disguised engineer to reconnoitre the place (Ostend). From the discourse he (Garnier) had on the road with the gentleman, he gathered that they were extremely desirous of peace and were in great alarm of your Majesty's power. On Garnier's arrival they welcomed him very warmly, always speaking of your Majesty with great respect and decorum, and expressed all due satisfaction at Garnier's visit. These feelings were demonstrated individually and jointly by the Commissioners, and proved their and the Queen's wish for peace to be concluded; which, indeed, is the general desire. They signify that if the negotiations be not successful it will not be from any fault of theirs, their only doubt being your Majesty's attitude in the matter, and that you may impose such hard terms that they will be unable to bear them. If the negotiations do not fall through on this point they think they will be successful. From the discourse of the gentleman who came hither, and some of the others, it is evident that they are in fear about the question of guarantees; and guess that the only security they will obtain is

* A great mass of the correspondence of the English peace Commissioners with the Queen's Ministers, giving a detailed account of their proceedings, will be found in Cotton MSS. Vesp. CVIII. Although the papers in question do not come within the scope of the present Calendar, it has been considered advisable to summarise one or two of them in which Parma's expressions are repeated. The whole correspondence should, however, be studied side by side with the Spanish papers here reproduced. A very fair account of the meetings of the Commissioners on both sides will also be found in Strada.

† The Commissioners from England were the earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, and Sir James Crofts, the Controller of the Household; to whom were attached the Masters of Requests, Valentine Dale and Rogers. Crofts having been secretly a Spanish paid agent had no hesitation in landing at the Spanish port of Dunkirk, whilst the rest of Commissioners landed at Ostend, which port was now in possession of the States.

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your Majesty's promise, which they think will be insufficient for them, on the ground that on the pretext of religion, and with the authority of the Pope, the promise may be broken when it is considered desirable. Garnier tells me that he replied straightfowardly and fittingly, as he had been instructed to do. With regard to the place for the first meeting they (the Commissioners) said they would consider the question, and would send one of their number to discuss it with me. Dr. Dale, one of the Masters of Requests, accordingly arrived here on Friday afternoon, and departs to-morrow. He is one of the Queen's prime favourites and resides in the palace. He was here during the time of my mother* and has been ambassador in France. He is an old man, stout and heavy, and was very well accompanied hither, bringing with him, amongst others, a son of Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and a son of Crofts the Controller. He has been as well lodged and entertained as possible, and I think he will depart well satisfied. They wished the first meeting to be held at Ostend, although they have from the first admitted that the place was inappropriate for it, but they have let it be seen that they would come into your Majesty's dominions. They base their demand for Ostend on the ground that it had been agreed before they came that the conference should be held on any part of your Majesty's territory they might choose, and as Ostend is contained therein they select that place. This pretension was soon rejected, and they will no doubt agree to hold the first interview between Ostend and one of the neighbouring towns belonging to your Majesty, where a final arrangement may be made as to the place for the regular conferences.† They have requested me to send some person to Ostend to settle the business, and as nothing will be lost by my doing so, I am sending Garnier. Dale requested to be allowed to see the powers of the Commissioners on our side, but he was informed that at the proper time they would be produced. He was told that as we assumed that they (the English Commissioners) were properly authorised, they might conclude that our Commissioners were also similarly provided. I said they knew they could trust to my word, but if they had any doubt about it I reminded them of what your Majesty had written to the king of Denmark on the subject, namely, that you left the matter entirely in my hands.‡ He (Dale) seemed entirely satisfied with this. To judge from the private approaches he made towards certain persons he thought likely to help him, trying to enlist them in the interests of peace, it is quite evident that they are desirous of carrying the negotiations

* *See* Volume 1 of this Calendar for particulars of Valentine Dale's mission to Margaret of Parma.

† The first meetings were held in tents erected by Parma in an extensive plain between Ostend and Nieuport.

‡ The king of Denmark had sent an ambassador to Spain in the spring of 1587, offering his mediation in the interests of peace. To the address of the ambassador Philip replied by a long letter to Denmark, which is printed entire by Strada, who says that he had it in his hands. A copy of this letter was sent to Parma, and the whole question of peace ostensibly referred to him. "J'abandonne," says Philip, "toute l'affaire a "mon cousin le Prince de Parme, souverain Gouverneur de mes Provinces des Pays Bas "et je lui mande qu'il ne s'eloigne pas de la raison, si le parti contraire veut agir selon "les regles de la raison." In answer to the king of Denmark's letter to Parma on the subject, the latter requested him to send ambassadors to treat of the mediation, but nothing further was done, Frederick II. shortly afterwards dying.

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to a successful issue, and this is confirmed by the intelligence received from all parts. It is, however, difficult to fathom the real aims of men when they set about to deceive. Your Majesty, in any case, shall be kept well informed. It is well that your Majesty should be advised of what is being said about the question of peace by people here, and particularly by those who profess to be most devoted to your Majesty, and most desirous of the repose and prosperity of your dominions. I should be failing in my duty if I did not inform your Majesty that the general opinion is, that if the English proceed straightforwardly, as they profess to do, and their alarm at your Majesty's armaments and great power really compels them to incline to your Majesty's interests, it would be better to conclude peace with them. By this means we should end the misery and calamity of these afflicted States, the Catholic religion would be established in them, and your ancient dominion restored; besides which, we should not jeopardise the Armada which your Majesty has prepared, and we should escape the danger of some disaster, causing you to fail to conquer England, whilst losing your hold here. People here, therefore, think, that it would be much best to try in future to settle and tranquillize everything during your Majesty's own happy reign, so that all may prosper by the grace of God and your Majesty's goodness. No fate more honourable and beneficent can at present befall, no step would be so heartily welcomed by your vassals, or would more effectually bridle your rivals, and particularly the heretics, than the conclusion of a good and honourable peace. This would avoid the risk of the disasters that may happen. If the enterprise were in the condition we had intended it to be, with respect to the vital point of secresy, etc., we might, with the help of God, look more confidently for a successful issue. I do not know in such case that I should trouble your Majesty with what is being said upon the subject. But things are not as we intended; and not only have the English had time to arm by land and sea, and to form alliances with Denmark, and the Protestants of Germany and elsewhere, but the French also have taken measures to frustrate our aims, as they certainly will do to the extent of their ability. I have therefore felt constrained to represent to your Majesty, with my usual sincerity, what I hear around me. To this I will add, that as they (the English) are fully prepared at home and abroad, they are doubtless aware of your Majesty's plans, and it may be safely concluded that we shall have plenty of work to do, both in landing and gaining a footing on shore, and in advancing afterwards, particularly if we have not a force adequate for the task, now that they are prepared to receive us. The forces we now have available are so small, that, doubtless, one of the main difficulties with which we shall have to contend (even if God spares us from the disasters that may happen to us) is, that the affair may necessarily have to be still longer dragged out, and the French and Germans consequently have time to carry forward their intention of opposing the undertaking, both by means of a diversion in these States, which are so near to them, and also by sending reinforcements to England. All these are matters worthy of deep consideration; and

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it should not he forgotten also, that after your Majesty has settled affairs here, and have the island of Walcheren in your hands, you may, with perfect safety, carry out your intention without any possibility of interference. As for pretexts and good reasons, your Majesty well knows that they are always to be found. I have set forth all this that your Majesty may know what is being said, and in fulfilment of my duty as a faithful servant, not for the purpose of moving your Majesty from your honourable determination. For my own part I am ready and willing to carry out my duty, and your Majesty's orders, when my passage across is assured; and I can hope for no greater honour than to spend my life in the service of God and your Majesty. I have no doubt that, before a reply can be received to this despatch the Armada will have arrived, and I, by the divine favour, shall have fulfilled your Majesty's commands; but I will not, until I am obliged, desist from the negotiations, so that in case the Armada does not come, or any other unforeseen accident should prevent the principal enterprise from being carried out, your Majesty may be able to choose the course you think fit. I greatly doubt, however, being able to entertain the English so long as will be necessary for such a contingency as this, as I am not able to produce for them a special power from your Majesty, which, as usual, they appear to desire before they will enter into the discussion of the main points. It is quite possible, therefore, that they may break off the negotiations for this reason, which will greatly grieve these provinces, as they are now quite confident that peace will be made. I will do my best to get over this difficulty; and if the negotiations continue, President Richardot is, as I have already informed your Majesty, secretly instructed on all points, and the most perfect confidence may be felt that he will carry out your Majesty's intentions. If your Majesty decides to send me such a power as that referred to, simply for the purpose of exhibition, you may be sure that I will only use it as your Majesty may direct. —Ghent, 20th March 1588.

20 March. Estado, 594.

242. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Matters generally are proceeding satisfactorily with exception of the lamentable and astonishing mortality amongst the troops. This is the greatest pity in the world; so many have died, and so many more are still sick. Out of the 28,000 or 30,000 men I hoped to ship, in truth I cannot find now more than 17,000. I am endeavouring to raise fresh men in Germany. I greatly regret the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz. His loss at this juncture is a very serious one, as he was so brave a soldier, so experienced a seaman, and your Majesty loses in him an efficient minister. But these happenings are in the hands of God; and although the loss of the Marquis will delay the sailing of the fleet, it cannot be questioned that God arranges all for His greater glory, and for the better success of the undertaking.

The choice your Majesty has made of the duke of Medina Sidonia is a good one. I will co-operate with him in all plainness and sincerity which the interests of your Majesty demand, and I hope that he, on his side, will act in the same way.

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I will send two good pilots to give him an account of the position of affairs here.

The matter of the enterprise is now so public, and the indications both in Spain and here are so clear, that it would serve but little purpose to throw people off the scent for me to make a show of besieging some fortress. On the contrary, it might lead to our losing a lot of men without any result. The only demonstration that would be of any use in this particular is the negotiation for peace. Many persons think that since the English Commissioners have crossed the sea for the purpose of entering into communication with us something must come of it.

With regard to money, I wish to inform your Majesty that I am in great extremity, as the 400,000 crowns recently raised in Antwerp, what with depreciation of money, and other things, only produced about 300,000 nett, and this is all spent. I am now without any resources at this important juncture, with so many indispensable and urgent demands being forced upon me, as I have clearly stated to your Majesty on other occasions.

Juan Bautista de Tassis has been to Antwerp to see whether he could make any fresh arrangements, but he returned empty-handed, as the merchants refuse to provide any more money.

This is a matter which demands your Majesty's earnest attention. The whole enterprise will be jeopardised, and unless I have money to meet requirements here we shall be face to face with a mutiny of the men, and irreparable disorders, since the troops are of many nationalities. It may be that God desires to punish us for our sins by some heavy disaster. Even if the Armada supplies me with the 6,000 Spaniards as agreed—and they are the sinew of the undertaking—I shall still have too few troops, as the men here are dwindling daily. If I set foot on shore, it will be necessary for us to fight battle after battle. I shall, of course, lose men by wounds and sickness. I must leave the port and town garrisons strongly defended, to keep open my lines of communication; and in a very short time my force will thus be so much reduced as to be quite inadequate to cope with the great multitude of enemies, and unable to push forward. This would give time to the heretics and other rivals of your Majesty to impede the enterprise, and even to bring about some great disaster, without my being able to remedy it. An almost impossible task cannot be carried out without adequate means, and I am obliged, therefore, to press your Majesty, most earnestly, to give positive orders that in this most vital matter not the slightest neglect or delay shall occur. Not only is it essential that no failing should take place in this particular, but your Majesty, on such an occasion as this, should be prepared and ready at all points, so that your enemies may be unable to thwart you by means of a diversion or otherwise, as I have pointed out on other occasions; and in case of any accident or disaster that may happen, your Majesty should have a reserve fleet and army ready to go to any place where they may be required. The cost that such preparations occasion should not be considered, as, saving the favour of God, success mainly depends upon expenditure of money.

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I pray your Majesty to pardon my boldness, and to accept all I say as prompted only by my zeal and affection for your service, for I cannot keep silent in a matter which I think touches it nearly, and may affect the success of your godly designs.—Ghent, 20th March 1588.

21 March. Estado, 950.

243. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

In my interview with the Pope on the 19th instant, I spoke to him about the jubilee, and endeavoured to persuade him to expedite it by saying that Whitsuntide would not do for a rogation, but might serve for a thanksgiving. But in spite of all my pros and cons with him, I could not move him. He insisted that the interval of time was necessary for the authority to arrive at all parts of Christendom, and quoted scripture authorities to prove the efficacy of united and simultaneous prayer. Cardinal Mondovi has informed me that he has in his hands the letter from the queen of Scotland, about which Don Bernardino (de Mendoza) wrote to me. He says he will not deliver it (to the Pope) until he has spoken to me about it. I will keep the matter in view.

Nothing more has been said about the loan, and I am of opinion that we shall have to get the first million from him (the Pope) before pressing him further about the loan. I will use all activity in this directly we receive news of the landing. We might as well cry for the moon as to ask for it before. I am trembling for fear that he may give me many a bitter pill, even before I can get it, seeing how he seems to love this money.—Rome, 21st March 1588.

21 and 25 March. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1567.

244. ADVICES from LONDON, 21st March 1588 (N.S.).

Drake is still at Plymouth, not ready to sail, and will not be so for at least three weeks. He has 40 ships, six of which belong to the Queen. He expects 20 more, four of which will be the Queen's, but they are still in the Thames; those he has being mostly small, under 80 tons.

The Admiral is at Margate with only 40 ships.

If peace be concluded with the king of Spain, Bearn will be succoured and the king of France disturbed.

The Catholics here fear that if peace be made they will be totally ruined, as the earl of Leicester and his accomplices have only one object, namely to disperse the forces that the king of Spain has gathered in Spain and Flanders; the Earl not having the slightest intention of fulfilling the articles which may be agreed upon. Let the Cardinal (Allen?) and Sir William Stanley take care they are not poisoned, as I can assure you that the matter is being arranged.

The people in general are very desirous of peace, and if the duke of Parma gives the smallest hopes of it, I am certain that all our arms will be laid down, which will greatly grieve many of our companions here, who are just as eager for the sacking of London as the Spaniards are. They (the English Catholics) promote the Catholic cause on every possible opportunity. The musters of men are mostly taking place in Hampshire and towards Cornwall, and it is said that if peace be not concluded, Drake will take a good

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number of them on his expedition to Portugal in favour of Don Antonio.

There is much talk about Casimir advancing in person against the League in France, the Queen assisting him in money if the Spaniard does not come and stop it.—London, 25th March 1588.

Postscript.—An ambassador from Denmark has arrived here, of whom they are making as much as possible. Another has come from Scotland who is also well received.

Thirty large vessels, loaded with wheat and other merchandise, lately passed between Dover and Calais, bound for Spain. Count de Hollac* had almost got possession of Flushing, and the Lord Admiral had therefore gone with all his ships to put matters in order. He has now returned to Margate.

The common people in Zeeland appear to be devoted to the queen of England, but the States quite the contrary.

22 March. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1567. Portuguese.

245. PORTUGUESE REPORT from LONDON of the intended attempt of DON ANTONIO to escape from ENGLAND attended by EDWARD PERRIN.

The writer, a Portuguese, says that he gave information of the Pretender's intention to the Queen as soon as he discovered it. Orders were at once sent to the Lord Admiral to stop him if he tried to go from Dover to Calais. A minute description of the dresses and appearance of Don Antonio and Perrin is given, and the writer suggests that the duke of Parma should be put on the alert to capture them if they succeeded in escaping from an English port.

Note.—Sampson (*i.e.*, Antonio de Escobar) writes on the 25th March that Don Antonio, on plea of illness, has gone to seek rest and change at Brentford, all his family and followers remaining in London. He mentions that Diego Botello secretly informs him that Don Antonio is going to attempt to escape from England, as he is apprehensive of the peace negotiations between England and Spain. Sampson adds that it would be impossible for him to get away without the Queen's license.

28 March. Paris Archives, K. 1567. French.

246. ADVICES from LONDON.

The ministers of the false religion in their preaching frequently repeat that the king of Spain exercises great tyranny in all his dominions, and swears that if he enters England by force of arms he will leave no English person alive between the ages of 7 and 70.

The harbour of Plymouth is badly defended at present, as the men have been landed to save the victuals in the ships. Four or five pinnaces which had been sent to reconnoitre on the coast of Portugal have returned, and report that the Armada in Portugal is as large as any the Emperor Charles V. ever raised. It was said to be ready to sail, and great fear was consequently felt. The Queen has ordered the city of London, under pain of forfeiting all its privileges, in addition to providing a large force to defend the city, to supply 10,000 men ready to be sent whithersoever may be necessary to meet the enemy.

* Hohenlohe.

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Colonel Norris exercises and drills his troops every day in London. They are not very handy yet, but will really become so in time. There is therefore danger in delay. Colonel Norris recently gave the Queen in writing many reasons against entering into peace negotiations with the king of Spain, but inciting her to make war upon him at all points.

In Scotland it is said that all are on our side, the King having overcome in discussion the members of the Society of Jesus, whom he has ordered to leave the country.

Fitzwilliams has left for Ireland. The Queen is smiling now upon the Irish Catholics.

Note.—The above is accompanied by a Spanish translation made by an Englishman, with several corrections in the King's own hand.

22 March. **247.** The DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

From what his Majesty and Don Martin de Idiaquez write to you about Scotland, I see a desire that the earl of Morton should at once go thither; and as the state of affairs with the Catholics, as related by Bruce, makes it necessary for them to look to their own safety, I agree that he ought to go. He may therefore come to Gravelines quietly with Colonel Semple, and embark at night for Dunkirk, where he will find a passage awaiting him and a fit person to help and guide him until he can leave the port. With regard to the money for Semple's voyage, as he has been delayed, we will take care to provide what will be necessary, and hand it to him here in the form most convenient, so that he shall not suffer in any case. With regard to his commission*, I approve of the idea of postponing the effect of it, or otherwise, in accordance with the decision arrived at by the Catholic lords with the earl of Morton after his arrival. With regard to one of the three points which it is proposed they should take in hand after they have met, and the most desirable one, they must be careful to approach the English border with as large a force as possible, to make a diversion as soon as they hear that the Queen is being pricked elsewhere. The Earl himself should be well warned of this before he goes to aid the carrying out of whatever orders his Majesty may send me; since, whilst I am here, he will always find me ready to obey. If orders were sent to me to attempt anything, the help of these Catholics would be important, and would save expense, besides which, if they supported us, we could effectually assist them afterwards. In the meanwhile, on the arrival of the Earl, they may make use of the 10,000 ducats which Robert Bruce has in his hands; and you may write to them to that effect in my name. They should be urgently shown the importance of assuring the port of Little Leith, at least, as it is so convenient for possible future eventualities.

30 March. (N.S.) **248.** ADVICES from LONDON (from ANTONIO DE VEGA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.)

Paris Archives, K. 1567. Portuguese.

Gives an account of Don Antonio's attempted escape from Margate, and his return to Court.

* That is to say, the private mission to James with which it was proposed to entrust him.

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Things are much confused here. Orders have been given for 10,000 more men to be raised without delay, 6,000 to be employed at once, and 4,000 in a week, to be sent out in case of need. All the fortresses are being supplied and Drake's fleet reinforced. It was settled that he should have 30 ships, but now they have increased the number to 48, which are ordered to be ready to sail immediately. The orders had been given that the Queen's ships should carry less artillery than formerly, to give more room for working the guns; but the full quantity is now being shipped.

The Queen has made herself absolute mistress of Zeeland; and the States Governors, as they were called, have been turned out. Middleburg, however, still holds for Count Maurice (of Nassau). News from Scotland is that the bishop of Dunblane could not obtain audience of the King, and consequently spoke with the Chancellor, Maitland. He informed him on behalf of the Pope and the king of Spain of their intention to take up arms against the queen of England, as she was the head and front of all the evils which afflicted the Catholic religion, and also because she had so unjustly condemned to death the queen of Scotland, the King's mother. For this reason they considered it right that the King should be informed of their intention, in order that if he wished to resent the injury done to him and his mother they should support his claim to the English succession. The reply to this was made by the Chancellor himself, who said that the King really desired satisfaction for the death of his mother the Queen, but before entering into the arrangement now proposed he wished to be assured on two points, namely that the King should not be expected to change his religion; and secondly, what security he would have of the succession to the English crown, in case the forces of the Spanish King were greater than his own. The Chancellor reported this answer of his here (*i.e.*, in England), and news came at the same time that the Catholic nobles who were in arms had gone with 6,000 (?) horse to kill the Chancellor, who is entirely in the English interest. The King with others went to meet them, and besought them to return home, which they did. With this, Robin Cary, who had gone from here to offer the King 6,000 men, returned; having gone no further than Berwick. The (French) ambassador is instructed to be vigilant in discovering the state of the peace negotiations; and in conversation with him on the subject I mentioned how important it was for the King of France that this country shall be ruined. He confessed that it was so, but said that certainly France would not on any account consent to its being ruined by the king of Spain for his own advantage.

A M. de Frios has arrived here from the duke of Vendome, well attended, and had audience yesterday. His object is to prevent the Queen from making peace with the king of Spain. He is going from here to Germany about the reiters.

The number of ships captured and brought hither is very large—including those from Brazil, the Spanish Indies, Canaries, and fishing boats, I am informed they amount to 180, and at least they exceed 140.

(Begs for money to be sent for his maintenance, and that the sum of money lent to him in London by Bernaldo Luiz should be paid

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to the latter as promised. Speaks of the great danger he runs, and prays Mendoza to remind the King of his services.) The wife of the (French) ambassador has gone to solicit his recall by St John's day, when his three years' service expires, but I am persuading him to stay another year, which I believe he will do; and that his wife will return hither. Otherwise I myself would have to go; I could find no other means of sending my letters with safety, as they now go under cover of the ambassador's seal. I could not hope to be as intimate with another as I am with this one. It is of great importance he should remain.

Note.—The decipher of the above letter is unsigned, but the diffuse style and the reference to the French ambassador, prove that it was written by the Portuguese spy, Antonio de Vega.

April (?) Paris Archives, K. 1567. **249.** DOCUMENT headed "STATEMENT of the two fleets possessed by the QUEEN of ENGLAND, with numbers and names of the ships."—

The Admiral in the ship called "The Royal Ark," built by Raleigh.

Lord Henry Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset, in the "Elizabeth Bonaventure."

Lord Thomas Howard, son of the duke of Norfolk, in the "Golden Lion."

Lord Sheffield in the "Dreadnaught."

Vice-Admiral Winter in the "Vanguard."

Southwell, knt., son-in-law of the Admiral, in the "Lightning."

Palmer, knt., in the "Rainbow."

Mr. Hutton, controller to the Admiral, in the "Hirondelle."

Mr. Frobisher in the "Antelope."

Mr. Fenton in the "Mary Rose."

Mr. Hadley in the "Earl," the ship which always carried the duke of Anjou across.*

Mr. Ward in the "Tramontane."

Captain Turner in the "Bull."

Captain Boston (Bostock) in the "Tiger."

Captain Riches (Rigg ?) in the "Achates."

Mr. Charles Howard in the "White Lion."

In addition to these Queen's ships, there are eight newly built pataches belonging to the Queen, the smallest being from 100 to 120 tons. Their names are the "Charles," the "Sun," the "Moon," the "Scout," the "Fantasy," the "Little Swan," the "Spy," and the "Black Prince."

There are, moreover, coming to the Admiral by the 5th April, four great ships belonging to the Queen—the largest she has—namely, the "Triumph," the "Elizabeth Jonas," the "White Bear," and the "Victory." They will be accompanied by 28 merchant ships, the best to be found. This will bring up the Admiral's squadron to 56 sail. Drake has also six large ships of the Queen's, namely:—the "Revenge," the "Hope," the "Nonpareil," the "Guide," the "Aid," and the "Volvite" (?), with 45 of the best merchant ships they could select, at the Isle of Wight. The Admiral

* I cannot trace this ship or captain in the English lists.

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has also sent him the galleon "Leicester,"* the "Royal Merchant," and the "Susannah." Their entire number, therefore, is 110 ships, in addition to the adventurers who expect to come out if the Spanish fleet comes to these coasts.

Note.—On the margin of the above document Philip II. has verified the total number of the English ships, by setting down and adding the items as stated. Several of the captains changed ships before the appearance of the Armada in English waters, and one or two of the vessels themselves are not clearly to be identified. The list, however, does not differ very materially from that given in Laughton's "Defeat of the Armada," Vol. II., p. 325.

S.D. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

250. STATEMENT published by the English Ambassador in France of his Mistress' fleet.†

1. The "Triumph," 1,600 tons, with 24 pieces each side, six cannons at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 900
2. The "Bear," 1,500 tons, 24 pieces each side, six cannons at the prow, and four culverins at the stern. Sailors 800
3. The "Elizabeth," 1,200 tons, 24 pieces each side, six cannons at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 700
4. The "Victory," 1,200 tons, 24 pieces each side, six cannons at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 700
5. The "Royal Ark," 1,200 tons, 21 pieces each side, six cannons at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 700
6. The "Golden Lion," 1,100 tons, 16 pieces each side, four cannons at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 500
7. The "Edward Bonaventure," 300 tons, 14 pieces each side, five cannons at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 500
8. The "Vanguard," 800 tons, 17 pieces each side, six cannons and iron pieces at the prow, and six at the stern. Sailors 700
9. The "Rainbow," 900 tons, 14 pieces each side, four pieces at the prow, and same at stern. Sailors 500
10. The "Nonpariel," 400 tons, 17 pieces each side, four pieces at the prow, same at stern. Sailors 500
11. The "Antelope," 600 tons, 10 pieces each side, four pieces at the prow, same at stern. Sailors 400
12. The "Mary Rose," 500 tons, 17 pieces each side, four pieces at the prow, two at the stern. Sailors 500
13. The "Dreadnaught," 400 tons, 17 pieces each side, two pieces at the prow, and four at the stern. Sailors 500
14. The "Bull," 300 tons, 17 pieces each side, two pieces at prow, and two at stern. Sailors 500

* This was formerly the famous merchant galleon "Ughtred," of which mention has been made in this Calendar, Leicester now being her principal owner, her name had been changed.

† Mendoza, in a letter to the King of 5th April, says that this list had been sent by the Lord Admiral to his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in France.

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15. The "Swiftsure," 500 tons, 17 pieces each side, two pieces at prow, four at stern. Sailors 500
16. The "Tramontane," 300 tons, 17 pieces each side, three pieces at prow, two at stern. Sailors 300
17. The "Providence," 300 tons, 12 pieces each side, two pieces at prow, and three at stern. Sailors 400
18. The "Swallow,"* 300 tons, 15 pieces each side, two pieces at prow, and two at stern. Sailors 400
19. The "Revenge," 450 tons, 17 pieces each side, four pieces at prow, and two at stern. Sailors 500
20. The "Aid," 250 tons, 12 pieces each side, two pieces at prow, and two at stern. Sailors 300
21. The "White Lion," 200 tons, 7 pieces each side, two pieces at prow, and two at stern. Sailors

†Total number of Sailors 22,000 (10,800 ?)

PINNACES.

1. The "Charles Porte," 60 tons, four pieces each side, two culverins at prow, one at stern. Sailors 60
2. The "Spy," 30 tons, four pieces each side, two at prow, and two at stern. Sailors 30
3. The "Scout," 20 tons, three pieces each side, two at prow, one at stern. Sailors 30
4. The "Sun," 18 tons, three pieces each side, one culverin at prow. Sailors 20
5. The "Moon," 15 tons, three pieces each side, two falcons at prow. Sailors 20
6. The "Fantasy," 10 tons, two pieces each side, one culverin at prow. Sailors 12
7. The "Cygnet," 16 tons, three pieces each side, one culverin at prow. Sailors 12
8. The "Galore," 15 tons, two pieces each side, one culverin at prow. Sailors 12
9. The "Black Prince," 18 tons, three pieces each side, two pieces at prow. Sailors 20

Total Sailors in the Pinnaces 224 (216 ?)

1 April. Estado, 165. **251.** INSTRUCTIONS to the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA for the command of the Armada sailing from Lisbon.

In order that you may understand the considerations which operate in the undertaking, I need only refer you to the enclosed copy of what I wrote on the 4th September last to my nephew (*i.e.*, the duke of Parma), giving him instructions as to what he should

* In the original French list this ship is called the "Arundell," (*i.e.*, Hirondelle), but it is translated into Spanish as "Golondrina" (Swallow).

† In most cases both the tonnage of the vessels and the numbers of men and guns appear to be exaggerated in the above list as compared with the official accounts in England. *See* the list already quoted in Laughton's "Defeat of the Armada."

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say to the marquis of Santa Cruz in my name. This will fully inform you of the intentions and objects in view. It will be unnecessary also to dwell upon the reasons which delayed the sailing of the fleet at that time, as it is generally known that it arose from the need to repair the ships that had been damaged, and to execute the other necessary preparations for the Armada. Our consolation for this delay, which has given the enemy more time to organise his defence, must, by God's favour, proceed from our own hands.

The undertaking being so important in the service of our Lord, which has moved me to collect these forces, and my own affairs depending so greatly upon its success, I have not wished to place so weighty a business in any other hands than yours. Such is my confidence in you personally, and in your experience and desire to serve me, that, with God's help, I look for the success we aim at. In order that you may thoroughly understand my wishes, and be able duly to carry them out, I send you the following instructions:

In the first place, as all victories are the gifts of God Almighty, and the cause we champion is so exclusively His, we may fairly look for His aid and favour, unless by our sins we render ourselves unworthy thereof. You will therefore have to exercise special care that such cause of offence shall be avoided on the Armada, and especially that there shall be no sort of blasphemy. This must be severely enforced, with heavy penalties, in order that the punishment for toleration of such sin may not fall upon all of us. You are going to fight for the cause of our Lord, and for the glory of His Name, and, consequently, He must be worshipped by all, so that His favour may be deserved. This favour is being so fervently besought in all parts that you may go full of encouragement that, by the mercy of God, His forces will be added to your own.

When you receive a separate order from me, you will sail with the whole of the Armada, and go straight to the English Channel, which you will ascend as far as Cape Margate, where you will join hands with the duke of Parma, my nephew, and hold the passage for his crossing, in accordance with the plan which has already been communicated to both of you.

It is important that you and the Duke should be mutually informed of each other's movements, and it will therefore be advisable that before you arrive thither you should continue to communicate with him as best you can, either by secretly landing a trustworthy person at night on the coast of Normandy or Boulogne, or else by sending intelligence by sea to Gravelines, Dunkirk, or Nieuport. You must take care that any messengers you may send by land shall be persons whom you can thoroughly trust; so that verbal messages may be given to them. Letters to the Duke may be sent, those going by sea written in the enclosed cipher, but nothing should be said to the bearers verbally, so that if they be taken they can divulge nothing.

Although it may be hoped that God will send fair weather for your voyage, it will be well, when you sail, to appoint a rendezvous for the whole fleet in case a storm may scatter it. As this rendezvous would have to depend upon the place where the storm overtook you, that is to say, either anywhere near Spain, or at the

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mouth of the Channel; if it should happen near our own coasts, Vigo, Corunna, or the ports in the neighbourhood of Finisterre might be appointed, as the pilots thought best. But if the storm be near the Channel, you will, on consultation with experienced seamen in Lisbon, decide whether the rendezvous should be appointed for the Scilly isles as a port of refuge, or whether it will be better to fix upon a certain latitude at sea. The weather does not promise to be so bad as to prevent the ships from keeping out at sea. In case of your being overtaken by a tempest in the Channel itself, you will likewise discuss with native seamen on the Armada what defenceless port or refuge would serve on the coast of England to shelter the Armada with safety, or whether it would be better to run east or west. But in any case you must keep away from the French and Flemish coasts, in consequence of the shoals and banks. After you have discussed these questions with the mariners you will make such dispositions as you consider most advisable; but I shall be glad to know what decisions you adopt.

The success of the business depends upon our striking at the root; and even if Drake should have sailed into Spanish waters with a fleet to harass and divert us, as some of our advices from England assert, you will not be deflected from your course, but will continue straight on without seeking the enemy, even though you leave him behind you here. But if he follows or approaches you, you may then attack him; and the same instructions will serve if you meet Drake at the mouth of the Channel with his fleet, because if their forces are thus divided it would be well to conquer them piecemeal so as to prevent the junction of all of them. If you do not come across the enemy before you arrive off Cape Margate, and find there only the Lord Admiral of England with his fleet, or even if you find the united fleets of the Lord Admiral and Drake, yours should be superior to both of them in quality, and you may, in God's name and cause, give battle to them, trying to gain the wind, and every other advantage, in the hope that our Lord may give you the victory.

There is little to say with regard to the mode of fighting and the handling of the Armada on the day of the battle, as they must depend upon circumstances; but I have only to press upon you not to miss the gaining of every possible advantage, and so to order the Armada that all parts of it shall be able to fight and lend mutual assistance without confusion or embarrassment. Above all it must be borne in mind that the enemy's object will be to fight at long distance, in consequence of his advantage in artillery, and the large number of artificial fires with which he will be furnished. The aim of our men, on the contrary, must be to bring him to close quarters and grapple with him, and you will have to be very careful to have this carried out. For your information a statement is sent to you describing the way in which the enemy employs his artillery, in order to deliver his fire low and sink his opponent's ships; and you will take such precautions as you consider necessary in this respect.*

* The tactics of the English to fire very low and damage the hulls of the enemy's ships is frequently mentioned. It was urged upon Philip as early as 1574 by the Portuguese spy, Fogaza. *See* Vol. II. of this Calendar, p. 480.

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say to the marquis of Santa Cruz in my name. This will fully inform you of the intentions and objects in view. It will be unnecessary also to dwell upon the reasons which delayed the sailing of the fleet at that time, as it is generally known that it arose from the need to repair the ships that had been damaged, and to execute the other necessary preparations for the Armada. Our consolation for this delay, which has given the enemy more time to organise his defence, must, by God's favour, proceed from our own hands.

The undertaking being so important in the service of our Lord, which has moved me to collect these forces, and my own affairs depending so greatly upon its success, I have not wished to place so weighty a business in any other hands than yours. Such is my confidence in you personally, and in your experience and desire to serve me, that, with God's help, I look for the success we aim at. In order that you may thoroughly understand my wishes, and be able duly to carry them out, I send you the following instructions:

In the first place, as all victories are the gifts of God Almighty, and the cause we champion is so exclusively His, we may fairly look for His aid and favour, unless by our sins we render ourselves unworthy thereof. You will therefore have to exercise special care that such cause of offence shall be avoided on the Armada, and especially that there shall be no sort of blasphemy. This must be severely enforced, with heavy penalties, in order that the punishment for toleration of such sin may not fall upon all of us. You are going to fight for the cause of our Lord, and for the glory of His Name, and, consequently, He must be worshipped by all, so that His favour may be deserved. This favour is being so fervently besought in all parts that you may go full of encouragement that, by the mercy of God, His forces will be added to your own.

When you receive a separate order from me, you will sail with the whole of the Armada, and go straight to the English Channel, which you will ascend as far as Cape Margate, where you will join hands with the duke of Parma, my nephew, and hold the passage for his crossing, in accordance with the plan which has already been communicated to both of you.

It is important that you and the Duke should be mutually informed of each other's movements, and it will therefore be advisable that before you arrive thither you should continue to communicate with him as best you can, either by secretly landing a trustworthy person at night on the coast of Normandy or Boulogne, or else by sending intelligence by sea to Gravelines, Dunkirk, or Nieuport. You must take care that any messengers you may send by land shall be persons whom you can thoroughly trust; so that verbal messages may be given to them. Letters to the Duke may be sent, those going by sea written in the enclosed cipher, but nothing should be said to the bearers verbally, so that if they be taken they can divulge nothing.

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mouth of the Channel; if it should happen near our own coasts, Vigo, Corunna, or the ports in the neighbourhood of Finisterre might be appointed, as the pilots thought best. But if the storm be near the Channel, you will, on consultation with experienced seamen in Lisbon, decide whether the rendezvous should be appointed for the Scilly isles as a port of refuge, or whether it will be better to fix upon a certain latitude at sea. The weather does not promise to be so bad as to prevent the ships from keeping out at sea. In case of your being overtaken by a tempest in the Channel itself, you will likewise discuss with native seamen on the Armada what defenceless port or refuge would serve on the coast of England to shelter the Armada with safety, or whether it would be better to run east or west. But in any case you must keep away from the French and Flemish coasts, in consequence of the shoals and banks. After you have discussed these questions with the mariners you will make such dispositions as you consider most advisable; but I shall be glad to know what decisions you adopt.

The success of the business depends upon our striking at the root; and even if Drake should have sailed into Spanish waters with a fleet to harass and divert us, as some of our advices from England assert, you will not be deflected from your course, but will continue straight on without seeking the enemy, even though you leave him behind you here. But if he follows or approaches you, you may then attack him; and the same instructions will serve if you meet Drake at the mouth of the Channel with his fleet, because if their forces are thus divided it would be well to conquer them piecemeal so as to prevent the junction of all of them. If you do not come across the enemy before you arrive off Cape Margate, and find there only the Lord Admiral of England with his fleet, or even if you find the united fleets of the Lord Admiral and Drake, yours should be superior to both of them in quality, and you may, in God's name and cause, give battle to them, trying to gain the wind, and every other advantage, in the hope that our Lord may give you the victory.

There is little to say with regard to the mode of fighting and the handling of the Armada on the day of the battle, as they must depend upon circumstances; but I have only to press upon you not to miss the gaining of every possible advantage, and so to order the Armada that all parts of it shall be able to fight and lend mutual assistance without confusion or embarrassment. Above all it must be borne in mind that the enemy's object will be to fight at long distance, in consequence of his advantage in artillery, and the large number of artificial fires with which he will be furnished. The aim of our men, on the contrary, must be to bring him to close quarters and grapple with him, and you will have to be very careful to have this carried out. For your information a statement is sent to you describing the way in which the enemy employs his artillery, in order to deliver his fire low and sink his opponent's ships; and you will take such precautions as you consider necessary in this respect.*

* The tactics of the English to fire very low and damage the hulls of the enemy's ships is frequently mentioned. It was urged upon Philip as early as 1574 by the Portuguese spy, Fogaza. *See* Vol. II. of this Calendar, p. 480.

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You will be wise enough, in case you gain the victory, not to allow the squadrons of our Armada to get out of hand in their eagerness to chase the enemy. Keep them well together, at least the great mass of them, and give them full instructions beforehand; especially if you have to fight in the Channel, where double care will have to be exercised in this respect, both coasts being unsafe. In such case you will have to fight so as to win.

Disastrous examples have been seen both on land and sea of the effects of over eagerness in falling to pillage before the victory is absolutely secure. I therefore enjoin you strictly to prevent any disorder arising from this cause, which is apt to produce such terrible results. All hands must continue fighting until the victory is complete, and the benefits will then be secure.

I have ordered the council of war to send you instructions with regard to the distribution of prizes and booty. These instructions must be carried out inviolably.

It must be understood that the above instructions about fighting only hold good in case the passage across to England of my nephew the duke of Parma cannot otherwise be assured. If this can be done without fighting, either by diverting the enemy or otherwise, it will be best to carry it out in this way, and keep your forces intact.

If the Armada shall not have had to fight, you will let my nephew have the 6,000 Spaniards you are to give him; but if you have had to engage the enemy, the giving of the men to the Duke will have to depend upon the amount of loss you may have sustained in gaining the hoped-for victory.

In the event of the Duke establishing himself on shore you may station the Armada at the mouth of the Thames and support him, a portion of your ships being told off to hold the passage of reinforcements, &c., from Flanders, thus strengthening us on both sides. If circumstances at the time should, in the opinion of the Duke and yourself, render another course desirable you may act in accordance with your joint opinion; but on your own discretion alone you will not land or undertake anything on shore. This you will only do with the concurrence of the Duke, your sole function on your own account being—what indeed is the principal one—to fight at sea.

Whenever in the course of expeditions dissensions have occurred between the commanders, they have caused victory to be turned into defeat; and although your zeal for my service leads me to expect from you the loyal co-operation with my nephew the Duke, upon which success depends, I nevertheless enjoin you to keep this point well before you, carrying it out straightforwardly, without varying the design or seeking to interpret it otherwise. I have given to my nephew the Duke similar instructions. You will bear in mind that, if the undertaking be successful, to which result a mutual good understanding between you will largely contribute, there will be ample honour and glory for both of you; whereas the very reverse will happen in the contrary case, and I hope that for your part you will serve me well in this respect.

You will have to stay there (*i.e.*, in English waters) until the undertaking be successfully concluded, with God's help, and you

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may then return, calling in and settling affairs in Ireland on the way if the Duke approves of your doing so, the matter being left to your joint discretion. In this case you will leave with the Duke the greater number of the Spaniards you take with you, and receive in exchange for them such of the Italians and Germans as may be deemed necessary for the task.

The experience I have had of your constant efforts towards the economy of my treasury gives me great hope that, in all matters of expenditure connected with the Armada, you will spare as much as possible the money you are carrying with you in the fleet. You know how much trouble it has cost to collect it, and the necessity from which we are suffering, and you will take to heart the care of seeing that the musters are made with great precision, and that no trick is played upon you with regard to the number of men. This is not only a question of expenditure, but very often of success or failure. You will not forget to take particular account of the quality of the victuals, and their good preservation and distribution, so that they may not be exhausted or run short before the time, as the health and maintenance of the men depend so much upon this. You will keep your eyes constantly on the officers of all branches of the service, so that your vigilance may stimulate theirs, and thus that every man on the fleet may be kept on the alert to do his duty. I am sure that there will be no shortcoming on your part, and that you will see that everything is done with due smartness.

You may judge by the importance of the task entrusted to you how anxious we shall be until we receive information of your success. You will therefore be careful to keep me constantly advised of all you do, and everything that happens to you. This is all that need be said at present. The methods and details for carrying out the object, but without changing the plans in any way, are left to your wisdom and experience; and further instructions shall be sent to you in due course, if such be rendered necessary by circumstances. In the meanwhile I will cause the undertaking to be commended to God Almighty as His own.—Madrid, 1st April 1588. —I, the KING.

1 April. Estado, 165.

252. SUPPLEMENTARY SECRET INSTRUCTIONS to the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA for the command of the Armada.

In addition to the orders contained in your general instructions I desire to remind you briefly of certain other points. You will carry with you on the Armada, with due care, the accompanying despatch for my nephew, the duke of Parma and Plasencia, but you will take notice that it must not be delivered to him until he has either landed in England, or exhibits uncertainty of being able to do so. Until either one or the other of these two things happens you will keep the despatch in your own possession.

When you arrive off Cape Margate, which you must endeavour to do, overcoming the obstacles that may be opposed to you, you will learn where my nephew the Duke wishes you to place the troops with which you are to furnish him, and you will act accordingly. It is my desire that when these troops land they shall be under the command of my Commander-in-Chief of the Light Cavalry of Milan,

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Don Alonso de Leyva, until the Duke takes them over. You will act accordingly. If God grants us the success we hope for, you will scrupulously fulfil your general instructions; but if, for our sins, the contrary should happen, and the Duke should be unable to cross to England, or you unable to form a junction with him, you will, after communication with him, consider whether you cannot seize the Isle of Wight, which is apparently not so strong as to be able to resist, and may be defended if we gain it. This will provide for you a safe port for shelter, and will enable you to carry out such operations as may be rendered possible by the importance of the position. It will therefore be advisable for you to fortify yourself strongly there.

If you should have to adopt this course, you will take notice that you should enter by the east side, which is wider than the west. In addition to this the eastern entrance will be more handy for you, because, if you resort to this plan, it will be in consequence of some doubt, or of the failure of the main design, which may lead you to return from Margate. On no account will you enter the Wight on your way up, nor before you have made every possible effort to carry out the main idea. If you obtain possession of the Wight, you will from there come to an understanding with my nephew the Duke, and endeavour mutually to assist each other to the extent of your resources; everything being directed to the same end, according as circumstances may dictate.

I trust that God in his own cause will guide matters better than we deserve, and that the above eventualities may not happen. They are, however, set forth by way of precaution. It is of the highest importance that, whatever may occur, I should be advised promptly, in order to enable me to give the necessary instructions; and I therefore once more impress upon you urgently the need of keeping me well informed of everything you may do.

If the Duke my nephew should succeed in capturing Don Antonio in England, and should hand him over to your care according to his instructions, or if Don Antonio in escaping from the Duke should fall into your power, you will have him placed in security, so that he shall not escape, and shall give no more anxiety or disquietude.—Madrid, 1st April.—I, the KING.

Note.—The Duke acknowledged receipt of his instructions in a letter dated Lisbon, 11th April, promising the strictest possible compliance with the King's orders. He urgently begs for money to be sent to him, "that being the only thing now wanting."

S. D. April ? Estado, 165.

253. SEALED DOCUMENT which the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA was to deliver to the DUKE OF PARMA only in case the latter should land in England. In any other event the document was to be returned to His Majesty.

In addition to what I have written to you by the ordinary channels, and my orders with regard to the principal business, you are informed of the object of the undertaking, and of the meeting and negotiations with the English (Peace) Commissioners. But I have also thought advisable to send you the present despatch in the Armada itself, in anticipation of certain possible eventualities.

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If the Armada succeeds, either by means of fighting, or in consequence of the unreadiness of the enemy, you will, when the forces from here have arrived to assure your passage across, go over in God's name and carry out the task assigned to you.

But if (which God forbid) the result be not so prosperous that our arms shall be able to settle matters, nor, on the other hand, so contrary that the enemy shall be relieved of anxiety on our account (which God, surely, will not permit) and affairs be so counterbalanced that peace may not be altogether undesirable, you will endeavour to avail yourself as much as possible of the prestige of the Armada and other circumstances, bearing in mind that, in addition to the ordinary conditions which are usually inserted in treaties of peace, there are three principal points upon which you must fix your attention.

The first is, that in England the free use and exercise of our holy Catholic faith shall be permitted to all Catholics, native and foreign, and that those who are in exile shall be permitted to return.

The second is, that all the places in my Netherlands which the English hold shall be restored to me; and the third is that they (the English) shall recompense me for the injury they have done to me, my dominions, and my subjects; which will amount to an exceedingly great sum.

These points stand in importance in the order in which they are here enumerated, and although the first is that which I especially demand, you will use your own discretion as to whether you should press it first, or should propose them all together, or begin with the two last. The question of the restitution of the fortresses is also very important, especially that of Flushing; but with regard to the third point, after you have discussed it thoroughly, and proved that the recompense due to me would be too large for their treasury to meet, you may drop it in favour of the free exercise of the Catholic faith. This is the point upon which you must lay the greatest stress, and secondly, the question of the fortresses. The third point may be used as a lever to obtain the other two.

With regard to the free exercise of Catholicism, you may point out to them that since freedom of worship is allowed to the Huguenots in France, there will be no sacrifice of dignity in allowing the same privilege to Catholics in England. If they retort that I do not allow the same toleration in Flanders as exists in France, you may tell them that their country is in a different position, and point out to them how conducive to their tranquillity it would be to satisfy the Catholics in this way, and how largely it would increase the trade of England and their profits, since, as soon as toleration was brought about, people from all Christendom would flock thither in the assurance of safety; whilst the commerce of Englishmen in other countries would be carried on without the present vexations. You may add to this such other arguments as you may consider appropriate. However much they may promise it will be a great mistake to suppose that they will fulfil it, unless very good security be given. For this reason efforts should be made to obtain as hostages some persons of rank, with large following, and many friends, or perhaps some English fortresses to

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hold, even for a limited period of years. During such period we should see how they carried out the conditions. To disregard this point would be to build on the sand, and you must bear this well in mind if the opportunity occurs.

If the principal design should fall through, it would be very influential in bringing them to these, or the best conditions possible, if the Armada were to take possession of the Isle of Wight. If this be once captured, it could be held, and would afford a shelter for the Armada, whilst the possession of it would enable us to hold our own against the enemy. This matter has also been laid before the Duke (of Medina Sidonia), so that in case of failure, and if nothing else can be done, you may jointly with him discuss and decide with regard to it. I have thought well to say thus much, but I hope that God, whose cause it is and to whom I have dedicated the enterprise, will not allow you to fail, but will aid us to convert England, as we desire, for His greater glory.

1 April. Paris Archives, K. 1567. French.

254. ADVICES from LONDON.

A general muster has been held in London of those capable of bearing arms, and hardly 10,000 men were found fit. This will appear strange, but it is as true as St. John's Gospel.

There is a great lack of powder here, and no hope of supplying it from that made in England.

A few days ago Drake was almost ready to sail, but things are falling off now. His soldiers are so tired of waiting that they are deserting. He has not more than 1,500 men, and they are decreasing daily.

The victuals which he had supplied are much reduced, and the fitting out of the additional ships for him proceeds very slowly. To tell the truth in two words, everything is being administered very lazily. The only explanation possible of this is that they have hopes of peace.

The Lord Admiral has not half the men he was to have had, and is asking for victuals for another month.

Don Antonio lately attempted something, but I cannot explain the mystery. He was absent at sea for 13 days, and it is said he wanted to escape, but was discovered.

I must relate another circumstance that happened lately; it seems as if I had nothing but marvels to write about at present. On the window of the Queen's presence chamber at Court were found a vast number of fleas collected together; and 30 great fish, commonly called porpoises, came up the river to the water gate of the Queen's Court.

Note.—The above is accompanied by a translation into Spanish in an English hand, with many corrections by the King.

2 April (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1567.

255. ADVICES from LONDON from PEDRO DE SANTA CRUZ.*

Although they publish here that there are more ships in the fleets of the Admiral and Drake, the truth is that there are only 50 belonging to the Queen, and 20 merchantmen, with 20 pataches. The number of men of all sorts does not exceed 8,000. As they

* *See* this man's report, dated 27 February.

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think these forces too weak to cope with the Spanish fleet, orders have been given to Drake to put to sea. After the Spaniards have been allowed to land, he is to come and burn the Spanish ships, and then land his own men to fight the Spaniards.

There is a ship here loaded with black baizes, bound for Portugal, on account of Dr. Nuñez and his Portuguese brothers-in-law. A ship from Lisbon has arrived here with a cargo of wine, bringing news that the Armada is fitting out apace. The Queen has ordered a general muster here, and the men are found to be much fewer than was expected. Those capable of bearing arms do not reach 10,000.

A young Genoese gentleman, called Philip Centurion, was with the reiters in France, and when they were dispersed came hither. He is a heretic, and was made much of by Horatio Pallavicini, who sent him to Rochelle with letters from the queen of England. He received there 400 crowns on a credit from Horatio Pallavicini, and has gone to Spain with the money. They have news that he is already in Madrid, and it is necessary that he should be arrested. Pallavicini says he did wrong in drawing money against his credit, but as he duly delivered the letters he took for Bearn, he acted honestly in that respect, and he has probably gone to Spain as a spy. This must be so, as otherwise Pallavicini would never have given him a credit for so large a sum.

In the middle of March eight little vessels, called frigates,* sailed for the Indies, with the intention of robbing the boats engaged in the pearl fisheries.

Everybody is quite certain here that the Scots of the English faction will hand over the king of Scotland to them the moment the Queen asks for him.

4 April. Estado, 950.

256. Count de Olivares to the King.

By my letter of the 1st, your Majesty will have seen the course I had pursued in the matter of the letter from the queen of Scotland to his Holiness, which Cardinal Mondovi had received. The matter remaining as I explained, I have no opportunity at present of trying to obtain possession of the original, so as not to divulge the secret. I will, however, endeavour to get him to bring it if I have a chance. He (the Pope) is very much offended with me just now . . . . The original letter is in the hands of his Holiness, as Mondovi returned it to him, with the certificate of authenticity and recognition of the handwriting. When the Nuncio hands to your Majesty the copies it would be a good opportunity of asking him to write to the Pope for the original, but it would be well not to press him very much; in order that he may not think that your Majesty attaches vital importance to this authority for your claim. Frankly, it would appear to me more advisable to depend principally upon descent and conquest. If we act coolly there is no doubt we shall get hold of the original letter some day. With regard to your Majesty's remark about the postscript of the letter, I have not heard that the Pope has said or done anything in that respect, but he disgracefully ordered that in the translation, the name (*i.e.*, of Philip) should be written in cipher.

* Fragatas.

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During the pontificate of Pope Gregory, and the beginning of the present reign, credit was given to certain persons who offered to convert the queen of England. It was afterwards discovered that these persons were double spies. The affair was managed by Cardinal Savello, who was considered a very serious person, quite incapable of such a thing.

I have written to the duke of Parma, sending him the papers written by Cardinal Allen, and about the journey of the latter thither.—Rome, 4th April 1588.

5 April. **257.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

I approve of your having withheld from Semple the knowledge of the mission upon which it was intended to send him to Scotland until you had communicated with the duke of Parma on the fresh points which had occurred to you. I hope and believe that the best course will have been adopted. I am inclined to think that, if he goes, he should at first confine himself to compliments and generalities, and then, just as the principal business is ready, for him to make the statement the Duke wrote to you, as it will then do good rather than harm.

With regard to the three alternatives offered by the earl of Morton, it appears to me that to take up arms at the present time against the Scottish heretics would only have the effect of driving them into closer union with England, and consequently that course must not be entertained. The preventing of the Scots from coming to the aid of England, or the organisation of a Scottish force to attack the English, are both very important, and he (Morton) should be urged to keep his hand on these points so that in due time, when my forces strike elsewhere, they may be effected. You will therefore guide things to this end, but always bearing in mind that they (the Catholics) are Scotsmen, and that no suspicion must be aroused in them about their King which might alienate them from us. They should be principally inflamed by the claims upon them of the Catholic faith, and by the example of their good and saintly Queen. You will know how to manage it with your accustomed dexterity.—Madrid, 5th April 1588.

5 April. **258.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

The letter from the late queen of Scotland to his Holiness, of which you send me a copy, is a great proof of the happy fate that she will have met with in the future life. It is certainly most edifying to read it; and I thank you, as an especially great service done to me, for your efforts in having the letter sent to Rome, and sending me this translation of it. I thank you, too, for your letter to Count de Olivares about it, who has also been written to from here.

I approve of the letter you caused (Miss) Curle to write to (Miss) Kennedy, and also of your having informed the former of the granting to her of a pension of 300 crowns a year. You did well also with regard to her brother's allowance of 40 crowns a month, and of Gorion's 20 crowns, having regard to the qualities and circumstances of each of them; and you will pay these pensions as

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they fall due. For the present it will be well not to talk of their leaving France, where they are under your own eye and protection. By and bye, when we see what effect the letter causes in Rome, and how circumstances turn out, we can consider what had better be done.

Since you think it is desirable, in order to discharge the conscience of the queen of Scotland, that the 2,000 crowns she owed to Charles Arundell should be paid to his guarantors, who were forced to pay on his account the amount for which they were security, I approve of the order sent to you in favour of Arundell being extended to the guarantors. I also approve of the two months and 20 days of his (Arundell's) pension owing at his death being paid in discharge of his debts.

I note the information about the seminary of Pont Monçon, and will have the matter considered.—Madrid, 5th April 1588.

5 April. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

259. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

Your Majesty will see by the enclosed extract from the duke of Parma's letter the decision arrived at with regard to sending the earl of Morton and Colonel Semple to Scotland. I have now despatched both of them, and I hope God will give them good speed, as they are zealous in your Majesty's service. The earl has a large following in Scotland, and Colonel Semple possesses good judgment to advise him as to the conversion of the country and your Majesty's interests, which he promotes as a good servant should. I can assure your Majesty that since he has been here I have been much pleased with his zeal and steadfastness in this matter, and I see not a trace of Scottish prejudice in him. By the two letters of Robert Bruce recently received, your Majesty will see that the going of the Earl and Semple is very opportune.

The advices of 11th March are from Antonio de Vega, and those of 21st are from an Englishman who has gone to reconnoitre Drake's ships at Plymouth.

As I was closing this the archbishop of Glasgow has shown me (a letter) dated in Scotland on the 11th instant, from the bishop of Dunblane. He says that he had spoken with the King that day in Edinburgh, and had been well received both by his Majesty and the Chancellor. He had conversed with the latter subsequently, and expected to obtain a favourable despatch shortly, and return to his Holiness. The King intended to send to your Majesty John Seton (who is a servant of your Majesty).

After what Bruce writes to me, and Julio's repetition of the Treasurer's remark about the complete confidence which the queen of England reposes in the king of Scotland, together with the long refusal of the King to receive the bishop of Dunblane, I cannot make out what can be the cause of this sudden change of front, and the kindness shown to the Bishop, not only by the King but by the Chancellor, who is a great heretic, and an adherent of the English faction.

As Morton and Semple have not left Paris, I have informed them of this news, as it is important they should be well posted, in order

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to avoid being taken in by any such bait as this. It may be suspected that the object of the King and Chancellor is to discover what is going on, unless by deeds they prove otherwise.—Paris, 5th April 1588.

5 April. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

260. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Your Majesty will see how well Julio is acting, in giving me momentary advice of everything touching your Majesty's service. If your Majesty will allow me I will give him some money in recompense. He has informed me of the approaches made by the French towards a closer alliance with England, and I have kept him well instructed on the points I have considered necessary to enable him to get at the bottom of the French designs. At the same time I have managed through Sampson to get indirectly whispered into the ears of the new friend certain intelligence in the guise of news, which would confirm what I had given him (Julio) notice of. This will cause him to do his business more handsomely, without thinking that the discourse comes from me.

The new confidant tells me that on the 18th ("*ultimo*" in the King's hand) this King sent a *valet-de-chambre* to the English ambassador to say that he wished to see him privately. He went and found the King alone in the garden of the Reformed Monks of St. Bernard.* His Majesty received him with extraordinary demonstrations of welcome, reminding him that he had been brought up in France, and had been in high favour with his brother the Duke (*i.e.*, of Alencon), and that he (the King) held him in great esteem. It is true, he said, that he had not hitherto done anything for him (the ambassador), but as he now saw that both his mistress (*i.e.*, Elizabeth) and himself (Henry III.) would be ruined if she made peace with your Majesty, he assured him that if he was instrumental in breaking off the negotiations he would promise him on his word of honour to give him the same reward as he could expect from his mistress. The ambassador thanked him, and promised to write and use his influence with his mistress if the King would give him a note to enable him to do so. Julio writes me that the ambassador had been instructed to answer in this way, in order to discover what this King was willing to offer the Queen. The ambassador said he could hardly write to his mistress saying she had better not come to terms with Spain without giving her some reason. To this the King replied that the Pope and your Majesty had joined against his mistress, and had tried to bring him and the Venetians into the alliance; but they had both refused, the latter saying that they would follow his (the king of France's lead). He could assure the queen of England that if she made peace with your Majesty it would not last three months, for your Majesty would employ all your forces in helping the League to ruin him, and she might well imagine what would happen to her afterwards. The King repeated all this very earnestly, and prayed him several times to do his best to break off the peace negotiations, in which case he would give him a reward commensurate with the service.

* The garden of the Reformed Bernardino Monastery led out of the gardens of the Tuileries on the spot now occupied by the Rue Castiglione.

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As the King would not descend to particulars, Julio writes to me that the ambassador in his despatch to the Queen simply repeated what the King said, but added that he did not guarantee it in any way, and was inclined to look upon it as "French discourse." Although Secretary Pinart, Marshal de Biron, and Abbé Guadagni said that France would aid her with double the force they were called upon to employ by the terms of the alliance, the King did not touch upon this point. From what I can see, this King would like to prevent the Queen from coming to terms with your Majesty, without binding himself to further details, as he fears that if he openly states the conditions the Queen will publish them, and make use of his approaches to irritate still further the French Catholics.

Touching on this point, the Nuncio told me that this King was not in a position to help the queen of England, and he (the Nuncio) therefore hoped she would not come to terms with your Majesty, now that you were so well armed. If peace were not made, he said, your Majesty's great forces must necessarily be turned against England, and this would distress this King as much as if the Queen came to terms with you; and he (the Nuncio) did not see how the French could extricate themselves either way.

The French ambassador in England tries to dissuade the Queen from coming to terms with your Majesty, and at the same time to prevail upon Bearn to submit to this King, but without, up to the present, descending to particulars.

Julio writes to me under date of 12th ultimo, that the Treasurer had laid before the Queen a statement of the objections to allowing Drake to sail whilst negotiations were in progress, recommending that the result of the first meeting of the Commissioners should be awaited; and, in view of this result, Drake should be allowed to sail or not. He (Julio) writes under date of 26th ultimo, that the Treasurer had left the Court for a four days' stay at a pleasure-house of his, and that during his absence Leicester and Walsingham had urged the Queen to let Drake sail at once. She consented to this, and ordered him without fail to sail on the 28th, but he (Julio) did not know whether this would be altered on the return of the Treasurer.

Julio also writes that the Queen has ordered her ambassador here to reply to the King respecting his request that the ambassador would use his influence with her to persuade Bearn to submit and become a Catholic, that she could hardly act as the King wished: first, because it was not fitting for anyone to seek to rule the conscience of another; secondly, because she was not sure whether it would be advantageous either to her or the King for her to do as he asked, since they were both of different religions; and, thirdly, because if she did advise Bearn, and he did not agree, it would be a great rebuff for her. These she thought sufficient reasons for the King to excuse her from moving in the matter, but she would willingly serve him in all else. The new confidant tells me that Marshal de Biron saw the English ambassador on the 29th instant at a banquet, and told him not to dissemble any longer, as they well knew that his mistress had agreed with your Majesty, and that a

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truce had been settled for four years, greatly to the prejudice of France. The sending of the Commissioners to Flanders, he said, had been merely dissimulation. The ambassador replied that he knew nothing of all this; whereupon Biron had retorted "You want to ruin us." The ambassador said he wished his mistress would come to terms with Spain, and that the subjects of both nations might trade freely. "In such case," he continued, "I can truly assure you we should not trouble ourselves much about France." As they were hurried Biron told him that he would go and see him at his house later, when they could discuss the matter more at length.

In the same letter of 26th Julio writes with regard to Scotland that, when the queen of England learnt of the gathering of the Scottish Catholics, she had caused the King to be informed that if he was not strong enough to suppress the rebellion she would give him all the aid he required. The King (who is more devoted to her than ever) replied that at present he was able to pacify the rebels in his realm, but in case he should require help later he would accept her offer at once.

I informed Julio of what your Majesty orders in yours of the 6th ultimo, namely, that he is to dissuade the Queen from drawing closer to the French, but rather to seek your Majesty; adding what was necessary in view of events here. I understand he is doing his best to succeed. The Nuncio also received the information I gave him about England in a way that convinces me that he communicates it to his Holiness, and this is confirmed by the intelligence I received from the count de Olivares.—Paris, 5th April 1588.

5 April. **261.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

In my last I reported that advices of 2nd March said that Drake had not sailed, and this is confirmed by letters of 9th, 16th, and 19th, and the latest of all, 25th, asserts that the Queen had despatched Drake to set sail, which it was believed he would shortly do, if the weather served.

A cannon had exploded on Drake's flagship, killing 35 men and wounding seven, and the English had looked upon this as an evil omen. They were, however, very glad at the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz, which they think will prevent the sailing of the Armada as soon as was intended.

Since the Admiral carried the Commissioners across, he has been cruising in the Channel, on the coast of Flanders and England; the wind being favourable he ran into Flushing He has sent to the ambassador here, who is his brother-in-law, the memorandum which I now enclose, containing a statement of the ships which he and Drake will have, with which to encounter the Armada. He (the ambassador?) has published this statement with great boasting, saying that one of their ships will fight five of your Majesty's. As the English Catholics here have declared that most of the Queen's ships are rotten, the ambassador here reported to the lord Admiral that I was spreading this rumour, and he has replied—as is published here by the ambassador—that he is glad for me to send your Majesty such news as this, and he (the Admiral) was only sorry that peace

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negotiations were going on, which might prevent him from coming to close quarters with your Majesty's fleet.

The Admiral asserts that 12,000 men, of all sorts, will go in the two fleets, and from this it may be judged that the number will be greatly inferior. The assertion that the Queen's ships are worn out is confirmed by the Admiral in the memorandum in question, as he confesses that four of the largest of them, which have been fitting out for sea for the last four months, have not joined him yet.

They report from England that Walsingham says he has advices from Italy that your Majesty's fleet was intended more for defence than for offence, and that his Holiness, after dinner one day, said: "Clear this table; let us go to the war in England." I also understand, through the new confidant, that English ships are said to be ranging the south seas, and doing more harm than was done by Drake.

The English ambassador here had audience of the King, with the rest of the ambassadors, on the 31st ultimo, and as he left he told Gondi that a courier had reached him just as he getting into the coach to go to the audience, and it would, therefore, be necessary for him to see the King again. An appointment was made for the 5th, although, as I have said, he had seen the King with the rest of the ambassadors, who had all been summoned for one day on the ground that the King would not have time to receive any of them during the next week. By this it may be concluded that he is willing enough to receive the Englishman. If I can discover what passes I will report. Letters dated the 25th advise that there was little hope of the Commissioners being able to arrange anything in the way of peace, as the duke of Parma was delaying matters, and the rebel States had again sent deputies to England to show the Queen that it would not suit her to negotiate peace with your Majesty, as your only aim, and that of the duke of Parma, was to beguile her, and in the meanwhile treat with some of the Dutch towns to obtain possession of them. They recommend her to make the following conditions in any negotiations for peace with Spain:—First, that the past shall be forgotten; second, that all foreigners should leave the country (*i.e.*, Flanders); third, that all offices should be filled by natives; and fourth, that liberty of conscience should be accorded. Even if these terms be conceded, she must see what security the duke of Parma would give for their fulfilment. To this the Queen replied that she would settle nothing without letting them, the States, know; and with regard to the advice given as to terms, and the security demanded, it was for the Queen to advise them and not for them to advise the Queen.* They had better wait until the conference commenced, and they would then see what they might expect from her. She asked them (the deputies) to write to Holland, begging that those who had been banished from Leyden for complicity in the plot of the earl of Leicester to seize the country should be pardoned.

*As stated in a former letter, it had been the intention of the States to be represented directly by Marnix de Saint Aldegonde at the conferences of the Peace Commissioners. They had altered their minds, and the only means by which they could now present their view of the case was through the English Commissioners.

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Letters from Scotland of 2nd, 8th, and 15th ultimo, state that the king of Scotland had requested the earl of Huntly to bring before him Father Gordon, of the Society of Jesus, which he did; and the King had a disputation with the Jesuit, particulars of which are adjoined. The report of the discussion is from a letter written by Father Creighton of the society. I hear that after the disputation the King said, in his chamber, that Gordon did not understand the scripture, which is a fairly bold thing to say, only that the King has the assurance to translate "Revelations," and to write upon the subject as if he were Amadis de Gaul himself.

There had been a meeting in Scotland on the matter referred to in the enclosed advices. Last letters, of 15th, state that the earl of Huntly, although he had been with the King in Edinburgh, at some risk, had returned to the north.—Paris, 5th April 1588.

S. D. Paris Archives, K. 1567. French.

262. STATEMENT of what passed between the KING OF SCOTLAND and FATHER GORDON, of the Society of Jesus.

On the 5th February the earl of Huntly was requested by the King to send to him his uncle, Mr. James Gordon, of the Company of Jesus, on the King's promise that no evil should happen to him, but that he should be sent to some place of safety until the proper time for sailing. On the 5th February he was sent to the King, who received him kindly, lodged him in the palace, and ordered Patrick Murray, gentleman of his chamber, to provide for him everything he required.

After dinner the King disputed with him in his chamber on controversial points of religion from 2 o'clock till 7, in the presence of all his officers and the gentlemen of the Court as well as some of the principal ministers, whom the King commanded not to speak. The King proposed divers points, such as the invocation of the saints, the communion *sub utrusque specie*, justification, and predestination. Mr. Gordon replied to the long discourse of the King. He (the King) is naturally eloquent, has a keen intelligence, and a very powerful memory, for he knows a great part of the Bible by heart. He cites not only the chapters, but even the verses, in a perfectly marvellous way. Mr. James (Gordon) replied briefly, praising the King's good parts, and saying that no one could use his arguments better, nor quote the Scriptures and other authorities more effectively.

On two points the King was convinced and agreed with Mr. James, as to justification and predestination, but he said that this was not a papist doctrine, and that he (Gordon ?) would not sign his hand to it. Mr. James replied that he would both write it and sign it; and was certain that all Catholic Princes would do likewise. He (Gordon) did write and sign his adherence to the doctrine, and gave it to his Majesty, whereupon the King said that Gordon would never more dare to go back to the Jesuits or Papists, or they would burn him for such a confession.

The preliminary speech the King made before the dispute was very appropriate. Amongst other things, he said that, though he was very constant in his beliefs, he was not so obstinate as to refuse to submit to those who knew better than himself, and he thought

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there were many persons who held heretical opinions out of simplicity and want of understanding as to what they ought to believe. He would not harm such people, he said, but would wait until it pleased God to show them the truth.

5 April. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

263. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I learn by the advices of Sampson and Vega that Don Antonio went out of London for change of air, and Julio writes on 25th ultimo that they had caught him near Dover with Captain Perrin (whom I know well), who was trying to get him out of England. The Queen signified to Don Antonio that he placed very little confidence in her promise that he should be safe in her country if he wanted to leave it without her knowledge. She said he might rest tranquil. She would not agree to anything prejudicial to him. She ordered Perrin to be put into prison.

The new confidant caused me to delay this courier two days, in the belief that the English ambassador was to have audience of the King. As the audience has been deferred I think better not to delay the courier longer, especially as it is improbable that anything will be said, except what Julio writes to me the ambassador has been instructed to reply to the King with regard to persuading Bearn to become a Catholic.

It is asserted here that your Majesty has an understanding in the ports of Brittany and Normandy, and that the Spanish fleet will go thither. The new confidant assures me that this intelligence was sent to the English ambassador by the King, with a message to the effect that if that happened, with France in its present divided condition, he (the ambassador) could easily imagine what would happen to his Mistress. He begged the ambassador to write to the Queen at once about it, and to point out to her how important it was that Drake and the Admiral should put to sea immediately, and encounter your Majesty's fleet in Spanish waters. If the ambassador is not a simpleton, he will see easily now that the French want to make England a catspaw.—Paris, 5th April 1588.

5 April. Estado, 594.

264. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Since God has been pleased to defer for so long the sailing of the Armada from Lisbon, we are bound to conclude that it is for His greater glory, and the more perfect success of the business; since the object is so exclusively for the promotion of His holy cause. The enemy have thereby been forewarned and acquainted with our plans, and have made all preparations for their defence; so that it is manifest that the enterprise, which at one time was so easy and safe, can only now be carried out with infinitely greater difficulty, and at a much larger expenditure of blood and trouble.

I am anxiously awaiting news of the departure of the duke of Medina Sidonia with his fleet, and am confident that your Majesty will have taken care that the expedition shall be as strong and efficient as is necessary in the interest of your service. I am sure also, that your Majesty will have adopted all necessary measures

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for the carrying out of the task of protecting my passage across, so that not the smallest hitch shall occur in a matter of such vital importance. Failing this, and the due co-operation of the Duke with me, both before and during the actual landing, as well as afterwards, I can hardly succeed as I desire in your Majesty's service.

The troops are in their places, and the infantry handy, as I have already assured your Majesty, but the cavalry are much scattered, as there was no more food for them anywhere nearer; and I was obliged to send them to Hainault and Tournoi. I have done, and am doing everything I possibly can to keep them together, and in good heart, knowing as I do how important it is in your Majesty's interest, and how much depends upon it for me personally; but withal the infantry does not exceed 18,000 men, although some Walloons who had gone to their homes are being brought back again.

I humbly beg your Majesty that this matter, so important in the interest of God and your Majesty, shall not be lost sight of. Even if they give me the 6,000 Spaniards from the Armada, as no doubt it is intended to do, my force will still be weak, considering that the enemy will be fully prepared, whilst the sickness and factions that will occur will still further reduce my numbers. It is important, therefore, that no delay or failure should occur on this important point.

With regard to the peace negotiations, since the date of my last despatch Secretary Garnier has returned from Ostend, where he was made much of. On his attempting to come to some decision as to the place for the first meeting, they (the English) requested that it should be held in Ostend for the sake of appearances. But, as far as could be gathered, they were still without decided instructions from England, and it is probable that they may be delaying matters for their own ends and to our prejudice. These delays are not altogether unfavourable for your Majesty's objects. It is well that people here, who are so anxious for peace, should see that the English and not we are the cause of the delay. In the meanwhile vigilance is being exercised everywhere, in case some evil design should underlie it.—Ghent, 5th April 1588.

6 April. Estado, 594.

265. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

After I had written the enclosed despatch and was on the point of setting out for Bruges, Dr. Rogers, one of the English Peace Commissioners, arrived here. In order to hear him and reply to him, I remained yesterday and to-day. The object of his visit was to urge with all his strength and eloquence that our Commissioners should first go to Ostend, if only for an hour, and after that the Queen's Commissioners would come unhesitatingly to one of your Majesty's towns. He was politely informed that this was impossible; and that it would be less objectionable for our Commissioners to go to England itself than to one of the towns in these dominions occupied by their troops. The most they could demand was that the negotiations should be conducted in some

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neutral place, which was the ordinary course under such circumstances; and I said they ought to be contented with the politeness I had shown to the Queen as a lady, in conceding to her the choice of a place, instead of their trying to depart from the arrangement agreed upon. He was very emphatic as to the bad effect that would be produced by the negotiations being abandoned for so trifling a reason as this, and by the war being thus allowed to proceed, to the great injury to Christendom, and the shedding of human blood, particularly as in return for this piece of politeness to the Queen she would not only restore to your Majesty all she holds in these dominions, but would also aid in recovering the portion that still held out.

At last, in order not to break off the negotiations, and to give him some amount of satisfaction, I adopted the expedient of avoiding giving him a decided answer, and said I would send President Richardot to Ostend, who would try to give them all the satisfaction possible. This hardly contented him at first, as he was desirous of taking the answer back with him, but he was reconciled to it and seemed pleased that a person of Richardot's position and parts should go to see them. The president's visit, if it be delayed for a day or two, will draw out the matter for a week, and if the English have to await a reply from England, a week beyond that. Rogers mentioned the question of the powers, and it is evident that he wished to know the form in which they were granted, as he hinted it to Richardot, who diverted him from the subject, as I myself had done, by saying that the point would be discussed at its proper time. It is certain that my general power as Governor of the States will not suffice, nor will any particular instructions from your Majesty on the matter. The power will have to be a special one, in due and ample form, as full as so important a matter requires. All this makes me suspect that, even if we arrange as to the first meeting where the powers are respectively produced, they will not be satisfied with my authority, and will break off the negotiations, much as I may try to continue them.—Ghent, 6th April 1588.

12 April. A. 234, Bib. Nat., Lisbon.

266. Document headed: "Relation sent by the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the PRESIDENT OF FINANCE. Given to me to take to the Tower* by the Chamberlain of the President."

Statement made by Francisco de Valverde of St. Lucar, who arrived in this city of Lisbon to-day, 12th April 1588, as to what he saw in England and London, which place he left on the 12th March 1588.

Whilst he was on his way from the Indies, in the flotilla from New Spain under Don Juan Guzman, in the year 1586, on board one of his own ships of 150 tons, four English ships belonging to the Queen, and commanded by John Hawkins, attacked him off Cape St Vincent. He and 18 of his men were captured with his vessel and cargo of hides and dyewood, and were kept captive for 15 months. First, they took him to Portsmouth, where he was

* That is, the Tower of Otombo, where the Portuguese State Archives are kept.

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detained for three months; then to Southampton, where he remained a month, and thence to London, where he stayed until the 12th March last, when he left for Spain with a passport from the Queen. He embarked in the Thames and came by way of Dieppe and Havre de Grace. He states that for the last four months the English have been busy collecting ships from all parts of the kingdom, and that Francis Drake was in London during that time. He has been informed that 40 ships of the following strength had been gathered in Plymouth; namely, five belonging to the Queen, of 400 to 500 tons each, armed with bronze pieces and well fitted, the rest of the 40 ships being merchantmen of 150 to 200 tons, with some smaller ones, armed with cast-iron pieces, and well fitted and found.

Valverde relates that from the information he obtained by one of his own men, whom he sent for the purpose of inquiry, he learns that the 40 ships carried 8,000 fighting men and sailors, most of the former being harquebussiers. An epidemic was rife amongst them, which, although it was hushed up, was by many considered to be the plague; and this caused the almost entire dispersal of the fleet, but the latter had now again been re-formed, and was awaiting orders.

In reply to the question as to whether the English were fitting out another fleet, and who was the commander, Valverde replied, that in the River Thames, at London, they had collected 20 ships, 12 of which belonged to the Queen, and were of 400 to 600 tons burden, the rest being merchantmen of 200 to 250, with some smaller. These ships had sailed from London a month ago under the Lord Admiral, and were cruising the Channel off the Scotch coast, as it was understood that the duke of Parma and the Spanish fleet intended to sail thither. This second fleet carried 8,000 or 9,000 soldiers and sailors.

Being asked whether the Queen intended to raise another fleet to reinforce the above, or go elsewhere, Valverde answered that she did not. On the contrary, they had only been able to collect the two fleets already mentioned with great difficulty, and the whole of the Queen's strength is comprised in them. She has no means left for fitting out another fleet of any importance, being extremely short of money.

Valverde was asked whether the men joined the fleet willingly, and replied that when Drake announced last summer that he was going to attack the Indian flotillas men flocked to him eagerly, and he could have armed 200 ships at that time; but now they came very reluctantly and almost by force. In answer to the question whether they had much stores, he said yes. They had killed a great number of cattle and pigs, and had prepared other necessaries; but, as the men had already been on board for three months, they had consumed most of the victuals, and fresh supplies were now being provided.

He was asked what were Drake's plans and destination, and replied that, when the fleet was first commissioned, it was said that the intention was to come and burn his Majesty's Armada, but that

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now he (Drake) and the rest of them were in suspense, as they feared on the one hand (the coming of the Spanish fleet), and were in hopes, on the other, that peace might be made, with which object three Commissioners left for Flanders two or three days before Valverde started from London. Some people were in expectation that peace might result, whilst others thought that the intention was only to entertain them (the English) and catch them unawares.

In reply to the question whether they (the English) had news of the Armada now being fitted out in Lisbon, and whether they were alarmed at it, he said yes, but that other persons said that they (the Spaniards) had neither soldiers nor sailors, the greater part of the men on the Armada having died, so they (the English) were in very good spirits.

He was asked whether they (the English) expected aid from anywhere, and replied that the prince of Condé had offered the Queen to bring over 12,000 Germans to her.

He was asked whether there were any Catholics (in England) who expected the coming of the Armada to help them, and replied that a large proportion of the country would join the Spaniards and King Philip; and it was a common saying amongst the people that in this year '88, by God's grace, England would be brought to obedience to the Roman Catholic Church, and they were anxious to see the day.

He said that they (the English) had discovered the sea-route to the Moluccas by the north, which would be a great disadvantage to his Majesty's interests.

He was asked whether he had seen any of the English ports, and if there were any fortifications in them, and replied that he only saw that they were raising bulwarks at Portsmouth made of sun-dried bricks and faggots, to serve for defence in case of need. He said the fort there contained about 200 men. He said also that the English had been informed from Portugal that, in addition to the supplies there was 500,000 ducats in money in the Armada, and that his Majesty had arranged for sight bills on Lisbon for 300,000 ducats to be sent, which money had already been sent thither. As, however, three or four days would pass before it could be encashed, the departure of the Armada would be delayed until the day of St. Philip and Santiago, when, if the wind served, it would sail. This news was also brought by the courier who arrived from Lisbon on the 27th April, bringing a letter dated 24th from the Cardinal Archduke to Father Castro of this College,* which, amongst other things, says that on that day, Sunday, day of St. Mark,† the royal standard was carried to be consecrated. The

* The document would appear to be a copy made at the end of April 1588 for the information of some religious congregation in Spain, and this latter portion was added by the copyist.

† The day of St. Mark is the 25th April, not the 24th. The letter was doubtless written on the eve of St. Mark. The Consecration was on the 25th. There is an extremely curious account at Simancas of the ceremony; and of the delivery of the standard to the duke of Medina Sidonia. It will be found printed entire in Fernandez Duro's "Armada Invencible." *See* Valverde and Santa Cruz's letter from London to Mendoza, 27th February 1588.

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motto on it is "*Exurge Domine et vindica causam tuum*," and the standard was given by the ladies of Portugal. The Cardinal Archduke accompanied it from the cathedral to the church of St. Domingo, and his Holiness has already sent his benediction. On one side of the standard is the Virgin and the infant Jesus in her arms, and the devotion of all is aroused at the sight of Christ and the mother of God. On the ship's flags is painted a figure of Our Lady, of immense size, so that it may be seen by the soldiers.

It was said that some women had gone on board the Armada in the guise of men, whereupon the duke of Medina caused a search to be made and found 30.

It is also said that, although the Pope and many Italian potentates, including the duke of Savoy, have offered to assist the King, he has declined their offers; saying that this is to be the last enterprise he will undertake in his life, and he has determined to offer it to God, for His service, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith.

14 April. **267.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Since my latest reports from England, of 25th ultimo, sent to your Majesty in my last, I have received a letter dated 28th from an Englishman in London, which I now enclose. I have also another, dated 3rd instant, confirming the news that Drake had not sailed, which news is further confirmed by the new confidant. The Admiral is at Court, and the four largest of the Queen's ships are now ready for sea. The English ambassador has made public the memorandum I enclose herewith of the tonnage of the Queen's ships, with their guns and the men required to handle them—a much larger number than exists in England. A special envoy from Bearn had arrived in England.

The English ambassador here has had audience of the King which lasted more than an hour. This seems significant of an understanding with the Englishwoman, as the King could only give so short a time to the other ambassadors. The King during the audience spoke in so low a tone that those in the cabinet could only hear that he asked the ambassador whether his mistress wished to make him (the King) a Huguenot. Perhaps this was said on purpose for those who were listening to hear.—Paris, 14th April 1588.

14 April. **268.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

In my last I reported what the new confidant told me the English ambassador would submit to the King. The answer given to him by the King was, that he would consult his mother with regard to the Queen's offer of help if he would declare himself against the League, and he would send the reply later. This was taken by Secretary Pinart, and in substance was that the King would be much obliged to the Queen if she would persuade Bearn to become a Catholic. If the Queen did not allow any other than her religion in her own country, it was only reasonable that the king of France should endeavour to do the same in his dominions. This was all, with no more pro and con.

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Sampson opened Don Antonio's letters for Constantinople, and found in them what is set forth in his "advices." He (Sampson) is of opinion that if he (Don Antonio) could escape from England, he would go to Constantinople. Diego Botello writes to Sampson, telling him to try to obtain from the Queen-Mother 400 or 500 crowns to help Don Antonio to escape from England, as he cannot do so without the money; he being in great need. Sampson has not thought well to make the demand, and Guadagni does not recommend him to do so. He thinks that however much Don Antonio wished to leave England now he could not do so without the Queen's permission.—Paris, 14th April 1588.

Note.—In a private autograph letter from Mendoza to Juan de Idiaquez of same date, and enclosed in the above, he expresses a wish to hear from the King of the departure of the Armada so that he, Mendoza, may be able to urge for permission to retire. He prays Idiaquez to forward his desires in this respect. He is in poor health and straightened means.

14 April. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

269. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since sealing the accompanying despatches I have received the enclosed reports from England. They are from the same man as wrote on the 28th ultimo, an intelligent person.

According to this account, if the Armada from Lisbon has gone to England, the very fact of its entering Plymouth will cause all the ships that Drake has there to surrender. Experience has proved that I have never been mistaken in my assertion that the English frontiers are weaker than is usually believed. An instance of this is that, even in London, so few men can be raised, where they expected to be able to raise 50,000.—Paris, 14th April 1588.

Note.—Enclosed in the above despatches of 14th April there is a letter from Mendoza to Martin de Idiaquez, saying that the French Ministers were spreading the rumour that Philip II. had gone mad, and that in future the Infanta Isabel would sign all papers. They thought therefore that Spanish money aid to the League would not now be given, and that the League would be easily overcome. Mendoza relates the disingenuous questions about the Infanta Isabel's health, and the King's (Philip's) continued industry with his papers, addressed to him by Catharine de Medici. Mendoza is very indignant at these rumours, which he ascribes to a deep laid plan to disconcert and weaken the League.

16 April (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1568.

270. ADVICES from LONDON (ANTONIO DE VEGA?).

I reported at length on the 8th ultimo. They are certainly now in great fear here that his Majesty's preparations are intended to be used against this country, and they expect the arrival of his forces in May. They are therefore making ready both by sea and land. In addition to the measures I have already detailed, they (the English) have ordered all persons of quality in the country to provide arms to fit out a certain number of men each, according to their capability, a list of the arms required of them being sent

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to each person. The arms are then given to poor men who are unable to purchase them. A large number of men will thus be raised. It is said that here, in the neighbourhood of London, 20,000 will be obtained without taking the city guard. I doubt this, however, as they (the city guard) are already formed into a corps. In other parts of the country Colonel Norris has been ordered to muster and drill the men, and a muster has been called for the 19th. London and the other coast towns have been compelled to furnish a certain number of ships of war, to the total number of 80 sail, armed and victualled for four months. London promised 20, the towns on the north coast 20, the south coast 20, and the west coast 20; which were to be ready in 15 days, at the cost of the inhabitants, each of whom was assessed at so many pounds sterling. For every pound's worth of property they possessed they had to pay 2s.* These ships, with the others they have, will be formed into two fleets, one of 88 sail under Drake, which will be near Plymouth in the Channel. I do not think that this fleet will go, as they say, to Spain or Portugal, or even to Cape Finisterre. The other fleet will remain between Dover and Calais under the Lord Admiral, and will consist of 80 sail, namely, 30 he now has, 20 from London, and 30 to come from Holland. This will be 168 sail in all. Forty commissioners have been appointed in London to expedite and inspect the preparation of the ships. The Queen is much afraid of the League, as she sees that their forces are being concentrated in Picardy, and she fears they will seize Havre de Grace and Boulogne. She sent for the French ambassador on Palm Sunday and begged him to write to the King about it. She had a great many explanations to give him, and caressed him greatly. In the course of her conversation with him she said that she very well understood the intentions of the League, both towards herself and towards the King (of France); but that the world should see that she had omitted no effort to make peace with the king of Spain. She had sent her Commissioners, and was now allowing them to go whithersoever the duke of Parma wished. She said she would for the sake of peace make concessions greatly against her own dignity, and the ambassador swears that she and Leicester and the Admiral (who comes backwards and forwards every five or six days to see Walsingham) were trembling with fear whilst she was talking with him.

I have considered it necessary to convey all this speedily, in order, if his Majesty wishes for peace (which I do not believe) that he should stand firm, as the Queen will now concede more than ever before; whilst if, on the contrary, the expedition is to be carried out, it will be well that they (the Spaniards) should not be deceived as to the armaments here. In the manner I have stated a great fleet will be raised, although Drake, to whom full powers have been granted at Plymouth, writes that there are not so many sailors and

* A full account of the contributions of the City of London in men and money towards the defence of the country will be found in Lansdowne M.S. 56 (partly printed in Strypes' Stowe). Some curious particulars of the subsidies raised from other parts of the country, collected from various sources, are quoted in the introduction of "The names of "those persons who subscribed towards the defence of this country at the time of the "Spanish Armada, 1588." Edited by T. C. Noble: and also in Murdin's state papers.

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soldiers to be obtained as are required, and he requests that 40,000 cruzados may be sent to him for the purpose. The truth is that everywhere the men run away, because they know that this time they are going to fight and not to plunder, as usual.

I cannot send particulars of tonnage, as the ships are being fitted out in various ports, but the 20 in London are as follows: four of 300 to 400 tons and the rest from 100 to 250 tons. There will be very few of over 200 tons from the other ports, as most of the best have already been appropriated. An Englishman has come from Viana in 12 days. He was in Lisbon and saw the Armada, and brings with him a full list of everything. Care should be taken of those who are in Lisbon, and no French ship should be allowed to leave there or any other port.* No ship at all should be allowed to sail before the Armada, so that the date of the departure of the latter shall not be known.

(The writer gives particulars of some inquiries made with regard to him by Walsingham. He is suspected, and in fear for his life. He begs for leave to depart. He expresses his conviction that Stafford and Escobar† are those who have informed the Queen about him. He will not leave without orders, even though he loses his life.)

21 April. Estado, 455.

271. INSTRUCTIONS given by the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the Shipmasters on the ARMADA at Lisbon.

Rations:—Each man is to receive 1½ lbs. of biscuit per day, or 2 lbs. of fresh bread on the days that biscuit is not served out.

The ration of wine is to consist of a third of an azumbre‡ of Sherry, or the same of Lamego, Monzon, Pajica, and Condado wine; but only a pint of Candia wine must be served as a ration, that wine being stronger than the others, and it will bear a double quantity of water. The wine to be first used is Condado and Lisbon wine, and then, successively, Lamego and Monzon; Sherry and Candia being consumed last, as those wines bear a sea voyage better. Any pipes of Condado or Lisbon wine that may become spoilt in consequence of being kept will not be credited to you, and you will have to pay for them at the price of Sherry.

On Sundays and Thursdays every man will receive 6 ounces of bacon and 2 ounces of rice. On Mondays and Wednesdays 6 ounces of cheese and 3 ounces of beans or chick peas. On Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays you will distribute per man 6 ounces of fish, tunny or cod, or, in default of these, 6 ounces of squid, or five sardines, with 3 ounces of beans or chick peas. It must be borne in mind that two different sorts of rations must not be served out on the same day. Oil must be served out on all fish days, one ounce and a half being the ration. Vinegar is to be

* The King calls special attention to this passage.

† This is another good instance of the secret character of Philip's diplomacy. Vega, the Portuguese spy in England attached to Don Antonio's service, was ignorant that Antonio de Escobar, Don Antonio's agent in France, was also a paid spy in the interests of Spain.

‡ The azumbre was nearly half a gallon, so the wine ration was about equal to a modern bottle of wine.

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distributed also on the same days, a quarter of a pint for each ration.*

All rations to be served out strictly by the measures and weights which have been supplied to each ship.

Sufficient water must be given to each man for drinking and cooking purposes, but the ordinary water ration must not exceed three pints a day for all purposes, although a larger consumption has been provided for in consequence of the waste that usually takes place by leakage, &c. If any excess in this respect takes place it may cause serious trouble.

You will carefully inspect the stores constantly, and anything that you see is becoming bad you will serve out at once, nothing else being distributed until that be finished; so that nothing shall be wasted. If any stores be wasted by your negligence you shall pay for them.

You must not serve out more than the ordinary ration to any captain, ensign, sergeant, corporal, or other official; nor to any drummer, fifer, or other without my order. Anything served out in excess will be debited to your account, unless by orders of the Duke or the Provedore Don Bernabé de Pedroso.

Lists to be made of all men on your ship, signed by the Inspector-General and pursers of the fleet; and by these lists you are daily to distribute the rations. In the case of the death or transhipment of any man, his name is to be struck off the list, even though the captain or ensign may claim his ration. Such ration is to be discontinued from the day the man leaves the ship, except by order of the Inspector-General or purser, of the fleet. Reports must be made every week, if possible, of any reduction of the company on board.

If for any reason, of scarcity or other, rations are omitted or shortened on any day, the ration or quantity short is not to be made up by distribution of a larger quantity on another day. The ship's

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* It will be interesting to compare with this the rations ordered to be served on the English fleet (State Papers, Domestic, CCIX., 16, quoted by Laughton, "Defeat of the Armada"):—

Fish days:—Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday.

Biscuit	-	1 lb. per man.
Fish	-	One-quarter of a stockfish, or the 8th part of a ling.
Cheese	-	¼ lb.
Butter	-	2 ozs.
Beer	-	1 gallon.

Flesh days:—Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday.

Beer and biscuit as above.

Flesh	-	2 lbs. salt beef per diem, so that every man hath 1 lb. for a meal.

Bacon day:—Monday.

Bacon	-	1 lb. per man per diem.
Pease	-	1 pint per man for a meal.

1 pottle of pease for 4 men.

It will be observed that the English dietary was decidedly more substantial than the Spanish. This seems to have struck some English naval reformer, as there is appended to the above document a suggestion that fish, oil, and pease should be substituted for meat. Beef, we are told, costs 2*d*. per lb., independent of salt and casks, whereas the ration of fish (at 10*s*. the hundred), oil ½*d*. per man per day, and pease the same, will only cost 2*d*. per man per day, instead of 4*d*., the cost of beef.

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notary must be present at and take proper account of all distribution of rations, his book to be signed every day by himself and the captain or ensign of infantry on board, or, in their absence, by the sergeant or corporal in charge. The military officer in charge will have to give you vouchers for all stores he may have received from you, specifying the days of receipt and nature of the stores. These vouchers, signed by you and certified by the ship's notary, will then, if in order, and not otherwise, be credited to your stores account.

If the hurry of the embarkation should prevent proper lists of soldiers being made in accordance with the above order, you will give out the rations for the number of men only specified in the certificate signed by me, as the contingent to be shipped on board your vessel. This is, however, only to be done until you can have a proper list drawn up.

In order that the ration oil should not be consumed in the lanterns for the watch, two arrobas* of oil have been served out to you for the lanterns, on the estimate that an arroba a month will be needed for that purpose on ships of 300 tons and upwards.—Lisbon, 21st April 1588.

April. **272.** ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The people of London have offered the Queen 20 armed ships, and those of Bristol six; other towns according to their capabilities doing the same. The Queen's ships are again arming, and 50 more ships will be added to the fleet.

A muster of 10,000 men has been held in London, most of whom will be put on board these ships. Good preparations have been made all over the country, the people being all armed and officers appointed. The four great ships of the Queen, and one of the earl of Leicester, have not yet sailed, but efforts were being made to get them out.

Drake is awaiting the Bristol ships and others, to the number of 20 sail, besides those he has, his orders being to sail on the 24th instant, which is the 4th May of our style.

22 April, (N.S.) **273.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Don Antonio was with the Queen on the 19th. She was full of caresses and promises, and he returned contented to London the same day. He has sent a man named Juan Diaz Barela to Barbary; and last Thursday went for pleasure to Brentford with four persons only, intending to stay there about 10 or 12 days. Antonio de Brito and his sons' governor, Fray Diego Carlos, are with him. The rest stay in London.

Don Antonio intends to go to Holland, he having arranged with the deputies who came, and he has sent to take a house at Utrecht. He will take with him Edward Perrin, and a dog he is very fond of; and which caused him to be recognised when the Admiral caught him before. The Admiral took him to the fleet with great ceremony

* The arroba of oil was three and a half gallons. The arroba, as a measure of weight, is the quarter of a quintal, or 25 lbs.

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and rejoicing, firing a royal salute, and accompanied him to Court. The Queen expressed her sorrow at his small regard for her, to wish to leave her country in that manner, seeing how little cause she had given him to treat her so. She begged him to be tranquil where he was, and to cast aside suspicion, if he entertained any, as she would never do anything to his detriment. Don Antonio excused himself as well as he could, and they became the best of friends. They agreed to spread the rumour that he had gone to see the fleet, and he returned to his house in London. He has only seen the Queen once since then.

22 April. **274.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1568. French.

The 20 ships that have been fitted out in London for Drake have not yet sailed, and will not be ready to leave under a month. Drake will be weak without these ships.

The Admiral has only about 26 ships, but he has reinforced them with double complements of men. He is not at the present time at sea, having retired to land for a short time. Four of the Queen's great ships have been brought to shore, as being too old, and not having been afloat for a long time they leaked and were unseaworthy.

Great preparations are being made here on all sides, owing to the alarm they are in.

It is said here that Drake's men have captured a Biscay ship and brought her in. She is from Seville, and they have thus discovered the great preparations that are being made in Spain.

There is but little hope entertained here of the peace negotiations in Flanders.

24 April. **275.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

I note in your letters about England the excellent hints you were giving to Julio, which could not be improved upon, and also the good steps he was taking to discover the negotiations being conducted by his ambassador, and to frustrate the evil designs of the French. Continue in the same path, conducting everything towards the end in view, and since you are so satisfied with Julio, and you think it will be needful to give him some more money, you will use your own discretion in the matter; bearing in mind, however, that a short time ago a sum of money was given to him, Hopes must be held out to him that the principal reward will be conferred upon him later, if he continues as heretofore; but give him at present only what is needful. You will also try to get him to exert his influence to prevent Don Antonio from changing his place of residence, which will not be very difficult, for your advices from England say they will not let him go.

It is desirable that your correspondence with my nephew the duke of Parma should be very close, and that you should give him information of the smallest particulars you hear of the negotiations with England, as it is of the highest importance that he should know of them. It would be very desirable if the passage of Frenchmen from Boulogne, which you speak of, should be prevented if possible.

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The earl of Morton and Colonel Semple are going on an excellent mission, and considering the colours in which Bruce's letters paint the present condition of Scotland, it is possible that when Morton and Semple arrive there some good effect may be produced.

You will continue to encourage them, more especially in the intention of crossing the English border when they see the country attacked in another quarter.—Madrid, 24th April 1588.

24 April. **276.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

The Armada I have collected in Lisbon being now ready to sail, and only awaiting a fair wind, I wish to say that it may be that some of the ships, especially the galleys and galleasses, may enter French ports, although they will endeavour to avoid doing so. In such case you will be on the watch, and will arrange that they shall be supplied with what they require in the ports and be allowed to put to sea again at once. The orders given on the Armada are that the masters of any vessels that may be thus obliged to separate and put into port should address themselves to the governors, with letters from the duke of Medina Sidonia, if they can obtain them, and if not, as my subjects and vassals entering the ports of a country with which I am at peace, to enjoy the privileges accorded by the treaties of alliance between the Christian King and myself. You will therefore see that in any such cases they are well treated, and that no obstacles are thrown in their way; but it is left to your discretion whether to take any prior steps to ensure this, by speaking to the King or otherwise. If you decide to address the King in my name, you will say that the boldness of the English corsairs has forced me to endeavour to clear the seas of them this summer, and I have consequently fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and care will be taken that no damage or injury shall be done to his subjects. I have thought well to inform him of this, in case any of my ships should be obliged to enter his ports, in order that they should be treated in a manner corresponding with the peace and kindness that exist between us. You will thus banish any suspicion on his own behalf, and ingratiate him with the object in view. This will be sufficient; do not enter into further particulars at present, if you can avoid it. If afterwards the Armada succeeds in joining hands with my nephew the duke of Parma, and in effecting its object in England, you will receive due instructions as to the line you are to take, and you may then proceed accordingly. But at present you are not to go beyond what is written above. (Addition to the draft in the handwriting of the King.) If you think it undesirable to say what is here set down, you need not do so. Perhaps if they are told of it beforehand they may be the better prepared to do us evil offices. But you, being on the spot, will be the best able to judge of this, and will act as may be most desirable.—Madrid, 24th April 1588.

26 April. (N.S.) **277.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1567. Portuguese.

A certain Fray José Tejeira has gone thither with a secret packet for Stafford from Palliavicini. He is going to Paris to print a book, in reply to one written by one Nuñez against Don Antonio. He cannot obtain leave to print the book here, and will print it in

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Geneva, if they will not allow him to do so in Paris. It will be easy to have him arrested by authority of his superior, as he has consorted with heretics and does not carry the French ambassador's special license as the other friars do.

The only news here is that they are pushing forward their preparations very actively, but they are in great want of seamen. They have sent to Holland for 2,000 sailors. Most of the ships now being fitted cannot be ready for a month, although they say ten days. There are 10,000 men raised in London, 6,000 of them have been mustered, and they are excellent fellows, well armed. It was agreed two days ago that the Admiral should join Drake at Plymouth, whilst these parts should be defended against the duke of Parma by 44 ships, 24 of which are from Holland. Of (Drake's) 30 ships they have already struck off six, and of the 20 vessels (*i.e.*, of the Channel Squadron) they have diminished four, which they are replacing by four pataches. The ships thus withdrawn, together with four of the Queen's ships, will remain here, but I expect the ships deducted will be more than they say, as the same is being done in all the ports. They are in very great alarm lest the Spanish fleet should come to the coast of Wales, as the reports state that it will, and be assisted by the League, of which they are also much afraid. They are rejoicing now over the news they have received, and is now general here, that the Catholic King has gone mad, and has handed the government to his daughter and the Council. But some persons fear that this is only an invention after all. Don Antonio has freighted a ship, ostensibly to go to Barbary, which I do not believe, but think it is intended to keep off this coast until he can get on board. The captain is a Fleming who brought him from Portugal, called Cornelius d'Agoamond (*sic*). Two hours ago the younger son of the Treasurer arrived. He had gone with the Commissioners, and reports that they had met on Thursday last, the 21st, the Commissioners on the other side. The meeting had taken place in some tents outside Ostend, where they were entertained at a banquet. They are pleased at this. It is well to continue to temporise with them, as it causes preparations to be kept in suspense here, especially as (the Queen) is so averse to spending money.

29 April. Estado, 594. **278.** STATEMENT from the DUKE OF PARMA to the KING, showing the Cost of Maintenance for a month of the Army in Flanders, including infantry, cavalry, mercenaries of all nations, artillery, navy, stores, &c.; together with a Statement of the Strength of the Forces at the last muster of 29th April 1588:—

	Crowns.
Spanish Infantry.	
8,718 men in 89 standards - - - -	62,239
Italian Infantry.	
5,339 men in 59 standards - - - -	35,225
Burgundian, Irish, and Scotch Infantry.*	
3,278 men in 29 standards - - - -	20,591

* The Irish were 918 men, under Stanley, the Scotch 804, under Archibald Peyton.

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Walloon Infantry.

	Crowns.
17,825 men in 144 standards - - -	79,341
High German Infantry.	
11,309 men in 50 standards - - -	86,691
Low German Infantry.	
8,616 men in 34 standards - - - -	51,195
Light Horse (Italian and Spanish).	
3,650 men in 41 standards - - -	38,631
Castles.	
Antwerp 600 men, Ghent 350 men, Charlemont 230 men = 1,180 men - - - -	6,508
Staff, unattached, civilians, &c., 668 men - -	23,204
Navy - - - - - -	44,986
Summary.	
Army 59,915 men - - - -	380,421
	Gold Crowns.
His Highness' salary in 3,000 gold crown - -	5,700
That of the Maestre de Campo General 1,000 gold crowns - - - - -	
Commander of the Cavalry 500 gold crowns - -	
Staff and unattached officers - - -	23,204
Fleet, ordnance, victuals, head-quarters, hospital, &c. -	44,986
	454,311

The monthly expenditure up the present time is 454,311 crowns, equal to 370,000 gold crowns; but this does not include extraordinary expenditure, such as carriers, secret service, spies, travelling expenses, and many other things that are required to be paid for every day. It does not include purchases of powder, and other artillery requirements, or the money which has to be spent when an army is in the field, nor does it include the ordinary country garrisons.

1 May. Bill Cotton Vesp. CVIII. English.

279. STATEMENT of the SHIPS, &c., of the ARMADA under the Command of the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

	Ships.	Barks.	Tons.
The Squadron of the Galleons of Portugal - - -	10	2	7,476
Squadron of John Martinez de Recalde, of the province of Biscay - - - - - - - -	10	4	6,566
Squadron of Pedro de Valdez, of Andalusia - -	10	1	8,302
Squadron of Miguel de Oquendo, of Biscay - - -	10	4	6,891
Squadron of Martin de Bertondona, ships of Italy -	10	0	7,756
Squadron of hulks in charge of Juan de Medina - -	22	0	9,960
Squadron of Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza - - -	4	19	1,545
Squadron of Diego Flores de Valdez, galleons, &c., from St. Lucar - - - - - - -	14	4	8,564
Squadron of Alonso Flores from Santa Maria -	0	13	150
	93	47	57,910

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Galleys 4. Galleasses 4.

Men on the . . . . barks	6,587	(Sailors ?)
Men	18,262	(Soldiers ?)
. . . . . four galleys	1,325	
. . . . . *	402	
	27,778	

Biscuit bread - - -	85,872	quintales.
Pipes of wine - - -	13,760	pipes.
Bacon - - - - -	7,279	quintales.
Cheese - - -	3,467	quintales.
Fish - - - -	6,173	quintales.
Rice - - -	2,875	quintales
Beans and peas - - -	7,236	fanegas.
Sweet oil - - -	11,270	arrobas.
Vinegar - - - -	24,878	arrobas.
Pipes of water - - -	10,625	pipes.

Note.—The quintal is 100 lbs., the arroba of oil or vinegar 3½ gallons, the fanega of beans, 2 bushels.

8 May. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

280. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After closing the accompanying despatches, I saw the Nuncio, who told me that some months ago his Holiness had requested the King (of France) to represent to the queen of England how advantageous it would be for her to become a Catholic; the reason of the step being that the Pope had news that she might cede to similar persuasions. This King wrote to his ambassador to inquire whether the Queen showed any disposition this way, and the reply he sent was that Treasurer Cecil had caused the idea to be brought before the Pope, through certain spies, pretended Catholics whom he maintained in Rome;† in order to gain time and cool his Holiness towards your Majesty's enterprise. The Pope had again signified through Cardinal Joyeuse that it would be well for the King again to approach the Queen on the subject by means of a special ambassador, and Secretary Villeroy had spoken to the Nuncio about it. He (Villeroy) said that it would be no good for the King to send a special embassy for the purpose, unless it were given out that the object of the embassy was to offer succour to the queen of England, which would disturb matters here more than ever, and he asked the Nuncio to write to his Holiness to this effect. I said that, so far as offering help to the queen of England was concerned, that had been done from here already, as he (the Nuncio) knew; and the King refused to send the envoy as the Pope asked him to do, in order to avoid pledging himself not to assist the Queen. The Nuncio replied that there was a great deal in what I said.

(Relates the great fear of the king of France at the expected approach of Guise. Great precautions for the King's safety).—Paris, 8th May 1588.

* The paper is much mutilated.

† Probably Carre, of whom Gregorio Leti has so much to say.

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8 May. **281.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I caused Miss Curle to write to (Miss) Kennedy what I told your Majesty, and although the letter arrived and (Miss) Kennedy has written to me twice, she does not acknowledge receipt of it. She says that she understands that your Majesty, out of respect for the late queen of Scots, had given her companion Curle a pension, and as her (Kennedy's) services were no less worthy, she doubted not that your Majesty would reward her in the same way; and she asks me to use my good offices to this effect, without listening to the reports that might have reached me that she was married to the former steward of the Queen. Even if this were true he was a person of quality, who had always been loyal to the Queen. It is quite clear from this that they are engaged, and as the steward is a heretic whom the queen of Scots greatly wished to convert, I am afraid that (Miss) Kennedy will not leave Scotland. Pending the receipt of your Majesty's instructions as to what I am to say to her, I will reply that if she had stayed here, I intended to petition your Majesty to show her some favour, but as she is in a country where the Catholic religion is not practised, after she had been the servant of one who had suffered for the cause, I could not venture to appeal to your Majesty on her behalf.

I will give orders for the representatives (guarantors) of Charles Arundell to be paid the 2,000 crowns, which your Majesty desires them to be paid in discharge of the conscience of the queen of Scots, as well as the two months and 25 days of his pension for his debts. With regard to the other 1,000 crowns which remain to be paid, the archbishop of Glasgow is trying to have the debt proved by the creditor.

I sent the earl of Morton and Colonel Semple to Flanders, as I wrote to your Majesty, and I have a letter from Semple, dated 16th ultimo, from Dunkirk. He says they were embarking that night with fair weather, and if any change took place he would let me know. As I have heard no more, I conclude they have continued their voyage with a favourable wind, as I know that ships that left Scotland at the same time had contrary weather.

I have received two letters from Robert Bruce, copies of which I enclose in the general despatch*.—Paris, 8th May 1588.

8 May. **282.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The Spaniard Pedro de Santa Cruz, who has left England, and from whom I sent your Majesty a letter, brought me the letter for Esteban Lercaro, which I enclose in the general despatch, in order that your Majesty may have it opened. It is from Marco Antonio Messia, a Genoese, whom the marquis de Santa Cruz sent to England to report.†

Pedro de Santa Cruz reports verbally to me what he wrote in his letter; and at the request of Marco Antonio conveys to me, for

* A marginal note in the King's handwriting is to the effect that he does not know whether he has seen these letters or not.

† In the King's hand:—"I have not read it, as it is so long and badly written. Although the parts I have looked at are not clear, it may be sent on."

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I thank you warmly for your action in having the English ships arrested. You will see by the reports from Scotland how they trade under the name of that Hunter, and that the King's letters are only a cloak for it. This will be explained by the man who will go with the proofs. He is one Alexander Scott, who also discovered last year a great quantity of English goods, which from their character it was impossible could be Scotch. I trust you will keep a hand in the business. Scott is starting by way of Nantes to explain the whole matter. He says one of the ships sailed from Scotland, where she had loaded the English goods, but the other two sailed from Norwich, where they had taken their cargo on board. . . . . .

The representatives of the queen of England met those of our King on the 21st ultimo, a half league from Ostend, but I have no news as to the result. I have not received letters from the duke of Parma for some time.—(In an autograph note Mendoza begs the Secretary not to leave him without money. He has so many people depending upon him who must be satisfied).—Paris, 8th May 1588.

9 May. Estado, 455.

287. FULL STATEMENT of the ARMADA sailing from Lisbon Sent to the King by the Duke of Medina Sidonia.*

Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.	Soldiers.	Sailors.	Total.
Galleon, "San Martin," fleet flagship -	1,000	48	300	177	477
„ "San Juan," fleet vice-flagship	1,050	50	321	179	500
„ "San Marcos" - - -	790	33	292	117	409
„ "San Felipe" - - -	800	40	415	117	532
„ "San Luis" - - -	880	38	376	116	492
„ "San Mateo" - - -	750	34	277	120	397
„ "Santiago" - - -	520	24	300	93	393
„ "Florencia" - - -	961	52	400	86	486
„ "San Cristobal" - -	352	20	300	78	378
„ "San Bernardo" - - -	352	21	250	81	331
Zabra, "Augusta" - - -	166	13	55	57	112
„ "Julia" - - - -	166	14	44	72	116
12 ships.	7,737	347	3,330	1,290	4,620
Biscay Squadron under Admiral Juan Martinez de Recalde.					
"Santa Ana," flagship - - -	768	30	256	73	329
"Grangrin," vice-flagship - -	1,160	28	256	73	329
"Santiago" - - - -	666	25	214	102	316
"La Concepcion de Zubelzu" - -	486	16	90	70	160
"La Concepcion de Juanes de Cano" -	418	18	164	61	225
"Magdalena" - - - -	530	18	193	67	260
"San Juan" - - - -	350	21	114	80	194
"Maria Juan" - - - -	665	24	172	100	272
"Manuela" - - - -	520	12	125	54	179
"Santa Maria de Montemayor" -	707	18	206	45	257
Patache, "Maria de Aguirre" - -	70	6	20	23	43
„ "Isabela" - - - -	71	10	20	22	42
„ "Miguel Suso" - -	36	6	20	26	46
„ "San Esteban" - - -	96	6	20	26	46
14 ships.	6,567	238	1,937	863	2,800

* It will be seen that the summary statement in the hands of the English (1st May, *page* 275) does not differ materially from the above official account sent to the King.

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Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.	Soldiers.	Sailors.	Total.
Galleons of Castile under Admiral Diego Flores de Valdes.					
Galleon, "San Cristobal," flagship -	700	36	205	120	225
„ "San Juan Bautista" - -	750	24	207	136	243
„ "San Pedro" - - -	530	24	141	131	272
„ "San Juan" - - -	530	24	163	113	276
„ "Santiago el Mayor" - -	530	24	210	132	343
„ "San Felipe y Santiago" -	530	24	151	116	267
„ "Ascencion" - - -	530	24	199	114	313
„ "Nuestra Senora del Barrio" -	530	24	155	108	263
„ "San Medel y Celedon" -	530	24	160	101	271
„ "Santa Ana" - - -	250	24	91	80	170
Ship, "Nuestra Senora de Begoña" -	750	24	174	123	297
„ "Trinidad" - - -	872	24	180	122	302
„ "Santa Catalina" - - -	882	24	190	159	349
„ "San Juan Bautista" - -	650	24	192	93	285
Patache, "N.S. del Socorro" - -	75	14	20	25	45
„ "San Antonio de Padua" -	75	14	20	46	66
16 ships.	8,714	384	2,458	1,719	4,177
Andalusian Squadron under Don Pedro de Valdes.					
Ship, "N.S. del Rosario," flagship -	1,150	46	304	118	422
„ "San Francisco," vice-flagship -	915	21	222	56	278
Galleon, "San Juan" - - -	810	31	245	89	334
"San Juan de Gargarin" - -	569	16	165	56	221
"La Concepcion" - - - -	862	20	185	71	256
Hulk, "Duquesa Santa Ana" - -	900	23	280	77	357
"Santa Catalina" - - -	730	23	231	77	308
"La Trinidad" - - - -	650	13	192	74	266
"Santa Maria del Juncal" - -	730	20	228	80	308
"San Bartolomé" - - - -	976	27	240	72	312
Patache, "Espiritu Santo" - -	70	—	33	10	43
11 ships.	8,762	240	2,325	780	3,105
Guipuzcoan Squadron under Miguel de Oquendo.					
Ship, "Santa Ana," flagship - -	1,200	47	303	82	385
„ "N.S. de la Rosa," vice-flagship -	945	26	233	64	297
„ "San Salvador" - - -	958	25	321	75	396
„ "San Esteban" - - -	736	26	196	68	264
„ "Santa Marta" - - -	548	20	173	63	236
„ "Santa Barbara" - - -	525	12	154	45	199
„ "San Buenaventura" - -	379	21	168	53	221
„ "La Maria San Juan" - -	291	12	110	30	140
„ "Santa Cruz" - - -	680	16	156	32	188
Hulk, "Doncella" - - -	500	16	156	32	188
Patache, "Ascencion" - - -	60	9	20	23	43
„ "San Bernabé" - -	69	9	20	23	43
12 ships.	6,991	247	1,992	616	2,608
Squadron of Levantine ships under Martin de Bertondona.					
"La Regazona," flagship - -	1,249	30	344	80	424
"La Lavia," vice-flagship - -	728	25	208	71	274
"La Rata Coronada" - - -	820	35	335	84	419

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Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.	Soldiers.	Sailors.	Total.
Squadron of Levantine ships under Martin de Bertondona—cont.					
"San Juan de Sicilia"	800	26	279	63	342
"La Trinidad Valencera"	1,100	42	281	79	360
"La Anunciada"	703	24	196	79	275
"San Nicolas Prodaneli"	834	26	374	81	355
"La Juliana"	860	32	325	70	395
"Santa Maria de la Vison"	666	18	236	71	307
"La Trinidad de Scala"	900	22	307	79	386
10 ships.	7,705	280	2,780	767	3,527
Fleet of Hulks under Juan Gomez de Medina.					
"Gran Grifon," flagship	650	38	243	43	286
"San Salvador," vice-flagship	650	24	218	43	261
"Perro Marino"	200	7	70	24	94
"Falcon Blanco," mayor	500	16	161	36	197
"Castillo Negro"	750	27	279	34	313
"Barca de Amburg"	600	23	239	25	264
"Casa de Paz Grande"	650	26	198	27	225
"San Pedro," mayor	581	29	213	28	241
"El Sanson"	500	18	200	31	231
"San Pedro Menor"	500	18	157	23	180
"Barca de Ansiqne" (Dantzic)	450	26	200	25	225
"Falcon Blanco," Mediano	300	16	76	27	103
"San Andres"	400	14	150	28	178
"Casa de Paz," chica	350	15	162	24	186
"Ciervo Volante"	400	18	200	22	222
"Paloma Blanca"	250	12	56	20	76
"La Ventura"	160	4	58	14	72
"Santa Barbara"	370	10	70	22	92
"Santiago"	600	19	56	30	86
"David"	450	7	50	24	74
"El Gato"	400	9	40	22	62
"Esayas"	260	4	30	16	46
"San Gabriel"	280	4	35	20	55
23 ships.	10,271	384	3,121	608	3,729
Pataches and Zabras, commanded by Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.*					
"Nuestra Señora del Pilar," flagship	300	11	109	51	160
"La Caridad" (English)	180	12	70	36	106
"San Andres" (Scotch)	—	12	40	29	69
"El Crucifijo"	150	8	40	29	69
"Nuestra Señora del Puerto"	55	8	30	33	63
"La Concepcion de Carasa"	70	5	30	42	72
"Nuestra Señora de Begoña"	64	—	20	26	46
"La Concepcion de Capetillo"	60	10	20	26	46
"San Jeronimo"	50	4	20	37	57
"Nuestra Señora de Gracia"	57	5	20	34	54
"La Concepcion de Francisco de Latero"	75	6	20	29	59
"Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe"	70	—	20	42	62
"San Francisco"	70	—	20	37	57
"Espiritu Santo"	75	—	20	47	67

* Zabras were swift, sloop-rigged Biscay smacks, used for carrying messages, orders, &c. Pataches were usually larger vessels employed as tenders, coast-guards, and despatch boats, and were referred to by the English as "*pinnaces.*"

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Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.	Soldiers.	Sailors.	Total.
Pataches and Zabras, commanded by Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.—cont.					
"Trinidad" (zabra)	—	2	—	23	23
"Nuestra Señora de Castro"	—	2	—	26	26
"Santo Andres"	—	2	—	15	15
"La Concepcion de Valmaseda"	—	—	—	22	22
"La Concepcion de Somanila"	—	—	—	31	31
"Santa Catalina"	—	—	—	23	23
"San Juan de Carasa"	—	—	—	23	23
"Ascencion"	—	—	—	23	23
22 ships.	1,131	91	479	774	1,093*
Galleasses of Naples, under Don Hugo de Moncada.					
Galleass, "Capitana" (San Lorenzo)	—	50	264	124	386 (?)
„ "Patrona" (Zuñiga)	—	50	178	112	290
„ "Girona"	—	50	169	120	289
„ "Napolitana"	—	50	264	112	376
4 ships.	—	200	873	468	1,341
Galleys of Portugal, under Don Diego de Medrano.					
Galley, "Capitana"	—	5	—	106	—
„ "Princesa"	—	5	—	90	—
„ "Diana"	—	5	—	94	—
„ "Bazana"	—	5	—	72	—
4 with 888 oarsmen.	—	—	—	362	362

General Summary of the entire Armada.

—	Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.	Soldiers.	Sailors.	Total.
Squadron of Galleons of Portugal.	12	7,737	347	3,330	1,293	4,623
Squadron of Biscay	14	6,567	238	1,937	863	2,800
Squadron of Castile	16	8,714	384	2,458	1,719	4,171 (?)
Squadron of Andalucia	11	8,962	240	2,327	780	3,105 (?)
Squadron of Guipuzcoa	14	6,991	247	1,992	616	2,608
Squadron of Levantine Ships.	10	7,705	280	2,780	767	3,523 (?)
Hulks	23	10,271	384	3,121	608	3,729
Pataches and Zabras	22	1,121	91	479	574	1,093 (?)
Galleasses of Naples	4	—	200	773	468	1,341 (?)
Galleys	4	—	20	—	362	362
Oarsmen	—	—	—	—	—	2,088
	—	—	—	—	—	†29,453

* There is a discrepancy of 60 in these figures. The total, however, is no doubt correct.

† The total is given as in the original document, but either by accident or design there appears to be an overstatement of 118 men as compared with the component items.

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Note.—Appended to the above document there is an extremely long list of the names of all the gentlemen adventurers and officers on the Armada, with the number of servants by whom each one was attended. As the list in its entirety has been published by Captain Fernandez Duro in "La Armada Invencible" it is not considered necessary to reproduce it here. It may, however, be interesting to give the following particulars:—

There were 116 gentlemen adventurers, of whom 62 were noblemen. Four of the adventurers appear to be English, one Irish, and one German. There were 456 servants to the gentlemen adventurers. Don Alonso de Leyva (who was to take supreme command in case of the death or disablement of Medina Sidonia) and the prince of Ascoli (the supposed son of Philip II.) having respectively 36 and 39 servants.

There were 238 salaried officers unattached, attended by 163 servants. Of these officers the following appear to have been Irish or English:—

Sir Maurice Geraldine.	Diego O'Dore.
Edmond Stacy.	Robert Riford.
Sir Charles O'Connor.	Richard Seton.
Sir Thomas Geraldine.	William Stacy.
Tristram Winglade (?).	Edward Riford (?).
Richard Burley.	Frederick Patrick.
Robert Lario (?).	Henry Mitchel.
John Burner.	Sir Robert Daniell.
Sir Peter Marley.	Thomas Vitres (?), an Irish priest.
Patrick Kinford.	

The artillery staff consisted in all of 167 men; the hospital staff of 62 men, with five physicians and five surgeons. Four priests were attached to the hospital staff. There were also 180 monks and friars on the fleet. The regular troops on the Armada were organised into seven regiments of about 25 companies, each consisting of about 100 men. The six Maestres de Campo, or Colonels, namely, Don Diego de Pimentel, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonso de Luzon, Nicolas Isla, Don Agustin Mexia and Gaspar de Sosa (the seventh regiment being composed of detached companies) appear each to have commanded a company, in addition to having a general control of his regiment. The total number of companies was estimated at 172, each under a captain and ensign, and the aggregate of the rank and file is placed at 18,973 men.

The household of the duke of Medina Sidonia consisted of 22 gentlemen and 50 servants.

An immense quantity of spare stores is specified as having been taken on the fleet; amongst other things 8,000 leather bottles, 5,000 pairs of shoes and 11,000 pairs of sandals, 20 gun-carriages for battery artillery, 3,500 spare cannon balls for the same, 40 artillery mules, waggons, limbers, harness, &c., 7,000 harquebusses, 1,000 muskets, 10,000 pikes, and a great number of all sorts of sappers' tools.

9 May. Guerra, 221. **288.** SUMMARY STATEMENT of the VESSELS that compose the most fortunate ARMADA, which HIS MAJESTY has ordered to be collected in this PORT OF LISBON, the Commander-in-Chief

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of which is the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA; together with the Soldiers, Sailors, Pilots, Munitions, Provisions, and other necessaries therein, and the period of time for which the said provisions will last.

There will go in the Armada 130 ships, as follows:—

Galleons and ships of war	65
Hulks from 300 to 700 tons burden	25
Dispatch boats (pataches) from 70 to 100 tons	19
Zabras (Biscay smacks), two being large ones belonging to the Portuguese Crown	13
Galleasses	4
Galleys	4
	130

The total tonnage of the above ships is 57,868 tons.

Caravels taken for the service of the Armada	10 caravels.
Armed faluas with six sailors in each	10 faluas.
There are taken in all 2,431 pieces of ordnance, namely, 1,497 bronze pieces of various calibres, many of them being cannons or half-culverins and pedrero (stone-shooting) cannons, and 934 cast-iron guns	2,431 guns.
Balls for the said guns	123,790 balls.
Powder for cannon and small-arms	5,175 quintals; all harquebuss powder.
Lead for the harquebusses	1,238 quintals.
Harquebuss fire match	1,151 „

Men going in the said Armada.

Spanish soldiers	16,973 men.
Portuguese soldiers	2,000 „
Volunteers (Gentlemen adventurers)	124 „
Mariners	8,052 „
Volunteers' servants	465 „
Officers unattached	238 „
Servants to the same	163 „
Gunners	167 „
Hospital staff	85 „
Religious of various orders	180 „
Gentlemen of the Duke's household	22 „
Servants of the Duke's household	50 „
Inspector-General and financial staff	17 „
Servants of the Inspector-General	50 „
Officers of justice	19 „
Total number of persons on the Armada	28,605 „
In the galleasses and galleys	2,088 „
Total strength	30,693 „

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Stores.*

Biscuit	110,000	quintals.
Wine	14,170	pipes.
Bacon	6,000	quintals.
Cheese	3,433	„
Fish of all sorts	8,000	„
Rice	3,000	„
Beans and chickpeas	6,320	fanegas.
Oil	11,398	arrobas.
Vinegar	23,870	„
Pipes of water	11,870	pipes.

Which stores will suffice the Armada for six months.

Commander-in-Chief and Principal Officers.

Duke of Medina Sidonia, Commander-in-Chief.
Don Alonso Martinez de Leiva, Commander-in-Chief of the Cavalry of Milan.
Juan Martinez de Recalde, General of the Biscay fleet, Admiral of the whole Armada.
Diego Flores de Valdes, General of the galleons of Castile.
Pedro de Valdes, General of the Andalusian fleet.
Miguel de Oquendo, General of the Guipuzcoan fleet.
Martin de Bertondona, in charge of the Levantine ships.
Juan Gomez de Medina, commanding the hulks.
Don Hugo de Moncada, commanding the four galleasses.
Diego Medrano, commanding the four galleys.
Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, General of the despatch boats.

10 May. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1568. French.

289. ADVICES from LONDON.

Drake has not yet sailed. He is awaiting 20 ships from London and six from Bristol.

He is extremely negligent in guarding his ships; 1,000 of his men have mutinied for want of pay.

The 20 London ships will not be ready in three weeks.

It is said that the Admiral will join Drake, and that they will have together 100 sail.

It is said that Mr. Winter will guard the Flemish seas with 40 or 50 ships, and they are depending upon the men of Holland and Zeeland, who will help them if necessary.

The Lord Chamberlain, governor of Berwick,† had travelled three days towards London when he was countermanded by the Queen, and returned to Berwick.

The Queen seems to be very jealous and afraid of the king of Scotland.

Great stores of horses and muskets are being collected here, and it is said that we shall be as well supplied with muskets as the Spaniards.

In consequence of some news she recently received from Paris, the Queen became unwell, and almost had an attack of palpitation of the heart.

* By comparison of the above with the list of stores on the Armada which had been sent to England, it will be seen that but slight discrepancy existed. (*See* 1st May, *page* 276.)

† Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's first cousin.

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13 May. Estado, 594. **290.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

With regard to the going of Colonel Semple to Scotland, I have to say that in accordance with the arrangement made by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the earl of Morton, and Semple, the two latter left Paris, and whilst Morton remained at St. Omer, Semple came hither to consult me with regard to the decision they had adopted. The substance of it was, that they were to go to Scotland by way of Dunkirk, as I have already informed your Majesty, and that on their arrival they would endeavour to take up arms in defence of the Catholic party. If they could seize some port whither aid could be sent to them they were to do so, and at the proper time (and not before) they were to march upon the English border, for the purpose of making a diversion. With these objects they were to use the 10,000 crowns taken by Bruce last year for the ships, and the 3,000 sent to them at the same time for masts, rigging, &c. It was left to them and other Catholics whether they should or should not approach the King (of Scotland) in my name. When Semple had conveyed his message to me, he left to join the earl of Morton, and take ship at night from Dunkirk. Our Lord blessed them with such fair weather that they landed in the north of Scotland within four days from their departure. They went ashore in a fishing boat which they met, sending back to Dunkirk the ship in which they had come without its having been seen from the land. This ship made her return voyage as quickly, without meeting with any impediment, from which it may be concluded that his Divine Majesty deigns to bless our cause also by this means. The Scotch Catholics have promised to keep us well informed, and I have no doubt they will do so, as they have no other support or protection than your Majesty. As they seem to be acting so well, it is only right that they should be held in account, and aided with money, &c., in order that they may not be lost.—Bruges, 13th May 1588.

13 May. Estado, 594. **291.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

I deal in another letter with the peace negotiations, and I have only in this to reply to the remarks on the subject contained in your Majesty's despatches of 7th and 17th ultimo. The power written in French, which your Majesty was good enough to send me, shall only be used strictly under the circumstances and in the way stated by your Majesty; the object of the power being to keep the negotiations on foot as long as possible, and not for the purpose of being used for concluding any arrangement. As they (the English Commissioners) have, so far, been satisfied with the authority I have given to our Commissioners on your Majesty's behalf, the new power may perhaps not have to be presented or published. It was, however, advisable to send it, in order to avoid the breaking off of the negotiations for want of it, and the annoyance which would be occasioned to your subjects here, who so earnestly desire peace, if the negotiations were to fall through from any fault on our side. I will do my best to keep the conferences going, both whilst things remain as they are, and, if

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possible, after hostilities are impending, as your Majesty orders; although I am not very confident of being able to do it, as the Commissioners are sure to take fright and suspend the negotiations. If they get news of the certain coming of the Armada whilst they are at Ostend—where they still remain—I expect they will try to cross over to England as soon as they can. We will do our best in any case; and if they are in one of your Majesty's towns and refuse to stay here, but consent to continue the negotiations in England itself, they shall be conveyed across politely, and everything guided in the way your Majesty orders. Your Majesty shall be kept fully informed of what is done, although I fervently trust that the mercy of God, the justice of the cause, and your Majesty's holy object, may render it unnecessary for us to discuss the question of peace much longer.—Bruges, 13th May 1588.

13 May. Estado, 594.

292. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

I am informed by your Majesty's letters that your Armada, under the duke of Medina Sidonia, was quite ready to sail, and am rejoiced to hear that it is coming so well provided with men, and everything else necessary. I assure myself that this must be the case, as nothing less could be expected from your Majesty's great experience and prudence, knowing, as your Majesty does, how very much depends upon this point. I am anxiously looking from hour to hour for news of the Duke, as I do not think he can fail to send soon, to assure me that I shall be duly supported. There shall not, on my part, be the least shortcoming in the interests of your Majesty's service and the carrying out of the enterprise. In view of circumstances here, and my own experience of affairs on this side, I will state, with my usual frankness, what occurs to me, so that, between the Duke and myself, we may take such steps as may result in the success of the cause of God and your Majesty. When my passage across is assured, according to the plan laid down, I will do my share by leading over the troops. When we have gained a footing on shore, I trust in Almighty God that my management of affairs may be such as to gain for me your Majesty's approval, and that you may recognise by my acts that my zeal and willingness are such as ensure that there shall be no shortcoming on my part. In the fulfilment of my duty, and in return for the confidence your Majesty reposes in me, I will still devote my life to your service, as I have done for long past; and will employ all the alacrity and earnestness which can be demanded from the humblest, most faithful, and loyal servant that your Majesty possesses.

I note that there will be no failing with regard to the 6,000 effective Spaniards which the Duke is to give me, and I am sorry that, for the reasons your Majesty lays down, he will not be able to let me have any more. The Spaniards must be our right arm in

* In another letter of same date of the above, from the same to the same, the Duke thankfully acknowledges the receipt of 200,000 crowns sent to him from Spain. This sum, he says, together with the 300,000 crowns lent by the duke of Mantua, arrived just as he was at the last extremity, and the army on the point of mutiny for want of pay. His expenses are growing greater every day. He expresses an earnest hope that count de Olivares will get the million from the Pope at once.

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this business, and we have very few of them here, although the veterans of them are the best in the world; so that in the interest of the success of the enterprise I wish the number could be increased. We are short of good pilots and even of seamen. If the passage were a long one we could not venture upon it. The reason for this is, not that the few (seamen) we have are not well treated, or that we have neglected to obtain more, but because the well-disposed ones are so few, and the Hollanders and Zeelanders are forbidden under heavy penalties to serve us. I can therefore only send the Duke those who went with Domingo de Vellota, who are the very best and most experienced on these coasts. I feel this lack more than I can say, as I understand how very important it is that the Duke should be well supplied with pilots. But I trust that God, in whose cause we are striving, will help and favour us that we may succeed as we desire.

With regard to the rumour that your Majesty orders to be spread at the entrance (into England), that our object is the reform of religion, and that Cardinal Allen is coming with the apostolic authority to absolve them, and settle matters of religion, I will take all due care, for the reasons which have been stated on other occasions. It is evident that the majority of the Catholics in England are not so entirely mortified as to be free from their humours.

The count de Olivares has sent me from Rome a discourse and declaration drawn up in English by Allen, with the object referred to, in order that it may be printed and spread over England at the time of the invasion. It shall first be translated, so that we may see whether there is anything to suppress or add to it, and it shall then be printed in the form of a short proclamation, containing the principal heads of the discourse, as Allen himself agrees. I have no doubt that Allen's aid, both in the important religious questions, and in other political affairs, will be extremely advantageous, seeing his great influence amongst the Catholics, and his goodness, efficiency, and learning.

If the duke of Medina Sidonia should encounter and fight the enemy's fleet in any place where I can help him, either in the way suggested by your Majesty or any other, I will not neglect the opportunity of doing my best. In this respect, and in having the troops collected (which principally depends upon having money to keep them), as well as in all else your Majesty orders, I will strive with all my strength, understanding, and heart to carry out my share of the task.

There is no accommodation for sheltering the troops; for the towns where the Spanish infantry and the cavalry are can positively no longer bear the burden, but I have decided to issue orders for the whole of them to take the field, with the object mainly of having them handy for embarkation, choosing the ports that were most convenient for them—Nieuport, Dunkirk, or Gravelines. This order will be carried out with all speed, and as time is so advanced, and affairs in Lisbon in the condition your Majesty informs me, I hope before the men are mustered to have news from the Duke that the Armada is approaching, and that, consequently,

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I shall have to busy myself rather with embarking the men than with housing them.—Bruges, 13th May 1588.

May? Estado, 455. **293.** EXTRACTS from the "General Orders," issued by the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA, to the men of all ranks on the ARMADA at Lisbon.

First and foremost, you must all know, from the highest to the lowest, that the principal reason which has moved his Majesty to undertake this enterprise is his desire to serve God, and to convert to His church many peoples and souls who are now oppressed by the heretical enemies of our holy Catholic faith, and are subjected to their sects and errors. In order that this aim should be kept constantly before the eyes of all of us I enjoin you to see that, before embarking, all ranks be confessed and absolved, with due contrition for their sins. I trust this will be the case with everybody, and that by this means and our zeal to serve God effectually, we may be guided as may seem best to Him in whose cause we strive.

I also enjoin you to take particular care that no soldier, sailor, or other person in the Armada shall blaspheme, or deny Our Lord, Our Lady, or the Saints, under very severe punishment to be inflicted at our discretion. With regard to other less serious oaths, the officers of the ships will do their best to repress their use, and will punish offenders by docking their wine rations; or in some other way at their discretion. As these disorders usually arise from gambling, you will endeavour to repress this as much as possible, especially the prohibited games, and allow no play at night on any account.

In order to avoid the troubles that might otherwise arise to this Armada, I hereby proclaim a truce for, and take into my own hands, all quarrels, disputes, insults, and challenges that up to the publication of these orders may have occurred between any persons, soldiers or sailors of any rank, or other persons whatever, who may be in this fleet, such suspension to last during the whole time of our expedition, and a month afterwards. The order holds good with all disputes, even those of long standing, and I expressly command that this truce shall on no account be violated, directly or indirectly, under pain of death for treason. As it is an evident inconvenience, as well as an offence to God, that public or other women should be permitted to accompany such an Armada, I order that none shall be taken on board. If any attempt be made to embark women, I authorise the captains and masters of ships to prevent it, and if it be done surreptitiously the offenders must be severally punished.

Every morning at daybreak the ships' boys shall, as usual, say their "Good morrow," at the foot of the mainmast, and at sunset the Ave Maria. Some days, and at least every Saturday, they shall say the Salve with the Litany.

It is of the greatest importance to the success of the Armada that there should exist perfect good feeling and friendship between soldiers and sailors, and that there should be no possibility of quarrels amongst them, or other cause of scandal. I therefore order that no man shall carry a dagger, and that on no account shall offence be given on either side, but that all shall obey their officers.

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If any scandal should arise, the originator of it shall be severely punished.

When my galleon the "San Martin," the principal flagship of the fleet, shall fire a signal gun, this will be the order for sailing, and everything will then be at once put in order for immediate departure; so that when the bugle sounds, all the ships may, without delay or confusion, be able to take their places. When I hoist my sails to leave, the rest of the ships will do the same, taking great care to avoid shallows and snags, and carrying the longboats and skiffs ready in case of need. When the ships are out at sea, each one will come to leeward of the flagship to salute and ask for orders; and if it be in the evening to ask for the watchword. They will endeavour to avoid preceding the flagship, either by night or day, and will be very careful to keep a good look-out.

The ships will come to the flagship every evening to learn the watchword and receive orders; but as it may be difficult for so many large ships to do this daily without fouling each other, the generals and chiefs of squadrons will be careful to obtain the watchword in good time, so that they may communicate it to the other ships of their respective squadrons. The flagship must be saluted by bugles if there are any on board, or by fifes, and two cheers from the crews. When the response has been given the salute must be repeated. If the hour be late, the watchword must be requested, and when it has been obtained another salute must be given, and the ship will then make way for others.

In case the weather should make it impossible to obtain the watchword on any days, the following words must be employed:—

Sunday, Jesus.	Thursday, The Angels.
Monday, Holy Ghost.	Friday, All Saints.
Tuesday, Most Holy Trinity.	Saturday, Our Lady.
Wednesday, Santiago.	

It is of great importance that the Armada should be kept well together, and the generals and chiefs of squadrons must endeavour to sail in as close order as possible. The ships and pataches under Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza will keep next to my flagship, except six of them, two of which will follow Don Pedro de Valdez's flagship, two that of Martin de Bertondona, and the remaining two that of Juan Gomez de Medina. These six must be told off at once in order to avoid confusion. Great care and vigilance must be exercised to keep the squadron of hulks always in the midst of the fleet. The order about not preceding the flagship must be strictly obeyed, especially at night.

No ship belonging to, or accompanying the Armada, shall separate from it without my permission. If any should be forced out of the course by tempest, before arriving off Cape Finisterre, they will make direct for that point, where they will find orders from me; but if no such orders be awaiting them, they will then make for Corunna, where they will receive orders. Any infraction of this order shall be punished by death and forfeiture.

On leaving Cape Finisterre the course will be to the Scilly Isles, and ships must try to sight the islands from the south, taking great

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care to look to their soundings. If on the voyage any ships should get separated, they are not to return to Spain on any account, the punishment for disobedience being forfeiture and death with disgrace; but are to continue on the course, and endeavour to sight the Scillys from the south. If on their arrival there the Armada be behind them, they will cruise off the place, keeping up to windward, until the Armada appears, or they have satisfied themselves that it has passed them, in which case they will make for Mount's Bay, Saint Michael's, between Cape Longnose (Land's End) and the Lizard, where instructions will await them if the Armada be not there.

Great care must be exercised in watching the flagship at night, to see whether she alters her course. If she puts about she will first fire a gun, and when she is on her new tack she will show a fresh light on her poop, apart from her lantern. The other ships must acknowledge this by showing an extra light. When the flagship shortens sail she will show two lights, one at the poop, and the other half way up the rigging.

When for any reason she may take in or shorten all her sails, she will show three lights—one astern, one in the rigging, and the other at the maintop. She will also fire a gun for the other ships to do the same. They will answer by numerous lights astern.

If any misfortune should befall any ship at night, which may cause her to take in all her sails, she will fire a great gun, and burn a beacon signal all night, and the other vessels near her will burn many lights, so that she may be seen. They will stand by till daylight, and, if the need be great, will fire another gun.

Men of quick sight will be always stationed at the masthead on the look-out, particularly at sunrise and sunset, and they must count the sails of the Armada. In the event of their discovering any in excess, the main topsail will be twice dipped and a gun fired, when the ships near will give chase and overhaul the intruders, so that they may not escape. Any captain whose negligence allows such a ship to get away will be punished. If, however, the flagship gives the signal by gunfire for the ships to rejoin, they will do so, even though they are on the point of capturing the intruder.

When any number of sails up to four be sighted by a ship, she will take in her maintopsail, hoist a flag over her maintopsail yard, and fire a gun; but if she discovers a greater number of sails than four she will hoist a flag to her mainmast head, take in her maintopsail, and fire two guns in succession, trying to give notice to the flagship. When the latter perceives the signals the ship will resume her position.

When a ship sights land ahead, she will signal by taking in both of her topsails at the same time. If land ahead be sighted by a ship at night, she will fire a gun and put her bows to seaward, burning two lights at her poop. Those who perceive the signals will also put about on the same tack, showing two lights astern.

When the flagship has anything to communicate, she will hoist a flag at the poop, near the lantern, and the other ships will then approach to learn what she has to say.

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If (which God forbid) any ship should catch fire, those near her will give her a wide berth, but will send their longboats and skiffs alongside to help her, the rest of the ships doing the same.

Great care must be taken to extinguish the galley fire before sunset.

The soldiers must allow the rations to be distributed by those appointed for the duty, and must not themselves go down and take or choose them by force, as they have sometimes done.

The sergeant or some other company officer must be present at the distribution to prevent disorder. The rations must be served out early, so that supper shall be finished before nightfall.

Let no ship under my command dare to enter port or cast anchor until the flagship has first done so, unless by my written order, on pain of exemplary punishment.

The military officers must see that the soldiers' arms are kept clean, ready for service; and, in any case, must cause them to be cleaned twice a week. They must also exercise their men in the use of their arms, so that they may be expert when needed.

During the voyage orders will be given with regard to the duty of each man in an engagement, but I order that great care be taken that the bombardiers have ready the usual buckets and tubs full of vinegar and water, and all the customary preparations of old sails, and wet blankets, to protect the ships against fire thrown upon them.

The same care must also be exercised that there are plenty of balls made ready, with the necessary powder and fire match; and that the soldiers are supplied by the magazine keeper with the proper weight of ammunition as ordered for each ship.

I also order that the soldiers' quarters be kept clear of boxes and other things, and that truckle beds are not to be allowed in any of the ships. If any such exist they are to be demolished immediately, and I order the sailors not to allow them. If the infantry possess them let the sailors inform me thereof, and I will have them removed.*

As the mariners have to attend to the working of the ship their quarters should be the fore and poop castles, out of the way of the soldiers who might embarrass them. They are to retain these quarters during all the voyage.

The cannon must be kept in good order, loaded with ball, and near each piece must be placed its magazine with ammunition. Let great care be taken with the cartridges of each piece, to avoid their taking fire, and let the loaders and spongers be near at hand.

Each ship will carry two shallop loads of casting stones, to be made use of during a fight. They will be divided between the deck, the poop, and the tops.

Every ship, according to its tonnage and artillery, will carry the half pipes necessary, to be filled with water on the day of battle, when

* This order does not seem to have been very strictly enforced at the time, but after the return of the Armada to Corunna a peremptory general order was issued for the instant demolition of all partitions, planks, bunks, and other erections between decks that may hamper the movements of the crew, or the working of the artillery. This order is dated 5th July 1588.

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they will be distributed between the pieces and the upper works, as may be advisable. Near them should be kept some old rags or blankets, to wet and stifle any fire that may break out. The artificial fire should be entrusted to the most experienced men, to be used when necessary. If this is not confided beforehand to men who understand the management of it great damage may result.

By the same rule that no ship is to precede the flagship, particularly at night, no vessel is to lag behind it. Let each ship sail according to her speed and burden, as it is very important that the Armada should keep together. This is urged very particularly upon captains, masters, and pilots.

A copy of these instructions signed by me, and countersigned by my secretary, will be sent to each ship of the fleet, and will be publicly read by the notary on board; in order that sailors and soldiers alike may be informed of them, and not plead ignorance. The said notaries are ordered to read these instructions three times a week publicly, and to obtain due testimony that they have done so. Any neglect of this shall be severely punished.

All this must be publicly made known, and inviolably obeyed. In the interests of his Majesty's service no infraction whatever is to be allowed of any portion of these orders, or otherwise the offenders shall be well punished at our discretion. On board the galleon "San Martin," off Belem, the —— 1588.—DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

Note.—There is in the National Library at Madrid (G. 139.201) a contemporary manuscript, apparently intended to be issued to the men on the Armada at the same time as the above. It is a fervid and violent exhortation, reciting in inflammatory language the whole case against England, and is headed: "An Address to the Captains and Men on the Armada." Its abuse of the Queen passes all bounds, and it is asserted that the heretics in England are few in number, and that the great majority of the people are Catholics, eagerly awaiting an opportunity of welcoming the Armada. As an instance of the means employed to maintain the enthusiasm of the men on the Armada, the concluding paragraphs of the address are subjoined. It is right to say, however, that there is on the document itself nothing to show that it was official:—

"Onward, gentlemen, onward! Onward with joy and gladness, onward to our glorious, honourable, necessary, profitable, and not difficult undertaking. Glorious to God, to His church, to His saints and to our country. Glorious to God, who for the punishment of England has allowed Himself to be banished from the land, and the holy sacrifice of the Mass to be abolished. Glorious to His church, now oppressed and downtrodden by the English heretics. Glorious to the saints, who have been there persecuted and maltreated, insulted, and burnt. Glorious for our country, because God has deigned to make it His instrument for such great ends. Necessary for the prestige of our King, necessary for the preservation of the Indies, with the fleets and treasures which come therefrom. Profitable because, by God's help, the war in Flanders will be ended, and we shall be saved the drain of blood and substance

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which it draws from Spain; profitable also because of the plunder and endless riches we shall gather in England, and with which, by the favour of God, we shall return, gloriously and victoriously, to our homes. We are going on an undertaking which offers no great difficulty, because God, in whose sacred cause we go, will lead us. With such a Captain we need not fear. The saints of Heaven will go in our company, and particularly the holy patrons of Spain; and those of England itself, who are persecuted by the heretics, and cry aloud to God for vengeance, will come out to meet us and aid us, as well as those who sacrificed their lives in establishing our holy faith in the land, and watered it with their blood. There we shall find awaiting us the aid of the blessed John Fisher, cardinal-bishop of Rochester, of Thomas More, of John Forrest, and of innumerable holy Carthusians, Franciscans, and other religious men, whose blood was cruelly shed by King Henry, and who call to God to avenge them from the land in which they died. There, too, shall we have the help of Edmund Campion, of Ralph Sherwin, of Alexander Briant, of Thomas Cotton, and many other venerable priests and servants of the Lord, whom Elizabeth has torn to pieces with atrocious cruelty and exquisite torments. With us, too, will be the blessed and innocent Mary queen of Scotland, who, still fresh from her sacrifice, bears copious and abounding witness to the cruelty and impiety of this Elizabeth, and directs her shafts against her. There also will await us the groans of countless imprisoned Catholics, the tears of widows who lost their husbands for the faith, the sobs of maidens who were forced to sacrifice their lives rather than destroy their souls, the tender children who, suckled upon the poison of heresy, are doomed to perdition unless deliverance reaches them betimes; and finally myriads of workers, citizens, knights, nobles, and clergymen, and all ranks of Catholics, who are oppressed and downtrodden by the heretics, and who are anxiously looking to us for their liberation.

"With us go faith, justice, and truth, the benediction of the Pope, who holds the place of God on earth, the sympathies of all good people, the prayers of all the Catholic Church; we have them all on our side. God is stronger than the devil, truth stronger than error, the Catholic faith stronger than heresy, the saints and angels of Heaven stronger than all the power of hell, the indomitable spirit and sturdy arm of the Spaniard stronger than the drooping hearts and lax and frozen bodies of the English. One thing alone remains, gentlemen: Let there go with us too a pure and clear conscience, a heart inspired alone with love and zeal for the glory of the Most High; the single thought to fight first for our holy faith, for our law, our King, and our country. Let us live Christian lives, without offence towards our God, in brotherhood with our fellow soldiers, and in obedience to our captains. Courage! steadfastness! and Spanish bravery! for with these the victory is ours, and we have nought to fear."

14 May. Estado, 455. **294.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

(Congratulates him on the birth of a third grandson, a son of the duchess of Savoy.)

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God ordains all things, and He has not seen fit to send us weather for the sailing of the Armada. It is as boisterous and bad as if it were December; but He knows best. Everything is quite ready, and not an hour shall be wasted. It is two months ago to-day since I came to this city (Lisbon), and I leave it for others to tell your Majesty how much has been done. The bringing together of so great a force without disorder or dispute, but with all quietude and conformity, is the work of the Lord, through your Majesty's holy zeal: and in Him I hope for the continued success of our enterprise.

In the monastery of San Benito at Loyos there is a holy friar called Antonio de la Concepcion, with whom I have discoursed lately in my leisure time. He is certain that our Lord will vouchsafe a great victory to your Majesty. He told me to write this to your Majesty, and to beseech you not to undertake this enterprise out of vengeance for the injuries which the infidels have done to you, or to extend your dominions, but only for the honour and glory of God Almighty; and to reclaim to His church the heretics who have strayed from it.

The complete statement enclosed of the Armada is precise and minute.* I again pray your Majesty to favour the business of my mother-in-law, about whom I am very anxious, and shall remain so until I hear that your Majesty has favoured my suit.†—On board the galleon "San Martin," 14th May 1588.

14 May. Estado, 455.

295. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

The Armada took advantage of a light easterly wind, which blew for a few hours on the 11th instant, to drop down the river to Belem and Santa Catalina, where the ships now only await a fair wind to sail. God send it soon! On the 11th Captain Francisco Moresin (Morosini) came to me with a letter of credence from the duke of Parma, dated in Ghent the 22nd March. His message is to the effect that the Duke sends him to ascertain the present state of the Armada, and to inform me of the Duke's preparations in Flanders. He has less troops than I expected, as this man tells me they will not exceed 17,000 all told, with 1,000 light horse, and 300 small vessels, but none with oars or top masts. He says he will have stores and munitions for two months. Moresin wanted to go back immediately, to inform the Duke how ready this Armada was, but I have not allowed him to do so in consequence of the injury it would do if he were caught by corsairs. I will therefore take him with me, and despatch him from the point I think safest. He was much surprised to see the strength of the Armada. He did not expect it would have been so great.—On the galleon "San Martin," 14th May 1588.

Note.—On the 21st May the Duke again writes to the King deploring that the bad weather still detains the Armada at Lisbon.

* The statement will be found under date of 9th May, page 280.

† This was the famous Ana de Mendoza, princess of Eboli, the widow of Ruy Gomez, and the paramour of Secretary Antonio Perez. She had been for many years under arrest in her own castle of Pastrana for complicity in the murder of Escobedo, the secretary of Don John of Austria, and connivance with the malpractices of Perez.

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He recommends that more stores should be collected, in case of need, although he thinks he has enough for the voyage. The health of the Armada is good.

15 May. **296.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Julio is behaving well. I could not have explained myself well in my despatches of the 5th, because I had no intention whatever of asking your Majesty to allow me to pay any money to him, but to the person who is the intermediary, and brings his information to me; 100 ducats will be plenty for him.* Julio has used all his efforts to retain Don Antonio in England.

I write frequently to the prince of Parma reporting all I learn, in accordance with your Majesty's instructions, but he replies to me only at long intervals, often six weeks at a time. I understand that he is well informed. I learn from Dunkirk that the ship that carried over the earl of Morton and Colonel Semple returned to Dunkirk within eight days, its voyage to Scotland only having occupied three days, and the return voyage five days. I have again written to Robert Bruce and Semple, telling them to execute promptly the instructions from your Majesty.

The advices in Portuguese are from Antonio de Vega. Please instruct me as to his leaving England.—Paris, 15th May.

Note.—Enclosed with the above is a petition from Sampson (the Portuguese spy in Paris, Antonio de Escobar) asking for a good grant in aid, and Mendoza recommends that it shall be granted, and in the margin the King acquiesces, referring to Don Cristobal (de Mora) to fix the amount.

16 May. **297.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1568. French.

It is said that the Admiral will join Drake in six days, but as they are calculating upon their having 104 ships, of which the 20 great ships belonging to the Queen cannot be ready even in a fortnight, it will be impossible for them to collect the number of ships they say so soon.

Forty-four ships are told off to guard the sea between Flanders and England, of which number four belong to the Queen and will take 800 men each. Certain of the inhabitants of London have been appointed captains, but they are so ignorant, not having seen anything worth speaking about, that they know less about war than would the private soldiers. All idle and vagabond persons are compelled to go on board the ships. The Admiral protests that when once he sets sail he will not be idle and stay in the Straits, but will go out and seek the Spaniards. They do not fear the army from Spain so much as that from the Netherlands.

* In the King's hand:—"I suppose we misunderstood him. But there was no need for him to write here about such a sum as that." Mendoza's references to the "new confidant" are certainly very confusing. Sometimes the words seem to stand for Julio (Sir Edward Stafford) and sometimes for the new intermediary, who may have been Fitzherbert.

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17 May. **298.** ADVICES from LONDON (ANTONIO DE VEGA).

Paris Archives, K. 1568. Portuguese.

I wrote at length on 16th and 25th ultimo. I am now able to confirm my former statements as to the fleets and number of ships here. They were all ordered to collect at Plymouth on the 12th. but in consequence of contrary winds they were unable to do so, the 16 ships and 4 pataches in the Thames having been prevented from leaving the river. The intention, as I have said, is for the Admiral and Drake to unite and sail for the coast of Portugal with 120 (or at least 100) ships. They are all very well fitted, and it is maintained warmly here that this fleet is being sent in the interests of Don Antonio; the intention being to land him there (*i.e.*, in Portugal) with 7,000 or 8,000 men, which they say will suffice to frustrate his Majesty's plans. Don Antonio pretends that Portugal is in revolt, and that there has been a rising in Lisbon, in which Count Cifuentes and other nobles were killed. This is ratified (?) by Escobar and Stafford, who say that if they go with so strong a force, and the number of men stated, all Portugal will rise, and that which they fear will be avoided. Those who are pushing this business are the Admiral and Raleigh. The Queen promised Don Antonio on the 9th, that if peace were not made he should go in this fleet, and he was so delighted that he kissed her garments.* The Treasurer, Leicester, and the Secretary oppose it, not on principle, but only because they consider the force insufficient, now that the king of Spain is so well armed both in ships and men. The Admiral and Raleigh reply to this, that by sending the forces mentioned in these ships they will kill two birds with one stone. First, they will meet the Armada with greater hopes of beating it, as they will be the attackers, and secondly, if they do beat it, they will land Don Antonio, who will under such circumstances be joined by the whole country. They have sent for Drake about it, and he will be here in two days. The ships from Holland are expected every hour.

The 6,000 men raised in London meet for drill twice a week. They are certainly very good troops considering they are recruits, and are well armed. They are commanded by merchants, as are also the ships contributed by London and the other ports. The three sons of Knollys are appointed colonels, but Norris was not allowed to leave his post on the frontier. The troops are divided into 40 companies of 150 each, and it is said that they have altogether 120,000 men under arms, as musters are being held all over the country. In London they are drawing 50 men from each parish, at the cost of the city, to send on board the ships; 4,000, they say, being obtained in this way. They give to each man of these a blue coat, whilst those who remain here receive red ones. Most of the large ships carry four pieces of artillery in the bows, and the small vessels two pieces. The same thing could be done in the Portuguese

* It will be seen that Antonio de Vega was quite at sea with regard to the English intentions at this time. There was no question then of sending a fleet to reinstate Don Antonio in Portugal. The man's letters, indeed, show him to have been either a credulous fool or a double traitor, which latter is quite likely. His references to Escobar and Stafford, who were both in Spanish pay, must have made Philip and Mendoza smile.

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galleons and ships. The only fear these people have is that they should be attacked by galleys. Recollect that in addition to the vast treasure his Majesty has employed, his honour and prestige are at stake, and these people are very confident of being able to beat him at sea, their ships being in excellent order. Yesterday the French ambassador informed the Treasurer and Walsingham, whom he had to see on other business, that Villeroy said that he had letters from his agent in Madrid, dated 8th April, saying that the King was on his road to Lisbon to witness the departure of the Armada, which was to sail on the 5th instant. They (*i.e.*, the Treasurer and Walsingham) urged the ambassador at the same time, with great secresy, to induce the King (of France) to ally himself with their Queen, and the "religion" (*i.e.*, the Huguenots), against the king of Spain and the League, in which case the Queen would bring those of the "religion" to submit to any reasonable terms. The Ambassador wrote on the subject to the King, sending his despatch by the bearer of the present letter. I will duly report the answer that is sent, and whatever else passes, or I can learn in conversation with the ambassador.

There is only a suspicion here that I have given information, and I beg therefore that all my letters may be acknowledged when they are received. I am in great trouble about the imprisonment of Bernaldo Luis in Spain, as his brothers-in-law and brothers are very sore about it and say it is my fault.* Yesterday one of them begged me to write, asking that he should be allowed to come away. Pray write what you think necessary about it, so that he may come in any case. Bernaldo Luis only claimed a little money he had lent me, and another small sum of money he provided to Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. Great promises were made to him about the payment of these sums, but as he has no one to speak for him I suppose that is the cause of his trouble.

21 May. **299.** ADVICES from LONDON (ANTONIO DE VEGA).

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

On Tuesday midnight the French ambassador received news of the seizure of Paris by Guise. This news is rejoiced at here, as it ensures them against the king of France agreeing with the League, which is so much hated in England, and may cause him to join those of the "religion," Vendome, and the queen of England. At the time the ambassador received the intelligence the Queen had no information, as two couriers she had sent on Friday and Sunday had not returned. On Wednesday she sent Walsingham to the ambassador to beg him to assure her whether the rumour was true. The ambassador related what had occurred, and Walsingham then repeated what I wrote on the 17th, that he and the Treasurer had said. After much discourse upon the subject, Walsingham returned to the Queen, who is at Greenwich, and wrote a letter (to the ambassador) saying that her Majesty would be pleased to see him, and would await him next morning in the garden. He was obliged

* Bernaldo Luis was the brother-in-law of Dr. Hector Nuñez, one of the Queen's physicians, and brother of the Montesinos whom Vega had sent to Mendoza with an offer to murder Don Antonio. Bernaldo Luis, much to Vega's dismay, had been accused of espionage in the interests of England and imprisoned. Vega apparently did not know at this time of what he was accused.

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to go, and was with her from ten o'clock until nearly one. She assured him that if the King would join her and Vendome against the king of Spain and the League, she would place all her forces by sea and land in the struggle, and promised him "*mountains and fountains*" if he (the King) would join her. I have no doubt she will do her best to ensure herself against the League, which she fears so much.

She is sending a gentleman to the king of France, and the bearer of this letter accompanies him. He is a secretary of the ambassador, who is taking despatches giving an account of the Queen's offer. As the matter is important it should not be lost sight of, and it would be well to gain over this (the French) ambassador, which can easily be done through his brother-in-law, M. de la Châtre, and his wife.

They (the English) have received intelligence from their Commissioners that the duke of Parma had new and very ample powers to arrange peace, and that they (the Commissioners) had consented to go to Bruges without hostages. These people were rather pleased with the news.

Drake has come hither for the purpose I stated. He is the prime mover and author of it, and sometimes meets Don Antonio secretly at night to avoid suspicion. Don Antonio is so set upon sailing in this fleet that I believe he would do so even if the Queen forbade him, and I believe that he has arranged this with Drake. When Drake on a former occasion was going to the Indies, he solemnly swore to me that he would seek him (Don Antonio) in France, and take him whithersoever he pleased. He (Antonio?) afterwards came from Rochelle to Plymouth in consequence of a letter I wrote to him, but he was afraid to undertake the voyage, as Drake had so few men.

Don Antonio wishes either to go in the fleet, with or without permission, or else to retire.

The ships here are now about to unite at Plymouth, and the Admiral leaves to join his fleet to-morrow, with the object of taking it round to Plymouth. Drake leaves by post to-night, and as soon as the whole of the ships are collected at Plymouth the fleet will sail, the Admiral being in command, with Drake as Vice-Admiral. The destination will be the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and if the weather serves they will sail from Plymouth in a fortnight. It is well to report this in time, as they think that by subsequently sending half their fleet to the islands, the King will be obliged to send a force of ships thither to protect his flotillas. The Admiral will, they say, have 120 ships. I have no doubt he will have 100. The Queen has requested 10 more ships from the city of London.

21 May. **300.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1568. French.

The Admiral is now setting out to join Drake with 25 ships, namely, 20 from London and five of his own. He is said to have 7,000 soldiers and seamen with him. The London people have refused to serve under the Admiral, and wish to be commanded by Drake. This has been granted to them, so far as concerns their

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own payment, and not otherwise.* So that there is every appearance that they will not remain long on good terms together. They (*i.e.*, the London people) were shipped two days ago.

Some soldiers have recently been sent from Ireland by the earl of Shrewsbury, but I do not know how many.

The news from France is causing general anxiety.

28 May. Estado, 455. **301.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

With regard to your Majesty's orders as to reinforcing the duke of Parma with men, I will act in accordance with what I can learn of the strength of the enemy, and the opportunity that may offer for meeting and defeating him at sea, before any operations are attempted on land. The opinions of those whom I have consulted here is that the best course would be to break up the enemy's sea force first. When this be done, as I hope, by the help of God, it will be if the enemy will meet me, the rest will be safe and easy, and I shall then be able to let the Duke have all the men he wants. If, however, the enemy lets me join him (Parma) and then waits for me to lend the Duke the men, he (the enemy) may unite his ships and fall upon me when our forces are separated. I will not run this risk, as I recognise the advantage of keeping the Armada intact, at least, until I have beaten the enemy. In this case, and in order to have our fleet always stronger than that of the enemy, I shall not be able to give the Duke so many men as your Majesty says. A certain number must always be discounted from the musters and statements furnished to your Majesty, as will be seen by the first muster I take after we are at sea. The last muster taken here does not satisfy me, as there are always opportunities for evasion in port.

The reports your Majesty sends me from England confirm those already received. Although their forces appear to be growing somewhat, I will not slacken but will redouble my care, if possible, trusting to the mercy of God, that if the enemy will face us he will meet the fate he always has done when he has encountered your Majesty's forces. If I find no obstacle in the way, I will not divide the Armada or seek the enemy, but will push forward to join hands with the duke of Parma. When your Majesty's forces are united and we know where the enemy is, we will set about our task in the best way possible to ensure success on land. I look upon this as quite easy when we have beaten the enemy at sea. Everybody says this, and your Majesty is better aware of it than anyone. In case, as your Majesty says, that Drake with his fleet should fortify himself at Plymouth, or any other port, in order to let me pass on, and then come out and attack me at sea, between his fleet and their other one which they have sent against the Duke, I have taken every precaution, as will be seen by the formation I have ordered to be adopted. Either of the two horns of our formation, with their supports, and two of the galleasses which accompany the first four ships, would be able to cope with one of the enemy's fleets; whilst

* The meaning of this passage is probably that the portion of the fleet provided and manned at the cost of the city of London only should have the privilege of serving under Drake, and not the whole of the ships and men sailing from the port of London.

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I with the rest of our vessels leading, could deal with the fleet in front of us, my centre being supported by the vessels I have appointed for the purpose, and the other two galleasses which are attached to my flagship. In this order and formation, with every precaution and foresight, we will, with the help of God, proceed on our voyage.

With reference to the enemy's attacking me after the troops have been landed, I have already told your Majesty what I think should be the course pursued until I have joined the Duke, and have ascertained exactly the strength of the enemy at sea, upon which he will mainly depend. If I can defeat the enemy at sea before landing a single man, we can then easily agree as to the best thing to be done. We must also not lose sight of the need for promptness, on account of the victuals, about which I am anxious, both because of those shipped being very stale, and because they are spoiling and rotting fast. The number of men, too, is very large, and the cost great, and although your Majesty has prudently ordered fresh supplies to be collected, there is always the risk of delay, etc.; so that for every reason we should finish the business promptly. If, as your Majesty says, we should, after joining the Flanders force, find the enemy's fleet shut up in some port where it may be attacked and defeated both by land and sea, we will in union with the Duke adopt the course which appears best. If the English take the troops out of their fleet to defend the places attacked by the duke of Parma (or even if they do not do so), and I am able to fall upon their ships and beat them in port, I will not fail to do so. Everything we may do or attempt shall be carefully considered, so as to attain the success which I trust that God in His mercy will vouchsafe, and which we may expect from the saintly object with which your Majesty has undertaken this enterprise.

I understand generally that I am to follow your Majesty's instructions strictly, so far as circumstances will permit, and I take special note that, even if the enemy comes into these parts, I am to proceed on my voyage without regard to anything, until I have completed my task.

The weather is not good, and a N.N.W. wind is blowing, but I have sent some ships down the river, and some more went down to-day with a great deal of trouble. They are at anchor on the bar. If a land wind blows to-morrow morning I will go down with the rest of the fleet. Not an hour has been, or shall be, lost.—On the royal galleon, 28th May 1588.

Note.—Two days afterwards (30th May) the Duke writes to the King three leagues out at sea, informing him of the sailing of the Armada, urging his own services in the preparations, and begging that favour should be shown to his children "whom he has left so poor." On the 1st of June another letter was written, by the same to the same, complaining of the slowness of the hulks, and giving an account of the navigation up to that time. The next letter is dated the 10th June, and gives an account of the dismasting of the hulk "David Chico," which the Duke has sent to the coast of Galicia for repair. The Duke has at last decided to send Captain Moresin to

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the duke of Parma, with news of the Armada, and information that it has been decided for the Armada to remain off the coast of England until advices from Parma reach the Duke. Provisions are bad and short, the hulks slow, the weather contrary, and a long voyage may be anticipated. The victuals are so rotten and stinking that many have been thrown overboard to save the men from pestilence. Is in great trouble at this. Begs the King to order fresh supplies to be sent after them. On the 13th the Duke was off Cape Finisterre, all well. Calls a council every day that the weather permits, and is getting every man familiar with his duty. Will as soon as he passes Finisterre have every bed, box, partition, or other incumbrance cleared from the decks. The next letter is dated on the 14th and informs the King that the victuals are so bad and short that the Duke has sent a letter to the governor of Galicia begging him to seize all food he can get on land or sea, and send it after the Armada. Another letter dated 18th June follows. Head winds still keep the fleet back. Pilots advise the Duke to enter Corunna or Ferrol, but he avoids doing so for fear of the soldiers and sailors deserting, "as usual." Has sent to Corunna for fresh provisions; and in the meanwhile was waiting for supplies and a fair wind off Cizarga. On the following day, 19th June, the Duke writes from Corunna, that he with a portion of the fleet has been forced to enter that port by stress of weather, and lack of water and food. The rest of the Armada was unable to reach port until too late to enter that night, and was expected by the Duke to come in the next morning. During the night and on the 20th a heavy storm arose and scattered the ships that were outside, inflicting great damage upon many of them, and driving them into various ports of Biscay, Asturias, and Galicia.

To the above various letters the King replied from San Lorenzo on the 26th June, regretting the delay that had occurred, and urging the Duke in emphatic terms to justify the confidence the King has reposed in him, and not to lose another hour in resuming his voyage. The King hopes and believes that the Armada will have finally sailed from Corunna before the letter reaches there.

30 May. **302.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives. K. 1568.

I have written constantly to Julio, Sampson, and Vega, to do their best to keep Don Antonio in England, as your Majesty orders. They are all of opinion that it will be difficult for him to leave. With regard to the negotiations for closer alliance between England and France, Julio writes to say that the Queen had sent word to the King (of France) that the League had seized Boulogne; and if he (the King) desires to regain it she will help him with her forces. I learn from the new confidant that the English ambassador had not sent the Queen's letter to the King, but himself had written a letter repeating its contents. The King sent a reply through Gondi, that the Queen had refused to intervene between him and the prince of Bearn when it was so important that a settlement should be arrived at, and at the present juncture he had no need of her assistance. I expect the reason why the King gave such an answer as this was, that Chateauneuf, the ambassador, had informed

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him (as I report in another letter) that she would certainly come to terms with your Majesty, if she had not already done so. This view is confirmed by a remark from Gondi to the (English) ambassador, that his mistress was going to settle peace with your Majesty. This was in answer to the English ambassador's saying, that at a time when the King was a fugitive from his own capital,* such an answer as that given by the King was very inopportune; such an offer as that which the Queen made him would have been gladly accepted by the king of Spain or any other friendly Prince. Gondi replied that the king of Spain would cheat them if they made peace, whereupon the ambassador retorted, that if he did they (the English) would be the sufferers and not the French.

I hear from a trustworthy source, that, on the same day, the 23rd, that I saw the Queen-Mother, they sent word to the English ambassador that my audience with her had been for the purpose of offering your Majesty's mediation to bring the League to an agreement with the King, and they could then assist your Majesty in the English enterprise, the duke of Parma being instructed to hand over to the duke of Guise the troops he has ready, so that the latter might cross over to England. By this your Majesty may see the artful lies and chicanery they resort to here. I have written to Julio, giving him notice of this, in case the statement should reach England.—Paris, 30th May 1588.

30 May. **303.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

My last advices from England are dated 10th and 12th instant (new style). They report that the Admiral was to start from the Court for Portsmouth on the 10th (old style), where he would find the fleet ready for sea. He would then sail in company with Drake, the two fleets consisting of 150 sail. These news are given to me by the new confidant, who adds that Winter would remain with 40 sail to guard the Flemish channel. From other sources my advices from London, dated 12th instant, say that the total number of ships in the three fleets of the Admiral, Drake and Winter, did not exceed 120 in all, including those contributed by the towns. The 20 vessels offered by the city of London could not be ready for sea before the 25th May (old style), equal to our 6th June. The French ambassador writes to a similar effect, adding that no doubt the Queen would come to terms with your Majesty, and would give you some port from which your fleet could sail to subdue Holland and Zeeland. I have a letter from St. Malo dated the 16th instant. They had there fresh news of Drake, who was at Plymouth. Reports come from Flushing that the ships armed by the Dutch and Zeelanders had gathered there, for the purpose of impeding the duke of Parma's fleet from leaving port.

The death of the king of Denmark had much grieved the queen of England and her Council, as he was a very good friend to her

* "The Day of the Barricades," 12th May, Guise had entered the capital in defiance of the orders of the King, and Paris was in the hands of the fanatical mob in favour of Guise and the League. Henry III. thereupon fled from the Louvre and saw Paris no more.

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and Bearn. He was to have been present at the meeting of Protestant Princes in Germany.

Julio writes to me that the queen of England is quite confident of the king of Scotland, as he had assured her that notwithstanding all the offers made to him on behalf of the Pope and your Majesty, he would not give way one iota on the question of religion. The king of Scotland had been on the English border to settle in person some points under discussion, and the Scottish ambassador assures me that he is informed that the earl of Huntly had taken a despatch, which was on its way to England, by which it was discovered that Douglas, a Scot at the English Court, was plotting for the seizure of the King's person; which it is quite credible that the English may attempt.

The reports from London of the 10th (new style) are from my usual informant; and the enclosed information about your Majesty's fleet is from Havre de Grace.—Paris, 30th May 1588.

30 May. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

304. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.

When the news from Havre de Grace* which I send to his Majesty arrived here, not only all the preachers, but the priests enjoined their congregations to pray for the success of your Majesty's Armada, which they knew now had sailed. The people showed great rejoicing at this, and prayed with great devotion to God to protect the Armada and send it victory. I am hourly expecting couriers to give me full details.

I forgot to say that on the day of the disturbance here† two captains of my quarter came to ask me to aid them with my servants, as I had many of them, and my house was in a position which might be made serviceable or otherwise to them. I replied that when it was a question of defending the Catholic religion, the person of his most Christian Majesty, or the preservation of the city, I should be as zealous as any burgess of Paris. They went away satisfied with this answer, but as one of the captains is a "*politician*" I suspect that the object was to discover something. Whilst I have been writing this the townsfolk have taken the passes of Charenton and St. Cloud, both up and down the river, in order to secure themselves as they see that the King is arming in good earnest.

I am so busy, and so many people write to me, that I do not know which way to turn, and cannot send my accounts at present. Pray send me credits. I have just got news from London, from the man who writes to Esteban Lercaro at Lisbon (*i.e.*, Marco Antonio Messia), saying that Drake would very shortly sail with 90 ships.—Paris, 30th May 1588.

* The news from Havre of 24th May was to the effect that several ships had arrived there, reporting having seen the Armada at various points between Lisbon and Ushant.

† The day of the Barricades.

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30 May. B.M. Cotton Vesp. CVIII. English. **305.** RELATION of the SPANISH ARMADA,* which departed from Lisbon the 30th May, as it is certified from there.

Hulks	-	40
Galleons	-	60
Great ships	-	30
Galleasses	-	4
Galleys	-	4
Pataches	-	24 (166 in all.)
Soldiers—Castilians	-	16,000
Portugals	-	3,000
Mariners	-	6,128 (27,128 in all.)

Friars in the Armada, 180.

General of the Armada; the duke of Medina Sidonia. Commanders:—The prince D'Ascoli, count de Fuentes, count de Paredes, 25 Knights of the second order., sons of Marquises and Earls.

The said Armada is furnished with 1,493 artillery pieces.

The NUMBER of the KING OF SPAIN'S SHIPPING in the LOW COUNTRY.

From Antwerp.—Three ships of 800 tons each, very well appointed, especially two of them; the third, thought not able to brook the seas, being so weakly built by certain Genoese come from thence.

From Termonde.—Eight or ten boats or hoys for carriage.

From Ghent.—Twenty, or thereabouts, for carriage.

Gravelines, Dunkirk, Nieuport and Sluys.—As I have heard reckoned, they are able to furnish, with certain merchants come out of Spain thither, 60 men-of-war, but the most part small vessels, and some 30 or 40 hoys for carriage. So that in all they are able to furnish for men-of-war 82 boats, and for carriage 84 boats. Besides these, they have, at the least, 300 flat-bottomed boats, and a great number of little galleys and skiffs. They expect also good store of shipping out of Holland and Zeeland, according to my first advertisement to my lords of her Majesty's Privy Council. I have heard that they are promised certain ships from Calais, and that divers merchants of Denmark should furnish them of some.

JO DE BARNEX.† (?)

2 June Paris Archives, K. 1448. **306.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Your letters of 7th, 8th, and 25th ultimo to hand, with enclosures. Your great care and diligence in sending me advices are fully appreciated. Pray continue in the same way, as we shall be more anxious now than ever to learn what occurs.

* The above document is also printed in Laughton's "Defeat of the Armada," from State Papers, Domestic CCX. 25.

† The signature appears as written. There was an Englishman named Barnes with the duke of Parma; perhaps he was the writer.

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The Armada, which had been almost* a month awaiting in Lisbon a fair wind, began to leave the Tagus on the 28th, and during the next two days sailed without mishap. On the 30th the Armada put to sea. It is of the utmost importance that this news should be sent flying to the duke of Parma, so you will forward his packet the hour you receive it. Say nothing about it in Paris until they learn it from other quarters. There was no objection to your omitting to address the king of France, in case any of the ships should put into his ports in Brittany or elsewhere. If the duke of Parma sends you any instructions which may be needful under the circumstances, I am sure you will carry them out fittingly.—San Lorenzo, 2nd June 1588.

2 June. **307.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

The Admiral and his fleet left Dover last week. I hear that he had 42 ships, 20 of which belonged to the Queen, and a galley with 20 banks of oars each side. Some people say that he is going along the French coast, others to Plymouth to join Drake, who is said to have 86 ships. Many persons believe that the Admiral intends to go to Lisbon and burn the Spanish fleet, but it is understood that he has orders not to leave the Channel until the result of the peace negotiations is known. When he left Dover he lost a ship, which fouled another whilst at anchor and was smashed.†

8 June. **308.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Estado, 594.

With regard to the peace negotiations, what I have to add to the information given in my last is that Controller Crofts has not returned hither as he promised, but Dr. Dale came instead. He signifies that Crofts exceeded his authority in presenting the articles I sent to your Majesty, and in treating for a suspension of hostilities.‡ With regard to the place for the conferences, as I was of opinion that for the aim we have in view it would be better not to break off the negotiations, and I could not by any means divert them from their purpose of being near the sea shore, I was obliged to consent to the Commissioners going either to Berghen, St. Vinoch, or Beaubourg. They chose the latter place where they

* In the King's hand: "And even without the '*almost*.'"

† Howard separated from Seymour on the 21st May (O.S.) and the former, in his letter to Burleigh on the 23rd, from Plymouth, says nothing of such a mishap as that mentioned. On the contrary, he tells Burleigh that "with a pleasant gale all the way "long, came and arrived this day at 8 o'clock in the morning at this port of Plymouth, "where Sir Francis Drake came forth with 60 sail, very well appointed, to meet me." Seymour, writing to the Lord Treasurer on the 22nd, is also silent as to the alleged accident. (State Papers, Dom. CCX. 27 and 28).

‡ Crofts, who had been in the pay of Spain for years, was on his return to England sent to the Tower accused of exceeding his powers and holding traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Professor Laughton is inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt, and suggests that he was "perhaps a dotard rather than a traitor." Dotard he may have been, traitor he certainly was, and one of the unsolved riddles of Elizabeth's reign is the reason why the Queen for many years clung so persistently to Crofts, the Staffords, Lord Henry Howard, and others, who she must have known were in sympathy with her deadly enemies.

The whole history of the peace negotiations, told in the correspondence of Dale and others, will be found in Cotton Vesp. CVIII.

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will be very uncomfortable, as there is but little accommodation. Both they and our men have already arrived there, but I have not any news yet as to what has passed between them. President Richardot was perfectly instructed as to your Majesty's intentions; and your Majesty may be sure that I will not depart a hairsbreadth therefrom.

As Crofts was about leaving, intelligence arrived that the Queen (of England) had learnt that when they (the Commissioners) met in the tent outside Ostend no powers from your Majesty were presented, and she had sent orders that, unless due powers were exhibited, her Commissioners were to return to England at once; breaking off the negotiations. I had adopted the plan of instructing Richardot, as if of his own account and secretly, to show Crofts the power your Majesty sent me, but not to allow him to take a copy of it. Richardot acted accordingly, and Crofts went away perfectly satisfied. The same course was followed with Dale. The power arrived, therefore, very appropriately in order to prevent the negotiations from being broken off. Apparently the events in France, the death of the king of Denmark, the proceedings of these rebel provinces, and the expense they (the English) are incurring, will cause them to press for the conclusion of the business. In any case they seem so confident in their sea and land forces, that they try to make us believe that they are afraid of nobody, particularly now as it appears they are certain of peace with Scotland, where they confess they had reasons for fear, if your Majesty's forces were welcomed in the country to their prejudice. Since the arrival of the earl of Morton and Colonel Semple there, I have had no trustworthy news from Scotland, except that the King gives constant proofs that he becomes more and more confirmed in his heresy.—Bruges, 8th June 1588.

8 June. Estado, 594.

309. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

I was greatly rejoiced to learn from your Majesty that the Armada was on the point of sailing. I am naturally awaiting anxiously for certain news of its departure and approach hitherward, so that our people here may make a move. It is true that on several occasions intelligence has reached us through France that the Armada had been sighted on the coast of Brittany, and details were given which lent an appearance of truth to the news; but it has not hitherto been confirmed. The important point is that God should guide the fleet, and give us grace to serve your Majesty worthily. I promise your Majesty that the troops of all nationalities are in as high spirits as could be wished, and I hope when they are set to work, by God's grace they will gain your Majesty a signal victory. I am full of confidence in this, when I see how they (the troops) are preparing their consciences, and when I think of the justice of our cause and your Majesty's rectitude of aim. I, for my part, at least, can assure your Majesty that I will fulfil my promise not to spare myself. I will co-operate cordially with the duke of Medina Sidonia, and I trust to encounter the same readiness in him. It is understood that he shall protect my passage across and subsequently keep the communications open

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for the supply of provisions, munitions, &c. If this be not done effectually, we may find ourselves isolated. Everything is now in order, the men assembled at the ports; my only sorrow being that the long delay that has occurred has given the English time to make full preparations, as they have done, both by land and sea.

I am almost in despair for want of money, as your Majesty has ordered that the 670,000 ducats I expected should be employed for the account of the Armada. I have already expended the 300,000 from the duke of Mantua; 100,000 has been given to the duke of Lorraine and his friends, and 200,000 from Juan Ortiz has been spent on victuals, &c. I have now only the 100,000 received from Sicily, and the loss on exchange reduces that sum to 87,500. Without money we shall be ruined.—Bruges, 8th June 1588.

10 June. Estado, 594.

310. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE OF PARMA.

On the arrival of Captain Moresin at Lisbon, I wrote to your Excellency in reply to the letter he brought from you. Since then we have only been awaiting a fair wind for the Armada to sail. This God sent us on the 29th ultimo, although the breeze was still very light. With the aid of the galleys, however, I was able to leave port that night without any damage (glory be to God), but the weather changed, and ever since we have had it so contrary that we could only put the Armada out to sea and endeavour to keep up to windward sufficiently to avoid drifting round Cape St. Vincent. We have done our best by tacking and keeping out to sea until the weather abated, which it commenced to do yesterday. It now looks as if it would serve us well, and in order that Captain Moresin may not miss the opportunity, I have thought well to send him to inform your Excellency of the sailing of the Armada, and that all the men, thank God, are in good health and spirits, ready for the fight if the enemy will face us. I am equally anxious to have the joy of saluting your Excellency soon, both for the pleasure it will give me personally, and because our junction must precede the execution of his Majesty's plans. He has ordered me not to turn aside, and even if I am impeded simply to clear the way, and proceed to join hands with you, advising you when I reach the English coast, so that with a knowledge of my whereabouts your Excellency may bring out your fleet. I greatly wish the coast were capable of sheltering so great a fleet as this, so that we might take some safe port to have at our backs; but as this is impossible, it will be necessary to make the best use we can of what accommodation there may be, and that your Excellency, as soon as Captain Moresin arrives (which will depend upon the weather), should come out and meet me, sending back to me the zabra that takes the captain, with advice as to your position, and where we may meet.

I have called together the pilots and practical seamen on the Armada who know the whole of the English coast, and consulted them as to which ports on that coast could accommodate the Armada in safety from storms. The unanimous decision was that in certain states of the weather set forth in the document taken by Captain

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Moresin, the ships might be safe in . . . . . ,* and even Dover, but that with a SW. or SSW. wind, we should not be below Cape . . . .† I have told them that everything will depend upon the weather, and the most important point will be to effect a junction between this Armada and your Excellency's fleet. When this be done I trust that, with God's help, all will proceed in accordance with our desires in His service.

What I fear most in the Armada is lack of water. It is true that we carry a six months' supply, but I do not see where we can obtain any more, and it will be advisable for your Excellency at once to consider how we may be aided in this respect, even if it be necessary to transport water in boats from Dunkirk, unless your Excellency knows of any port where both shelter and water may be obtained for the Armada, which would be a very great point gained. In any case it will be necessary for your Excellency to have all the butts that can be obtained got ready and filled with water to send to the Armada as soon as it arrives. I have given full details of this and other points to Captain Moresin, who will inform you thereof.—On the Royal Galleon, 10th June 1588.

14 June. **311.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Julio wrote to me some months ago that he was in arrears in his account with the Queen more than 15,000 crowns and that Walsingham was pressing him for instant payment. If he could not pay it he would be ruined, as they would immediately dismiss him from his post; and he asked me to convey this to your Majesty. As the sum was so large I told him politely that, for his own advantage, it would be better not to inform your Majesty, as he might be sure he would receive from you a reward commensurate with his services. Since then I have heard that he is in great need, as he is not paid his salary in England, in consequence of his omission to square his accounts and pay the sums demanded of him. A few days ago he begged me most earnestly to furnish him credits to meet the payments on account of the last fair at Lyons, amounting to 2,500 crowns. I could not help him in the matter as no money had come to me. Pray your Majesty instruct me how I am to proceed with him. As he is acting so straightforwardly, and is in such need, it will be necessary for your Majesty to do something for him to enable him to keep his head above water—if his services are of any advantage to your Majesty.

Mucio (*i.e.*, Guise) informs me that this King is not carrying on any intimate negotiations with the queen of England. The message she sent to the King and his reply thereto are related in the general despatch. The new confidant has not received any despatches from England lately, as armed ships from Dunkirk had captured the two last packet boats bringing despatches for the English ambassador.

Marco Antonio Messia writes to your Majesty that he is in England on your service by order of the marquis of Santa Cruz;

* Two ports are mentioned, but they are not intelligible to me. The words read Gouchepe (which may possibly stand for Ipswich) and Harlage (which may be intended for Harwich).

† Unintelligible.

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and he sends me two packets enclosed herewith, addressed to Christoval Lercaro. He asked me to pay 100 crowns for him in Paris, and to become answerable for 165 until he can dispose of the value of certain goods he has had arrested in Lisbon, out of which he promises to pay both sums. I have acceded to his request, which I think will be of advantage in your Majesty's interests, rather than leave him in danger and unaided. I pray your Majesty instruct me how I am to proceed with Marco Antonio in future.

The duke of Parma has sent me your Majesty's despatch of 4th November, saying that I was not to take the step until the time of his embarcation. I will act as your Majesty's orders. He also instructs me to send the English pensioners here, to Flanders. I have given them notice to get ready and have paid them up to the end of May.—Paris, 14th June 1588.

14 June. **312.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

I have reports from England dated 23rd and 27th ultimo and 2nd instant (N.S.). The first report states that Drake left Court post for Plymouth in order to put to sea with 40 ships he had there, accompanied by the Admiral. The later advices say that the Admiral had lost a ship in the Downs, she having fouled with another vessel whilst at anchor as they were about to sail down the Channel. They advise from Calais, under date of 9th instant, that 80 sail of English ships still remained in the Straits of Dover, which would seem to indicate an intention of engaging your Majesty's Armada in the Channel, since all the Englishwoman's ships are not collecting at Plymouth as it was asserted they would do. Some short time ago the Admiral cruised up and down before Boulogne, and sent word to M. d'Aumale to ask him why he was besieging the place, intimating that if he did not raise the siege his mistress the Queen (of England) would make him. Aumale replied that he had no need to give an account of his actions to the Queen, and that he cared very little either for her threats or his (*i.e.*, the Admiral's).*

As soon as the Queen heard of the disturbances in Paris she sent a man with letters, offering in general terms to aid this King with her forces to punish his disobedient vassals. This was done at the request of Chateauneuf, the (French) ambassador, who had orders to that effect. The Queen was so suspicious of some evil befalling her messenger, that the latter did not even take a servant with him, but was accompanied and guided by Chateauneuf's own secretary. He saw this King on his arrival at Mantes, and his Majesty replied thanking his mistress for her offer, but saying that he had sufficient forces to punish those who were disobedient to him, but if at any time he required assistance to this end he would preferably accept

* The duke d'Aumale, Guise's cousin, was besieging Boulogne in the interests of the League, and the town surrendered two months later. Howard in his letter to Burleigh of 22nd May (O.S.), State Papers, Dom. CCX. 27, puts a very different complexion on his communications with d'Aumale, who, by his account, was extremely polite and conciliatory.

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that of England, as the Queen had been the first to make the offer.* —Paris, 14th June 1588.

Postscript.—Since signing the above I learn from England, under date of 10th instant (N.S.), that Drake had not, at that date, left Plymouth with his fleet.

14 June. K. 1567. **313.** JUAN IÑIGUEZ† to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

(In a letter of this date, principally occupied with a somewhat haughty and violent claim on the part of the writer to the credit of having by firmness brought the king of France to his present attitude towards the League, and repudiating the claims of certain other persons unnamed to a share in the credit, the following passage occurs in relation to England).

"Recollect how I have worked, and how bereft of all guerdon I am, after all you have promised me. I have always had faith in you, and have acted straightforwardly with you, but if past proofs are insufficient, I may say now I am tired out, and to end the whole business I will, if I can, join the English expedition, even after it has begun. My conscience will not allow me to keep out of it, although I say nothing about it here (*i.e.*, in Paris), because if they knew I was going, the duke of Parma being at the same time absent from Flanders, they (*i.e.*, the French Catholics) would think that his Majesty's favour had completely deserted them. I shall therefore join the expedition without saying anything. As I am not appreciated, there is no reason why I should keep between hammer and anvil. At all events I have the consolation of knowing that I have reason to complain of others, but no one has reason to complain of me."—Paris, 14th June 1588.

17 June, Cotton MS. Vesp. CVIII. English. **314.** VALENTINE DALE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

The only hope I can contain of this country is if my Lord Harry (Seymour) be always in their face when they shall attempt to come out of haven, for they are able to make no resistance, by God's grace. They have but 37 ships with tops and such as common port ships are, not able to stand against her Majesty's. The flat bottoms your Lordship knows best, be for carriage only. If they should steal out either to join the navy, or land anywhere, their soldiers transported in the flat bottoms might make some attempt, otherwise they may soon be scattered. We have made our demands, by their answers it will soon appear what they mean.—Bourbourg, 17th June 1588.

Note.—Although not strictly speaking Spanish State papers, the above letter, and those of 21st and 27th June, from Dale to Leicester,

* In a letter from Mendoza to the King, in the same packet as above, dated 26th June, an account is given of the discussion then in progress between Henry III. and the League for a settlement of their differences. One of the articles to which the King had agreed was: "That the King pledges his faith and word on oath to renounce his alliance "and friendship with the queen of England within two months, and he does not do so "immediately in order that it may not appear that he was forced to it." "In answer "to this the League say that they wish him to make a declaration at once breaking off "the said alliance."

† Juan Iñiguez was Philip's agent with Guise and the nobles of the League. The King has placed a marginal note against the proposal of the writer to join the Armada—"I do not think this would suit."

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have been selected for inclusion in the present Calendar, because they seem to present in a few words the view of the English Commissioners at the critical period of their negotiations; and it will be interesting to compare them with Parma's letters written about the same time. The whole of Dale's correspondence will be found in Cotton, Vesp. CVIII.

21 June. **315.** VALENTINE DALE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

Cotton MS. Vesp. CVIII. English.

By the answers of the King's Commissioners to our demands and our replies (both of which are sent with this despatch) it appeareth in what terms we stand, and yet in very truth they were more calm at our last meeting than they were before, for we had been plain with them both by speech and by writing, and severally touching their uncomely speeches touching her Majesty's actions, wherein we charged Champigny with his own knowledge as a witness for her Majesty. But he and Richardot are so impudent in affirming any untruth, and denying any truth, that if her Majesty had known that as we do, she would not have sent over upon Richardot's promise for cessation of arms. But I trust we be even with them in every respect, their untruths set aside, in which art they are "maistres passés" (as the Frenchman sayeth). The point hangeth now what they shall hear of the King's navy, and for us to have a vigilant eye to scatter them at their coming out of this coast, which is very easy to do by God's grace (if they steal not out privily), by reason that they are not sufficiently furnished with ships, neither are their men able to abide the seas at the first. Yet they do rig with all diligence possible.—Bourbourg, 21st June 1588.

21 June. **316.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

The earl of Morton and Colonel Semple will have arrived at their destination in good time, although, to judge from the reports you send from England, they will not be able to do so much as they expected, since the King is so entirely surrounded by heretics. It is, however, well that they should make what effort they can to see whether the blood of his mother will not arouse him to vengeance, as it does those who are much less nearly concerned. Even if the King will not declare himself, it will be most advantageous for Morton to be able to induce his friends to cross the English border at the time the main blow is struck. You will do what you are able, beyond what has already been done to promote this end.

I approve of what you wrote to (Miss) Kennedy. In case she should again address you on the subject, and you are sure the marriage you mention has been effected, and consequently that she will not come to France to live, you may repeat the same answer, since she can be of no use to us in Scotland, especially if she be married to a heretic.—San Lorenzo, 21st June 1588.

21 June. **317.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Your news from England came to hand punctually and well, and you will already have been informed by letter of 4th instant that the Armada had sailed. It was known that on the 14th it was

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proceeding on its voyage together and in good order, in fair weather, off Finisterre. God grant that all may happen as is best for His cause, for no other end is aimed at by the expedition.

The Duke is well informed of Drake's plan, both as to burning the ships and the rest that you have reported. Continue to send advices, and be very vigilant, so that no point escapes you. Julio must be very useful to you, as you seem so satisfied with him. Keep him well disposed as hitherto, so that he may not fail to let you know punctually what happens, for news will be plentiful just now. As you think advisable to give the 100 crowns to the intermediary you can do so, and 500 to Sampson, for the present. When he has to leave France he shall be granted fitting recompense for his services.—San Lorenzo, 21st June 1588.

21 June. Estado, 455.

318. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I expected that on the morning after I entered port with a part of the Armada,* the rest would have come in, as it was too late for them to enter that evening. During that night, however, and the next day the weather became so heavy that it is believed that the ships have put to sea. The people of the country say that so violent a sea and wind, accompanied by fog and tempest, have never been seen; and it is very fortunate that all the Armada was not caught outside, and particularly the galleys, which would certainly have been wrecked, and the whole Armada endangered. We should have been scattered, and many lost, and it would have been days before we could have united again. Fortunately, however, part of the fleet is here, and the rest will know that they have to join me here. The weather is now moderating, and I expect the ships will now make for this port; so that I hope, in two or three days, to send your Majesty a statement of what has happened. I am very sorry that the bad weather of yesterday has separated the fleet, which will be sure to cause some delay, although it is believed that the actual damage will be slight. Some of the ships, however, will be disabled, and all will have to be watered afresh.

One of the two caravels I sent out on the day I arrived here has returned, saying that Zubelzu's ship, in Recalde's squadron, lost her mainmast on the same day, and that one of the galleys had thrown her rudder overboard, as the sea was so heavy. The rest of the fleet had put to sea, following my vice-flagship. The caravel herself came back with her masts and rudder broken.

I have shipped on these vessels the fish, meat, and bacon stores that the marquis of Cerralbo had collected here, and have had similar stores put on board pataches for the other ships, so that not an hour shall be lost. The watering also is nearly finished, and although I am not in good health, I am looking to everything myself as carefully as I can, with sorrow, as your Majesty may imagine, at the misfortune that has befallen the Armada. Notwithstanding all my efforts not to enter port, I find myself here, with the best of the Armada out at sea. God be praised for all He may

* The Duke was accompanied into Corunna by 40 vessels.

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ordain. I see that all has been arranged by His mercy, so that we may the more readily unite, as the rest of the ships will know where to find me, which they would not have done if the tempest had caught us all together at sea. The soldiers and sailors are being watched with great care, with the help of the Marquis (Cerralbo), and I do not think we shall lose a single man. The punishment dealt out will keep them closer.

Many men are falling sick, aided by the short commons and bad food, and I am afraid that this trouble may spread and become past remedy.—On the galleon "San Martin," port of Corunna, 21st June 1588.

Note.—A relation of the progress of the Armada prior to this date will be found in the note to the Duke's letter to the King of 28th May, page 302.

The reply to the above letter was written by the King from San Lorenzo, on the 28th June (Estado 165), approving of the measures taken under the circumstances, and urging great activity in again putting the Armada to sea. Fresh provisions were to be laid in, a quantity of new biscuit had been ordered from Lisbon, with wine, vinegar, fish, etc., to be sent to Corunna. Great care to be taken of the sick, and as much fresh meat served out as possible.

22 June. Estado, 594.

319. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Since the enclosed letters were written Captain Francisco Moresin has arrived here, sent by the duke of Medina Sidonia from the Gulf of Yeguas, where your Majesty's Armada was on the 10th instant. I was greatly rejoiced at the news and with God's grace I hope the fleet will now soon arrive here, as Moresin reports that the wind has been fair. God grant that the Armada may come safely, and that my constant prayer since the commencement of the enterprise may be vouchsafed to me, namely, that I may find myself on English soil at the head of these troops, and there worthily do my duty to your Majesty, as I yearn to do.

From Moresin's remarks it appears that the Duke still has doubts about being able (particularly if the enemy's fleet be not dispersed) to let me have the 6,000 Spaniards (at least) from the fleet; which your Majesty always said I should have, and even promised me more, if possible, quite recently. He (Medina Sidonia) also seems to have persuaded himself that I may be able to go out and meet him with these boats. These things cannot be, and in the interest of your Majesty's service I should be very anxious if I thought the Duke were depending upon them.* I do not doubt, however, that your Majesty's orders have been so clear and precise, that no difficulty can occur with regard to giving me the 6,000 men, and to his protecting my passage across, in order that with God's help I may carry out your Majesty's instructions in the way and at the time decided upon.

* The King has written against this passage: "God grant that no embarrassment may come from this." It will be seen by the correspondence that Parma and Medina Sidonia were at cross purposes from the very first on the subject of the contingent of 6,000 men to be lent from the Spanish Infantry on the Armada to Parma for service on shore.

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I have therefore no misgiving with regard to Moresin's message in this respect, besides which the Duke will learn clearly from my letters that I cannot depart in the slightest degree from the plan laid down, or from your Majesty's express orders; to the effect that the enemy being fully prepared and awaiting us as they are, not only must there be no mistake about my having the 6,000 Spaniards, but it would greatly add to the probable success of the enterprise if I could have a much larger number. With regard to my going out to join him he will plainly see that with these little, low, flat boats, built for these rivers and not for the sea, I cannot diverge from the short direct passage across which has been agreed upon. It will be a great mercy of God, indeed, if, even when our passage is protected and the Channel free from the enemy's vessels, we are able to reach land in these boats. As for running the risk of losing them by departing from the course agreed upon, and thus jeopardising the whole undertaking, if I were to attempt such a thing by going out to meet the Duke, and we came across any of the armed English or rebel ships, they could destroy us with the greatest of ease. This must be obvious, and neither the valour of our men nor any other human effort could save us. This was one of the principal reasons which moved your Majesty to lay down the precise and prudent orders you did, that your Spanish fleet should assure us the passage across, as it was perfectly clear that these boats could not contend against big ships, much less stand the sea, for they will not weather the slightest storm. Although I cannot believe that the Duke will raise any difficulty on these points, or fail to assure my passage across at the time and in the way that have always been ageeed upon, I have thought well to write to your Majesty as I have done, and to assure you again that when the passage is clear and defended, I will use every possible effort successfully to carry out my part, without exceeding in the slightest degree the orders your Majesty has given me. I have the firm confidence that in such case God will aid His own cause and that of your Majesty, and bless the zeal and earnestness with which I have acted. When we shall have landed I hope that your Majesty will have reason to be satisfied of my goodwill, and of the sincere desire I have always felt to succeed in serving your Majesty worthily in this and all things.

With regard to certain things with which the Duke has requested that I will help him from here, I will use every effort to do as he asks, and will keep up as close a correspondence with him as possible. In order that no point may be lost, I will immediately send Captain Moresin back to the Duke with everything I have to convey to him. —Bruges, 22nd June 1588.

24 June. Estado, 455. **320.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

(Gives an account of the arrival of several of the ships of the Armada in Corunna, and news of many more at other ports on the coast, most of them more or less damaged.* Is actively arranging for repairs to be done at once. Has sent pataches and caravels in

* There is in the same packet a list of repairs required by the galleons and galleasses, showing that 14 of them were seriously damaged.

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all directions, to order the ships to rendezvous at Corunna. Hopes that eventually all, or nearly all, will come in, notwithstanding the violence of the storm, that of yesterday (the 23rd) being worse than that of Sunday and Monday).

It may be supposed that, if they do not already know in England of our misfortune, they will know very shortly; and that, as a consequence, the corsairs both from England and from Rochelle will sally in search of our stray ships. I am doing all I can to obviate this, by sending pataches and rowing boats to reconnoitre, and am having great vigilance exercised in all directions.

It has also occurred to me that some of our ships may have run as far as the Scillys, according to the general orders given to them, and I have consequently sent two very swift oar pataches, well armed, with an experienced ensign in each, to order any ships that may be there to return hither. If they find none of our vessels, they will be useful in reconnoitring the enemy's fleet and bringing me information.

The watering and victualling of the Armada are being pushed on with all possible speed and no effort shall be spared; but the weather is so overcast and stormy that it greatly impedes us. God grant that it may improve.

Great care is being exercised in watching the men on the Armada, and on the quay there is a company of infantry of the country, to prevent the passage of any person from the Armada without my special pass, which I only give to the men absolutely needful for the victualling and watering. This is, I believe, very effectual in preventing desertion. The Marquis (Cerralbo) has aided me in this and in all things.—On board the galleon "San Martin," in the port of Corunna, 24th June 1588.

24 June. Estado, 455. **321.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

(Repeats briefly the information contained in the preceding letter of the same date, and refers especially to the inclemency of the weather.) I am very anxious about this which, in any case, would be remarkable at the end of June, but being as it is on so great an occasion in the service of our Lord, it is even the more extraordinary, considering how fervently the enterprise has been commended and devoted to Him. We must therefore conclude that what has happened has been for some good and just reason.

I have hitherto delayed saying to your Majesty what I am now about to say, in order that it might not be thought that any personal interest moved me thereto; but seeing the matter in its present position, I feel impelled by my conscientious duty to your Majesty to submit the following points for consideration, in the assurance that your Majesty will give due credit to me, knowing, as you do, the zeal and love with which I have always served you.

Your Majesty ordered me to go to Lisbon to fit out this Armada and take charge of it. When I accepted the task I submitted to your Majesty many reasons, in the interest of your service, why it was better that I should not do so. This was not because I wished to refuse the work, but because I recognised that we were attacking a kingdom so powerful, and so warmly aided by its neighbours, and

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that we should need a much larger force than your Majesty had collected at Lisbon. This was my reason for at first declining the command, seeing that the enterprise was being represented to your Majesty as easier than it was known to be by those whose only aim was your Majesty's service.

Nevertheless, matters reached a point when your Majesty ordered me to sail, which I did, and we have now arrived at this port scattered and maltreated in such a way that we are much inferior in strength to the enemy, according to the opinion of all those who are competent to judge. Many of our largest ships are still missing, as well as two of the galleasses; whilst on the ships that are here there are many sick, whose number will increase in consequence of the bad provisions. These are not only very bad, as I have constantly reported, but they are so scanty that there cannot be more than sufficient to last two months. By this your Majesty may judge whether we can proceed on the voyage, upon the success of which so much depends. Your Majesty has embarked in this expedition all your resources both in ships and warlike stores, and I can see no means whatever of redressing any disaster that may befall us.

A long time would be necessary to collect a naval force, and it would be impossible, without availing yourself of merchant ships, which are unfit for these seas, whilst your Majesty has no vessels on the coasts of Biscay, Portugal, and Andalusia; so that both Portugal and the Indies would be imperilled, and the States of Flanders would take heart and rise again as soon as they learnt of any disaster to this Armada. To undertake so great a task with equal forces to those of the enemy would be inadvisable, but to do so with an inferior force, as ours is now, with our men lacking in experience, would be still more unwise. I am bound to confess that I see very few, or hardly any, of those on the Armada with any knowledge of or ability to perform, the duties entrusted to them. I have tested and watched this point very carefully, and your Majesty may believe me when I assure you that we are very weak. Do not, your Majesty, allow yourself to be deceived by anyone who may wish to persuade you otherwise. I am supported in my views by the knowledge of how small a force the duke of Parma has collected. Even our two forces united would still be weak, but if we do not join we shall be feeble indeed. We shall not be able, moreover, to reinforce them as intended, seeing how matters stand at present with us.

I recall the great force your Majesty collected for the conquest of Portugal, although that country was within our own boundaries, and many of the people were in your favour. Well Sire, how do you think we can attack so great a country as England with such a force as ours is now? I have earnestly commended this matter to God, and feel bound to lay it before your Majesty, in order that you may choose the course best for your service whilst the Armada is refitting here. The opportunity might be taken, and the difficulties avoided, by making some honourable terms with the enemy. Your Majesty's necessities also make it meet that you should deeply ponder beforehand what you are undertaking, with so many envious rivals of your greatness.—Corunna, 24th June 1588.

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Note.—The aforegoing letter is accompanied by a statement of all the ships which had not up to that time entered port. They amount to 33 vessels and 2 galleasses, with an aggregate of 6,567 soldiers and 1,882 sailors. Within the next three days five of these vessels came in. On the 27th June 28 vessels were still missing, with an aggregate of 6,000 men on board.

26 June. **322.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

I have letters from England dated 12th and 18th instant. The first says that it was uncertain whether Drake had left Plymouth, where he had been joined by the Admiral. The report of the 18th, from Julio, asserts that the Admiral and Drake had sailed from Plymouth with 160 sail on the 9th; their orders being to guard the coast of England, and not to sail into Spanish waters. The Queen had left to the discretion of the Admiral and Drake whether to engage your Majesty's Armada or not, as they might judge advisable.

The 160 ships include large and small; and Julio assures me that not more than 8,000 men, soldiers and sailors together, are in them. Fourteen ships were leaving London with stores to follow the Admiral's fleet.

Captain Winter and Lord Seymour (Vice-Admiral) had 40 ships off Dunkirk. Seymour had assured the Queen that he would prevent the fleet of the duke of Parma from putting to sea.

The queen of England sent Leighton, governor of Guernsey, to this King on a mission. He landed at Harfleur, and thence went to Rouen, where he was met by two coaches sent by the King, accompanied by a knight of the St. Esprit, and by M. de la Mauvissière. In his audience with the King, he offered the latter, on behalf of his mistress, the forces which by the terms of their alliance she was pledged to furnish. If, however, he (the King) did not wish for Englishmen, he could choose men of the country he liked, either Germans or Swiss, and she would have them sent to France, and provide money in order that the levies might be made to the King's own liking, which troops she would pay for six months. In general terms she offered all her forces to maintain the French crown, and particularly the town of Boulogne, which she greatly fears may fall into the hands of the Guises.

The King replied generally, thanking the Queen for her kind offers, which he would accept if any need arose for him to do so. The envoy left with this reply on the 22nd from Rouen. I am assured by several Englishmen, and by the new confidant, that the envoy was anything but pleased; and the reason why the King sent him away so promptly will doubtless be found in the demands the League are making upon the King, respecting his renunciation of the English alliance, detailed in the accompanying letter.*

The resident English ambassador here has sent secretly to the duke of Guise, offering him on behalf of his mistress assistance in money against this King. Guise replied that, so far from wishing for any help from her, he would employ all the strength he possessed

* *See* note to letter from Mendoza to the King, 14th June, page 312.

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until he saw her ruined and hanged; and if a hangman could not be found, he himself would willingly put the rope round her neck. He requested that she would send him no more such messages, for if she did he would throw out of window the man who brought them, and would never admit within his doors any man attached to the (English) embassy.

Considering the cunning devices they use here, it may be concluded they (*i.e.*, the French) arranged for Guise to be tempted in this way, in order to discover whether he was so firm as he is; and if they found he was not, they would have accused him of accepting the aid of the queen of England whilst he was insisting upon this King's withrawing from his alliance with her. Even if Guise were not so firm as he appears to be in his defence of the Catholic cause and his hatred of heresy, he could hardly fail to suspect that such a proposal was intended to entrap him. The queen of England had sent to Scotland George (*sic*) Cary, son of Lord Hunsdon. He arrived at Dumfries, where he was extremely well received by the King. Cary writes under date of 12th instant from Dumfries, that the King is willing to assist the queen of England with all his forces, if your Majesty's Armada comes to invade her country, and will prevent the landing of a foreign force in Scotland. Cary was quite satisfied with the King's attitude, and was shortly returning to England.

The earl of Morton was in a fortfied house of his, but as the King had approached him he had, by last reports, retired further into the north.

Since writing the above I have advices from London of 22nd, confirming the sailing of Drake and the Admiral, with the number of ships and men stated above.—Paris, 26th June 1588.

26 June. **323.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The general news from England comes through Julio, and he says in addition, that Walsingham told him on the 18th instant that letters from count de Olivares had been captured, by which the Queen had learnt that his Holiness had granted the investiture of England to whomsoever might be the consort of the Infanta Isabel. This had quite banished any hope she had of peace, and had greatly angered her. She saw that your Majesty only wanted to gain time in the negotiations. The king of France is not negotiating anything with the English ambassador. He (the King) neither entirely refuses nor accepts the offers the Queen makes him.

They are pressing Julio more hardly every day, not paying him his wages; and he has again begged me to help him with the 2,500 crowns mentioned in my last letter. I will give him 1,000 crowns in two instalments, and so will keep him in hand until I receive your Majesty's instructions. I do not think it will be wise to lose him at a time when his intelligence may be of so much importance.

The advices from England in Portuguese are from Vega, and the letters for Estefano Lercaro in Lisbon from Marco Antonio Messia

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who writes that, as he cannot learn that his goods are disembargoed in Lisbon, he will be obliged to leave England. For this purpose he asks me for 300 crowns beyond the 265 sun crowns I have already paid for him. Pray send instructions. I am writing telling him to try and stay where he is for the present, and, with God's help, everything will soon be remedied.—Paris, 26th June 1588.

27 June. Cotton MS., Vesp. CVIII. English.

324. VALENTINE DALE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.

I trust my plain reports are now found true, that the Duke will agree to no reasonableness, as doth plainly appear by the despatches, for neither will he pay the Queen her money, but requireth money of her for their charges; neither will they avoid the strangers, nor grant toleration of exercise of religion for Holland and Zeeland but such as they have granted to Antwerp and others. And so we stand at a stay what to do, until we know further of her Majesty's pleasure.—Bourbourg, 27th June 1588.

Postscript.—If my Lord Harry (Seymour) watch them hard at their going out, that they steal not forth, he shall easily scatter them by God's grace.

June? B.M., Cotton Vesp. CVIII. English.

325. The words of the DUKE OF PARMA, reported by Dr. DALE in his Letters to Her Majesty. At the colloquy for peace at Bourbourg, at the coming of the Spanish Great Fleet.

"As for the Commissioners he was glad they were persons of such quality, whereby he hoped that there would be some good success; but he feared some accident might happen by delay, whereby his good meaning might be disturbed."

The words of Richardot, reported by Dr. Dale, Mr. Robert Cecil being present:—

"He did not know what these delays and alterations might breed. The King was a great way off, and what his determination might be they could not tell, nor what accident might happen to England."

Richardot answered, when he was pressed on his former speeches—he paused a good while and said he had spoken it but by the way of discourse, and if such things should happen her Majesty's Commissioners were persons safe by the Duke's safe-conduct, which was to go, tarry, and depart, and God forbid they should be molested. That were "*contra jus gentium.*"

27 June. Estado, 455.

326. REPORT of the COUNCIL called by the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA, on board the Royal Galleon at Corunna, 27th June 1588. Present: the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Admiral Juan Martinez de Recalde, Don Francisco de Bovadillo, Don Jorge Manrique, Diego Flores de Valdés, Don Pedro de Valdés, Miguel de Oquendo, Don Hugo de Moncada, Captain Martin de Bertondona, Captain Juan de Velasco, and Captain Gaspar de Hermosilla.

The Duke first submitted the question whether it would be advisable to await in Corunna the rest of the Armada, or to go out and seek the missing ships along the coast.

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The unanimous opinion was, that it was better to stay here and await them, as the position was a convenient one from which to depart on the voyage. Besides this, it was considered that the Armada was not fit to hunt along the coast for ships; and that it would be in every way more advisable for them to seek the Armada than for the Armada to seek them. The danger, moreover, of cruising off the coast and about the mouths of harbours was great; and dispatch boats had already been sent out along the coast, and orders conveyed by land to the authorities to instruct ships that had put into port to come hither.

The Duke then asked the council to decide whether it would be better to pursue their journey at once, with such ships as were now at Corunna, Vivero, and Rivadeo, and without waiting for the missing ships, which, as they knew, and according to the Inspector-General, Don Jorge Manrique's report, amounted to 28 sail, with 6,000 men on board. He desired each councillor to give his individual opinion, influenced only by the interests of his Majesty's service.

Don Jorge Manrique was the first to give his vote. He said he had made out an account of the men on board the missing ships, and found they numbered 6,000 all told. Although it was asserted that 27,884 men had been shipped on the Armada, he found that only 22,500 were effectives, after deducting general and field officers, staff, cabin, and ships' boys, gentlemen adventurers, officers of justice, hospital staff, artillery officers and ministers of religion, as well as the oarsmen on the galleys, and galleasses. If 6,000 more be deducted there would only remain 16,000 efficient soldiers and sailors on the fleet, but it must also be recollected that some of these had gone away or died, or fallen sick, so that it may be estimated that nearly a third of the strength of the Armada is missing, without considering the vessels themselves, which were numerous, and some of the best in the fleet. There were, moreover, on board, three maestres de campo (*i.e.*, regimental commanders), who naturally had with them the flower of their respective regiments. He (the speaker) was therefore of opinion that the Armada ought not to sail from this port without the missing portion. He was confirmed in this vote by consideration of the news, dated 26th April, of the enemy's forces, which had been contained in his Majesty's last despatches. This view of the matter ought to be represented emphatically to his Majesty, as it was of such vital importance, and upon it depended the fate of Christendom, and the conservation of his dominions. In this enterprise his Majesty had embarked all his naval force existing in these seas; and in case of any misfortune, either in warfare or tempest, the whole was liable to be lost, as is proved by the present condition of affairs. This was agreed to by all present, except Don Pedro de Valdés, who was of opinion that they should sail with the ships, here, in Vivero, Gijon, and Rivadeo, for the reasons set forth below. Don Francisco de Bovadilla, Juan Martinez, Diego Flores, Oquendo, and the rest, gave many reasons for the opinion they had adopted; Don Francisco especially saying that if the Armada went in its full strength its task was safe and easy, and this general feeling on the fleet would enable them to overcome any difficulties

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they might encounter, the men being confident and in good spirits, with the assurance of victory. But if they went short-handed, the risk would be great, especially in face of the forces the enemy now had. If the enemy was willing to meet, or at all events to defend himself against, the entire Armada, he would certainly be ready to encounter a portion of it; and in case of misfortune to the Armada the Indies would be lost, and Portugal and Flanders in dire peril of being lost as well. He (Bovadilla) was therefore decidedly of opinion that the Armada should remain here until the whole force were re-united as it left Lisbon. The whole of the members concurred in this, and voted accordingly, except Don Pedro de Valdés, who opposed it with the following argument.

SPEECH of DON PEDRO DE VALDÉS in support of his opinion.

His experience of English affairs, and the fact that no intelligence had been received that the enemy would receive any foreign aid, led him to the conclusion that the portion of the Armada now here, in Vivero, Rivadeo, and Gijon, ought to proceed on the expedition. It is perfectly evident that the enemy's forces must be divided between two or three places, for the purpose of impeding the passage of the duke of Parma, and to oppose the entrance of this Armada into the Channel. He (Valdés) is also of opinion that our missing ships will very shortly be heard of—or most of them—because the storm that overtook them was not very violent, unless, for reasons of their own, any of the vessels wished to make bad weather of it. With regard to the Duke's remarks about the stores, and to Don Jorge Manrique's estimate that they had sufficient for 90 days, he (Valdés) said that if that were the case, and the sailing of the Armada were not delayed beyond 15 or 20 days, he was of opinion that the voyage should be prosecuted. But still he thought that the stores should be very carefully examined as to their condition. Since the Duke had called the council together he (Valdés) had gone round his own squadron, and although he found they had a store of biscuit sufficient for three months, part of it was in bad condition. There was more than enough wine for three months, but the bacon, cheese, fish, sardines, and vegetables were all rotten and of very little use. There was also a lack of oil. The only victuals he found to be of any service were the meat and fish received in this port, and he does not think there is sufficient of them here to last for the 90 days mentioned by Don Jorge Manrique. He (Valdés) is of opinion that whilst the Armada is in this port, both the soldiers and sailors should have daily rations of fresh meat, so that the stores now in stock should be kept. There will be plenty of fresh meat here for the purpose, and it will not cost more than 7 or 8 maravedis a pound, and the men will be strengthened and set up by it, as they need it.

The Duke also asked them (as each of them knew the condition of his own squadron) to give an estimate of the length of time their provisions would last, and what they thought should be done in case they found the quantity insufficient for the time which had been mentioned.

To this question the whole of those present said they should like first to hear the opinion of the Inspector-General. They wished,

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however, to mention the great complaints which both soldiers and sailors were making about the food. With the exception of the bread (and that is very bad), the wine, rice, and some of the pulse, the victuals were of no use whatever, for the men would not eat them.

Don Jorge (Manrique) replied that by the Duke's orders the whole of the stores were being examined; and he had in the course of the examination found the state of the food to be such as was described by the Generals present. With the exception of the bread, the wine, and the vegetables, everything was spoilt and rotten, as it had been on board so long. He had made an account of what remained in the ships, after deducting the two and a half months' consumption, since the men were shipped on the 13th April, and estimated that at the very most there would not be sufficient food for more than 80 days longer; excepting on Diego Flores' squadron, where there might be enough stores to last for barely three months.

In view of this it was unanimously agreed that the stores were insufficient for so large a force; and that a full report should be sent to his Majesty by a special messenger, in order that he might adopt such measures as seemed best. This report was signed by the whole of the officers present.

Note.—The above report was dispatched to the King on the following day, 28th June; and on the 5th July Don Pedro de Valdés wrote to his Majesty (replying to a letter sent by the King on the 28th June to him and the various other chiefs of squadrons urging them to activity), saying that as his (Valdes') opinion in the council had been so different to that of the other commanders, the Duke was "looking upon him with an unfriendly eye, and had used expressions "towards him which had greatly grieved him." Don Diego says that he had recommended the Duke to reduce the biscuit ration by one quarter, and serve out one pound of fresh meat per man per day whilst the Armada was in port. He mentions the arrival of several more of the missing ships.

27 June. Estado, 950. **327.** SUMMARY of letters from COUNT DE OLIVARES dated 10th, 13th, 17th, 26th, and 27th June, 1588.

His Holiness was much grieved that he had received no news of the sailing of the Armada, and complained that his Majesty did not give him account of the progress of affairs. To conceal this, he (Olivares) had announced that a post had been lost coming through France.

Cardinal Allen and Robert Persons are apprehensive lest the Pope should give credit to the religion of the king of Scotland, but up to the present there is nothing apparently suspicious on this point. They (*i.e.*, Allen, Persons, etc.) are greatly afraid that his Majesty may favour and side with the English of the Scottish and French faction, against whom they are much aggrieved; especially in consequence of two books which they have printed against them (*i.e.*, against the English of the Spanish party).

Note.—In the duplicate of one of the above letters Olivares informs the King that the "Pope is terribly put out that no news

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" had been sent to him of the departure of the Armada. He is " extremely offended thereat."

28 June. **328.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

After the accompanying despatches were written we have received letters from the duke of Medina Sidonia, reporting that, in consequence of heavy weather on the 19th and 20th, he had been obliged to enter Corunna, and a portion of the Armada in other ports in some disorder; but not to such an extent as to cause him to desist from proceeding on his voyage, after shipping the water and provisions there ready for him, and effecting what repairs may be necessary. I have thought well to inform you of this, so that you may repeat it if it should appear advisable. Let me know what they say on the subject in England and France, and any other fresh intelligence you can obtain. To what extent has the Queen increased her forces in consequence of the news of the sailing of the Armada?—San Lorenzo, 28th June, 1588.

28 June. **329.** PHILIP II. to DON PEDRO DE VALDÉS, Commander of the Andalusian Squadron of the Armada.

B.M. Cotton Vesp. CVIII.

I learn from your letter and that of the Duke (of Medina Sidonia), the events that have occurred with the Armada on the occasion of its being caught in the storm, and that the fleet had become separated, the Duke entering that port (Corunna) with a squadron, and part of another, and the rest of the ships putting out to sea. I note also the hope expressed that, when the latter portion of the fleet learns where the rest is, they will also come into the port, weather permitting Reports have been received from the corregidor of Asturias that 60 sail have been seen off that coast, and that there were two galleasses at Gijon, so it is to be expected that they will all have endeavoured to collect at the place where the Duke is, and have set about repairing the damage they may have suffered in the storm. It is to be hoped that this work and the re-watering and victualling of the ships will be effected with all speed, so as to enable you to resume the prosecution of your voyage. You are aware how important it is that not an hour should be lost, and I therefore enjoin you urgently to attend in person to what has to be done, and to help the Duke where needful. The watering, victualling, and repairing should all be done at the same time, so that the voyage may be resumed as soon as the weather allows. You will serve me well therein. Let me know what is done.—San Lorenzo, 28th June 1588.

Note.—The above letter is the original, signed by the King; and in a Latin note at foot is said to be " *Ex dono Legati regis Hisp.* 1615."

3 July. **330.** ADVICES from ROUEN.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Yesterday a little vessel loaded with oranges arrived at Havre de Grace, which left Laredo on the 24th, St. John's Day. She reports that on that day a patache from the Armada came into Laredo with the news that the Armada had arrived in Scotland, and had landed troops.

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4 July. Estado, 839. **331.** DEPOSITION before the Magistrate VALLADARES SARMIENTO, in Lisbon, of PEDRO SANTA CRUZ, to the effect that two years ago next September he was on a voyage to the Canaries, and was captured by an English ship and carried to London, where he remained 10 months, leaving on Good Friday last, and arriving on the 23rd June 1588.

The deposition gives an account of the Portuguese Jews, etc. then living in London, who, the deponent says, were all in favour of England, and carried on correspondence with persons in Portugal, Flanders, and elsewhere to the injury of Spain. Amongst those whom he accuses of this are, Dr. Hector Nuñez, the Queen's physician, Alvaro de Lima, Geronimo Pardo, Hernan Alvarez, Francisco de Tapia, and Antonio, a servant, all whom lived in the same lodging. Other names mentioned are Richard May and his son-in-law, Master Venables, Master William Anes (?), the son of Benjamin George, Master Brown, Master Brook, Bernaldo Luis,* and Francisco Valverde.

5 July. Estado, 165. **332.** The KING to the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

Your letter of 28th instant arrived yesterday; and before I reply to it I may say that you will have seen by my letters of 26th ultimo and 1st instant, that my intention is not to desist from the enterprise in consequence of what has happened, but, in any case, to carry forward the task already commenced, overcoming the difficulties which may present themselves. I mean, however, after the Armada has been refitted, and your scattered forces have been re-united, or so much of them as may be of importance. This intention of mine is, as I say, clearly indicated in the above-mentioned letters; but the order given in the later of the two, for the Armada to sail by the 10th instant, is conditional upon your having been joined by the missing ships; and upon your having with the utmost speed made arrangements to refit the ships, and reinforce those which are to sail with the arms, men, and victuals of the ships which you leave behind. By ships left behind, I mean those which you find need repairs which will occupy a long time, and of these the hulls alone must remain, all the contents being put on board the other vessels. I think well, nevertheless, to repeat clearly to you here what my meaning is. In conformity with this the Council of War will write to you saying, that, in order to gain time, you may leave behind 12 or 15 of the least useful of your ships, transferring their contents on to the other vessels; always on the understanding that you shall have been joined by the rest of the missing ships.

* Before the date of this deposition Bernaldo Luis himself was in prison in Lisbon, and voluminous copies of his examination before the same magistrate, Valladares, on 13 May 1588, are in the same bundle as the above (Estado 839). He gives a full account of the Portuguese who were with Don Antonio in London. He describes himself as brother-in-law of Dr. Hector Nuñez, and the greatest enemy Don Antonio had. (This was true, as he and his brothers had offered to kill Don Antonio two years before, *see* Volume VIII. of this Calendar). He denies that Dr. Nuñez was Don Antonio's doctor, and says that he, Nuñez, had refused the post of physician to the Queen, as "he liked to be free."

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I now come to your letter enclosing the report and opinion of the council you summoned. With regard to the suggestion that the Armada should leave Corunna for the purpose of seeking along the coast for the missing ships, that should not be adopted on any account. The missing ships should join you there, and when all, or a sufficient number, are united, you may proceed on your expedition, and I approve of the orders you had sent out to this effect.

My intention, therefore, is, that when the forces are collected, the voyage should be resumed; for I hope that our Lord will change these difficulties at the commencement into the triumph of His cause at the end. Success largely depends upon fine weather, and the season is now so advanced that not an hour should be lost. You must, therefore, exert every effort to make ready with all promptitude.

Since it is necessary to go forward, and the first element of success consists in keeping your men and stores intact, you will be very vigilant in this respect; taking care to maintain a strict watch over the men, so that, with the reinforcements I have ordered to be given to you, your number should increase rather than wane. With regard to the stores, you will serve out fresh bread, meat, and fish to the men whilst you are in port; and you may spend the reserve money you take in paying for this. In no way can it be better spent than in securing the health of the men, whilst at the same time sparing the victuals you have laid in for the voyage. The stores you have—enough, as you report for two months—are very considerable, besides what you may take on board at Corunna, and the supplies which will be sent after you, and provided for you in Flanders. (In the handwriting of the King: "*But you must take "great care that the stores are really preserved, and not allow "yourself to be deceived, as you were before.*") You will be able to see how far the reports you now send me agree with those furnished to you in Lisbon and forwarded to me. As a matter of fact, the information sent to me produced an impression very different from what has turned out to be the truth. The same remark applies also to the question of water. I gathered from your letter to the duke of Parma, sent by Captain Moresin, that you were informed that you had sufficient water on the fleet for two months; and I now find that on the very day of your arrival at Corunna you discovered that some of the ships had no water left. All this makes it necessary that you should be very careful in keeping all the officers well up to their duties.

I see by the muster taken on the 28th ultimo the number of men you had at Corunna, independent of the 10 vessels at Vivero, two at Gijon, two at Rivadeo, and one at Santander, besides the galleasses Patrona and Zuñiga. As these will all have joined you, and others in addition, you will now have a good force.

I am anxious that so many of the ships were missing, some of them important vessels, with a considerable number of men on board. The idea, however, is that the reason why the Levant ships and the hulks are longer away than the others, is that they could not lie-to so well, and were obliged to run with the wind until a change enabled them to turn and seek you at the rendezvous at

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Corunna, according to the orders which I believe you gave them. Let me know whether you did so, and give me your opinion as to what probability there is that the missing hulks may have had some trick played upon them by the foreign sailors on board. I trust you were wise enough to put on board of each hulk at least a couple of experienced and trusty Spanish sailors, as it would have been easy, with so many troops on board, for them to have forced the foreigners to resume their proper course if the Spanish sailors found them going astray. I see plainly the truth of what you say, that the Levant ships are less free and staunch in heavy seas than the vessels built here, and that the hulks cannot sail to windward; but still it is the fact that Levant ships constantly sail to England, and the hulks go hardly anywhere else but up the Channel, and it is quite an exception for them to leave it to go to other seas. When they do so it is for some reason other than bad weather, or the working of the ships. It is true that if we could have things exactly as we wished, we would rather have other vessels, but under the present circumstances the expedition must not be abandoned on account of this difficulty, which is not such a very great one, after all.

I conclude by again summarising my orders. The men and stores are to be kept intact, by feeding the men on fresh provisions. The ships are to be united in Corunna, or, at least, so many of them that those missing shall not be of importance; and you are then to prepare with all speed, so as to be ready to sail on your voyage as soon as you receive my further orders. You must endeavour to be in such a state of readiness by the 10th or 12th instant, that you may be able to sail within an hour after you receive your orders, the weather being propitious, and God's blessing upon you. You will send me a report every day of the state of affairs, although my intention is, after seeing the contents of your next letter, and perhaps before, to send you the sailing orders above mentioned.—San Lorenzo, 5th July 1588.

5 July. Estado, 455.

333. STATEMENT of the VOYAGE made by ENSIGN ESQUIVEL in a pinnace to SCILLY to see whether there were any ships of the Armada there.

(Left Corunna on the 27th June, and gives an account of having seen and conveyed the Duke's orders to several ships of the Armada in neighbourhood of Scilly.)

On Friday, 1st July, at daybreak we sighted St. Michael's Bay and Cape Longnose, five or six leagues distant. We took in all sail and rowed inland some four leagues. We then stood by for night to come on, and a sail passed to leeward to us at two leagues distance. I wished to chase her, but the pilots opposed it, as it was late, and we were uncertain of catching her. The general opinion was that, being so near the land, we should hardly fail to catch a fisher-boat during the night. The wind then rose in the S.W., with heavy squalls of rain, and such a violent gale that during the night we had winds from every quarter of the compass. We did our best by constant tacking to keep off the land, and at daybreak the wind settled in the N., and we tried to keep towards

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Ireland in order to fulfil our intention; but the wind was too strong, and the sea so heavy that the pinnace shipped a quantity of water at every wave. We ran thus in a southerly direction, with the wind astern blowing a gale, so that we could only carry our foresail very low. At four o'clock in the afternoon, after we had already received several heavy seas, a wave passed clean over us, and nearly swamped the pinnace. We were flush with the water, and almost lost, but by great effort of all hands the water was baled out, and everything thrown overboard. We had previously thrown over a pipe of wine and two butts of water. We lowered the mainmast on to the deck, and so we lived through the night under a closely reefed foresail.

On Sunday we were running under the foresail only, and at nine o'clock in the morning we sighted six sails, three to the N., and three to the S.E., although they appeared to be all of one company. We ran between them with our foresail set, and two of those on the S.E. gave us chase. We then hoisted our mainmast and clapped on sail, and after they had followed us until two o'clock, they took in sail and resumed their course. At nine o'clock we sighted another ship lying to and repairing, with only her lower sails set. On Monday, 4th July, we sighted land off Rivadeo.

6 July. Estado, 455.

334. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I have received your Majesty's letters of 26th (2) and 1st instant, and thank your Majesty for the consolation brought to me. I had need of it, for I deeply grieved at the delay experienced in the execution of the service we desire to do to God and your Majesty; but those that go down to the sea in ships are exposed to these vicissitudes, and I am consoled in the idea that He who has this expedition in His hand, deigns to take this course with it in order to infuse even more zeal in your Majesty, and more care in your officers. I am convinced of this, because He has been pleased to send into this port to-day all the missing ships except two of the Levanters, namely, the "San Juan de Sicilia," and the "Santa Maria el Vison," and two hulks, one of which is now in sight to leeward; the other being the "Casa de Paz Grande," which separated from the rest off the Biscay coast, as she was making a great deal of water. All the rest, without excepting even a patache, are here or in Vivero, or Gijon. I have ordered them all to come hither as soon as the weather serves. I have sent similar orders to Juan Martinez de Recalde's flagship in Santander. I hear also that the two missing Levanters separated from the others off the Biscay coast near France. The galleon "San Luis," with the Maestre de Campo Don Agustin Mejia on board, came into Vivero on Monday night, having been very near Rochelle. She is much knocked about, without a drop of water on board, her mast split, as is the case with most of the hulks, for they encountered two heavy gales. They say that if the Armada had been caught in the latter of them off the Scillys, or in the Channel, it would have gone badly with us, and we should have suffered more than we did, as we should have had no ports of refuge. The refitting of all these ships shall be taken in hand at once. It shall have my personal attention, for I am more anxious than anyone to expedite matters, and get away from here. Your Majesty may

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rest assured that no efforts of mine shall be spared, and when the ships are refitted I will not fail to take advantage of the first fair wind to sail.

I send your Majesty a statement of the navigation of the hulks, and some of the ships that accompanied them, for your information. The pinnace that I sent to Scilly sighted nine ships near there, these being the vessels that entered this port yesterday. She (the pinnace) was overtaken by a great storm inside the Scilly isles which forced her to run for Spain, almost swamped. She arrived here yesterday, bringing news of the coming of the ships. I send your Majesty a statement of her voyage (*see* preceding and following documents). The closest possible watch is being kept on our soldiers and sailors, guards being posted all along the shore, and in the roads and passages by which they might escape. So far, I do not know of a single soldier having deserted here, and I am told that only a few sailors are missing. Some of the sailors of the province (Galicia) are being shipped, and they are better than the Portuguese. The marquis of Cerralbo is attending very diligently to everything.

Fresh meat is being served out for the last two days, and the fresh bread rations will commence to-morrow. This is a great treat for the men and well economise our stores.

There are some cases of fever, and a fleet hospital has been established on shore for their reception. They are progressing favourably under care, and I hope, by God's help, that every man will embark on the Armada. The archbishop of Santiago has aided in supplying the hospital, as might be expected from his piety. He has been most bounteous and charitable. He offers also to take charge of any sick men left behind. He deserves your Majesty's thanks. With regard to giving the contingent of men to the duke of Parma, I will do my best according to circumstances, bearing in mind always that it is your Majesty's intention that this Armada should maintain its superiority over the enemy's fleet, until the latter has been broken. In this respect, and also on the question of the decision which the Duke and I may adopt as to seeking the enemy's fleet before we land any men, we must be guided by events. —Corunna, 6th July 1588.

Note.—The King replied to the above letter on the 12th July (Estado 165), generally approving and confirming the Duke's action, urging him to still greater activity, and ordering him on receipt of the letter to sail for England with God's blessing, without an hour's further delay, even though he might have to leave 12 or 15 ships behind him.

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335. STATEMENT of the voyage of the ship "Almiranta"* with 12 hulks and other ships which separated from the Armada, up to the time they entered Corunna, this day. (Lost sight of the Armada on 16th June. A detailed log of the voyage, containing nothing of interest until Wednesday, 28th June.)

On Wednesday morning, whilst we were still sailing in the direction of Scilly, we discovered sails towards Ushant, to which the

* This was probably the "San Salvador," which was the almiranta or vice-flagship of the squadron of hulks under Juan Gomez de Medina.

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"Almiranta" gave chase, until we were well in sight of land. We could not get clear of it till night. Six ships came out to reconnoitre us, and signal lights were shown on land. The hulk "San Pedro el Menor" being in the rear was approached by three vessels, which opened an artillery fire on her. The enemy's ships then hoisted a lantern and made for the shore, whilst we pursued our voyage to Scilly. The wind went round to W.S.W., and whilst we were off the Lizard in thick weather the wind changed to N.W. We then made a long tack to seaward W.S.W., so as to make the Scillys from the west. With the lead always out, we continued on long tacks all Thursday and Friday, so as to make the Scillys.

On Saturday morning we were 15 leagues off the south end of Scilly. The previous day a violent N.N.E. wind had sprung up. On Saturday at daybreak we sighted two ships which were emerging from St. George's Channel between Cape Longnose (*i.e.*, Land's End), and the seven stones. They came up with us, and the hulk "Gato" attacked one of them, and captured all the men on board, the vessel shortly afterwards foundering, two of the men being killed, and the other, mortally wounded, going down with her. The "Paloma Blanca" attacked the other one, capturing four men; but she drifted away from her, having broken her mainyard-arm. The Admiral went on board the prize to make her fit for sailing, but the sea was terribly rough, and the Admiral was only saved by a miracle, for he broke two of his ribs whilst leaving the prize. We took him on board again, and one of the soldiers from the hulk "Paloma," who had got on board during the attack. One of these ships reported that she was going to Biscay with wheat and some tanned hides, and the other was bound for France with coal (charcoal?). They had both sailed together from Dublin with 12 persons on board of each of them. The ship bound for France had two friars on board, one a Bernardin and the other a Franciscan, who were flying from the English in the North of Ireland, where two important monasteries had been burnt in the last six weeks; the friars being burnt as well. These two had fled to the woods The ship they were in was a Scotch vessel, the other being Irish. The friars said they were escaping from terrible cruelties. The Scotch shipmaster said that he had left a Scottish port called Dudat (Dundee?) 22 days before, and it was said there that a nobleman named (Morton?), who had come from Spain, was raising troops, and the king of Scotland had arrested him. One of the sailors, who had come from Dublin, said that there was news that Drake had 180 ships, divided into three squadrons of 60 sail each. Two of the squadrons were to the east of Dover and the other at Plymouth, 20 leagues from the Lizard. It was current in Dublin that great land preparations were being made for defence; and that 180 or 200 great ships were coming from Spain. During this time the sea was running immensely high from the N.E. At nightfall the "Paloma Blanca," seeing that the ship that had been captured was going down, was ordered by the Admiral to cast her off, which she did. We then ran towards Corunna with the wind astern, as we could do no more, and we were sure that no ships of the Armada were off Cape Longnose, Mount's Bay, St. Michael's, or Scilly. The gale continued to blow furiously until Sunday, when the wind began to back to the north, and we tried to make for Cape Ortegal.

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On Monday we sighted five vessels ahead towards the S.S.W. We gave chase to discover whether they were ships of the Armada, but they looked like Breton ships coming from Portugal. We then continued our voyage to Corunna, where we arrived to-day.—6th July 1588.

6 July. Estado, 594.

336. MEMORANDUM from Secretary JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ to the KING, with marginal notes by the latter.

The letters from Flanders are enclosed. Everything seems to be satisfactory except the question of money. I hope to God that the Duke's tact, and the prompt arrival of the Armada, will have averted the threatened disorders on account of the lack of money. In order, however, to avoid any recurrence of them in future, it will be necessary to deal with the question very energetically, and wake the Madrid people out of their ordinary dilatoriness; as they must send some money to Parma on their own account, as well as some to Mansfeldt. If the Armada is delayed there, which we should learn by early advices, the duke of Medina Sidonia will want some. We shall be obliged to make an extraordinary effort when we see the result of the two financial arrangements that are now in hand.

When your Majesty has read these letters, copies of the clauses about money shall be sent to Rodrigo Vasquez, so that he and his council may see how dearly we have to pay for the delays and shortcomings on this side, and that we are thus at the mercy of the merchants, most of the fresh remittances being necessary to pay off old debts, without relieving the present need. I cannot wonder that the Duke submits to the exactions of the merchants, although it is very hard upon us, because, in the first place, he has pledged his word and wishes to maintain his credit, the loss of which he doubtless thinks might cause even more inconvenience. Now that he has kept his engagements with the merchants, I expect he will have availed himself again of the same money, and other sums, by means of new loans. He could not do so otherwise; and although this is a wasteful way, the Duke is to be commended for adopting it, considering the urgent need in which he stood.

The King's remarks in reply to the above are written on the margin, as follows:

I have seen all these letters from the duke of Parma, and I hope to God that your wishes on this subject may be fulfilled, for it is very needful that they should be. Every day he advises some obstacles, as well as that of money. He is very hardly pressed, and it is well that the course you suggest should be adopted, and that we all should do our utmost. I wrote last night very earnestly about it to Rodrigo Vasquez,* as I wrote you at the time. I approve of the

* Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, who must not be confounded with Secretary Mateo Vasquez, rendered famous by his quarrel with Secretary Antonio Perez. Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce had been promoted to the Secretaryship of the Council of Finance in Madrid as a reward for the diligence and acuteness with which he had, as the King's lawyer, made out the case against Perez. The latter, in his "Relaciones," ascribes Rodrigo Vasquez's persistence in the matter to personal malevolence against him.

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copies of the letters being sent to him, as you say, but they must be amended; all that about France, Lorraine, and things of that sort, being omitted; as there is no reason for them to be seen. Rodrigo Vasquez may be written to upon the subject, and he may have an account of some of the cipher letters about England. If there is anything in them that should not be seen, a brief summary only need be sent him.

7 July. **337.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

I have letters from England, dated 28th ultimo, reporting that Drake and the Admiral have returned to Plymouth, with contrary winds. They still remained there unable to put to sea in consequence of the weather. This and the non-appearance of your Majesty's Armada had surprised everyone, as the Queen had received news that it had doubled Cape Finisterre, and I have from Rouen the news I enclose herewith. Whilst the Queen-Mother was at supper last night she said publicly that the Armada had not returned to Spain, as had been asserted, in consequence of the plague having broken out on board, but had landed men in Scotland. As the advices from London, dated 28th, say nothing about this,—and they would certainly know of it in four days—the news appears doubtful pending further confirmation.

This King's agent in Scotland has arrived here, having left there on the 12th ultimo. He reports that the King (of Scotland) had declared himself much more openly than before against the Catholics, since the arrival of the earl of Morton. I understand that the English faction are desirous that the King should arrest Morton. The latter had thereupon, retired further into the North, and had raised troops. Morton, Huntly, and Claude Hamilton were in close union, and had collected a large force in case the King should attempt to attack them. Lord Harry Seymour and Winter are in the Downs with the Queen's ships, and detain those that go from Holstein and Holland to Brouage for salt, in order to increase their strength.

The French ambassador in England reports to this King that the Admiral and Drake warn the Queen that your Majesty's Armada is said to be so strong that they had not sufficient forces to combat it. —Paris, 7th July 1588.

8 July. **338.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 950.

As it is now 39 days since the Armada sailed, I am extremely anxious that I have no news of it. If I recollect aright it was about this date that your Majesty landed at Southampton.*

His Holiness is firm in his determination not to disburse a crown until the news arrives, and he is unyielding to the pressure I put upon him for money when he received the news that the Armada had sailed. As if your Majesty had not spent anything, or wanted the money for the purpose of hoarding it! The invariable reply of the Pope is, that as soon as the intelligence comes that the troops

* Philip had landed at Southampton to marry Queen Mary on the 20th July, 1554 (O.S.). Olivares accompanied him.

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have landed, he will not fail to fill his part of the contract. He is gathering money from all quarters, so as not to be obliged to trench upon the sum in the Castle (of Sant' Angelo). He is furiously angry with your Majesty and with me. The way in which he now refuses the most just and usual things is exactly the same as his attitude a year ago when he thought that this bitter hour for him (*i.e.*, of having to part with his money) was approaching. I am doing my best to ensure the million (which surprises everyone) and so far as possible to prepare matters for the loan.—Rome, 8th July 1588.

9 July. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

339. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since writing the enclosed letter of 7th, I have received reports from Plymouth dated 29th ultimo, saying that the Admiral and Drake were in that port, having returned in consequence of contrary winds. Some of the men had landed, and the Admiral had issued a proclamation on that day (29th June) ordering them all to go on board, as he was sailing next day if the weather continued as it was then.

By way of Olonne in France, the Admiral had learned that your Majesty's fleet was in the port of Corunna on the 18th ultimo, and the new confidant has news from Rouen to the same effect. He has advices from London, of 26th ultimo, saying that as the Queen has now no hope of peace being concluded in Flanders she was making hasty preparations for war, and arming as many troops as she could.

The Queen was sending a gentleman to condole with the king of Denmark on the death of his father, and it was believed that the same envoy would afterwards go to the German Protestant princes. —Paris, 9th July 1588.

11 July. Estado, 455.

340. ADMIRAL JUAN MARTINEZ DE RECALDE to the KING.

(Gives an account of the arrival of the hulks at Corunna, "Smelling of England"; and expects the rest of the ships from Vivero, Rivadeo, etc., to enter port the next evening. The Armada will then again be complete, and the writer thinks that it should be able to sail in a week. The Duke is working with great energy with this object as usual).

I have not been able to help him much lately in consequence of an attack of sciatica, but thank God the remedies applied have been efficacious, and I arose to-day without pain. The Duke came to see me yesterday and we discussed at length the sailing of the expedition. He seems to be much vexed at having to hurry the departure. I showed him how important speed was for the attainment of the object. He is in great fear that the stores and provisions which are being collected here will not be got together in time to supply the needs of the Armada. Profiting by the permission which your Majesty and Don Juan (de Idiaquez) give me in your letter of the 5th instant I will state my own opinion on the matter.

So far as I understand, the object of the Armada is to meet and vanquish the enemy by main force, which I hope to God we shall do if he will fight us, as doubtless he will.

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In the contrary case we have to proceed to the Downs, and there join hands with the duke of Parma's force in Dunkirk, whose passage across we are to protect to the most convenient point which may be agreed upon. This point should be the nearest possible one on either side of the Thames.

This will take some little time, as in the case of there being a cavalry force, as I understand there will be, it cannot be carried over in one passage, and we shall be fortunate if it can be done in two.

After this be done the first thing will be to obtain a port for the Armada. If it be found possible to obtain anchorage and shelter in the river itself, supported by the army, no other reinforcements will be needed; or at least those from Flanders will suffice. I imagine from what I can see, however, that Flanders will be much exhausted, and the help from there inconsiderable. From the mouth of the Thames to Southampton—about 40 leagues—I know of no port capable of taking large vessels, all the coast being very uninviting. The harbours of Southampton and the Isle of Wight are well defended by forts, and it appears to me that the most convenient and easiest ports for landing would be Falmouth, Plymouth, or Dartmouth, especially as the highly necessary reinforcements of men and stores will have to be sent from Spain, and isolated vessels will be exposed to much danger from the enemy higher up the Channel.

I see, nevertheless, the objection to separating the Armada from the land force. Of the two difficulties I do not presume to judge which is the lesser.

In the case of our encountering and defeating the enemy, I feel sure that he will not suffer so much damage as to be unable to repair, at all events sufficiently to impede the passage of our re-inforcements high up the Channel. But it will be difficult for him to do this if our Armada be stationed in the above-mentioned ports lying nearest to Spain. If it be possible for the re-inforcement to be sent in strength sufficient to attack those ports, whilst the conquest is being effected higher up, that will be the best course. In that case, after the army of Flanders had been taken across and strengthened, the Armada might return towards Ushant and meet the reinforcements with which it might enter one of the said ports, and then either push a force inland towards the Bristol Channel, or form a junction with the other army.

As the Turk is not troubling us, a dozen galleys—as I write to Don Juan (de Idiaquez)—might be sent with the supplies and men, the latter being as much needed as the former, for they dwindle in the same way.—Corunna, 11th July 1588.

Postscript.—I hear great complaints about the command of those companies which are conferred upon quite young fellows because they are gentlemen. Very few of them, therefore, are soldiers, or know what to do, and their officers the same. This is greatly to the prejudice of your Majesty's treasury, as there are companies with very few men in them. It would be much better to re-form them with not less than 120 men in each, for we are going to a place where they cannot be recruited.

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11 July. **341.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

Estado, 455.

(Gives an account of the coming in of the various scattered ships of the Armada. The hulk "Casa de Paz Grande" is unseaworthy; her men and hospital stores, etc., have been transhipped.)

I received news yesterday of the other two missing hulks, the "Paloma blanca" and the "Casa de Paz chico." They are in the bay of Muxia, and will come hither as soon as the weather serves. The "Paloma blanca" was chased by an English ship, which took her for a merchantman. She followed her over two leagues, the hulk allowing the Englishman to come up with her and then discharged a volley of artillery and musketry which made the enemy retire. The hulk would have chased her but for an accident that happened. One of the soldier's powder-flasks caught fire and fell on some cartridges, which might have resulted in the burning of the whole ship. It was thought best to set all hands to avert this danger rather than follow up the Englishman . . . . . All possible activity is being used on board of all the ships here, and I personally give my attention nearly every day, including holidays. Yesterday we finished putting the new mast into the "Santa Maria de la Rosa," of Oquendo's squadron, after a great deal of trouble, as we were over six hours getting it upright. When I saw it finished I thought we had not done badly. The watering, which is the most anxious task, is proceeding apace with all the speed humanly possible. There are 26 coopers at work repairing the butts, which were all knocked about and broken in the gale. I hope, by God's help, that everything will be ready by Saturday or Sunday next, and then, if the weather serves, I shall sail from here with the ships I have, and not wait for anything. I am arranging everything with this object, but I am not carrying out your Majesty's idea of transferring the men and stores from the ships left behind to others, in the first place because there is no time to do it, and secondly because all the ships are serviceable. To take the places of the deserters, who are few, and of the sick, who are more numerous, I shall ship the two companies that the marquis of Cerralbo has here, one of which is good and the other tolerable. If no more men shall have arrived here of the Galician levies ordered by the Marquis by the time fixed for sailing, I shall go with the men I have. If the new levies arrive in time, and I do not find them serviceable, I shall not ship them, as they will only eat up the victuals and be in the way. If the few I do ship have no arms I will supply them out of the reserve store, as your Majesty orders.

I am still serving out fresh meat rations, but fresh bread is lacking, as the country is so poor. I have not even been able to supply it to the sick, and it is getting scarcer every day, as there are so many to eat it. It has not been practicable to serve out fresh fish rations, because there is not enough of it and it is very bad for health. There are a great many sick; 500 in hospital, although it is true they are only suffering from fever, and none have died. Some of them get well as soon as a better diet is given to them, for nearly all of the illness is caused by bad food. As the stores have been so long on board most of them are turning out rotten and spoilt. With regard to this damage to, and shortness of, stores and

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water, the Inspector-general, Don Jorge Manrique, has, from the first, both in writing and verbally, informed me thereof, although the provedores have insisted to the contrary. We are remedying matters somewhat with the supplies we are taking in here, but the quantity is so small that your Majesty should make a supreme effort to provide a large addition to be sent after the Armada. If this be not done great trouble will result, and a risk of our being unable to hold out. All the provisions your Majesty has ordered to be made in Lisbon, Asturias, Biscay, etc., have been very wise, especially that of cables, small rigging, anchors, and other ship material, as these things will be needed every hour on the Armada. —On board the royal galleon "San Martin," 11th July 1588.

Note.—On the same day as the above the Duke sent to the King an account of a "miracle" that had happened on the Levantine ship "Trinidad de Scala," which had arrived at Gijon in so bad a condition that in some places "her planks had gaped four inches apart." The document will be found printed entire in Captain Fernandez Duro's "Disquisiciones nauticas," but as it contains nothing of importance is not reproduced here.

14 July. **342.** ADVICES from HAVRE DE GRACE.

Paris Archives, K. 1568. This morning four English vessels entered the roads, and the captain of them, Henry Paon* (*sic*), a Knight of the Garter, came ashore to speak with the Governor, and asked him whether he had any objection to the ships remaining in the roads to await the sailing of the fleet from Dunkirk in order to attack it, as war was declared.

The Governor replied that he could not permit armed ships to remain in the roads, as they would obstruct trade. The four ships in question contained 600 soldiers, besides sailors. They say also that they have come to escort four or five very rich English ships which are now in Rouen, for fear they should be captured by flyboats.

A Biscay ship from Bayonne has arrived here, and reports that eight days ago she came across a large number of English ships of the fleet at anchor off Conquet. The men were not allowed to land at Conquet.

15 July. **343.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

Estado, 455. I have sent daily to your Majesty reports of the refitting of the Armada.†

* This might be either Thomas Fenner, who had been sent on the "Nonpareil" to the coast of Brittany on the 12th July, or, more probably, the four vessels contributed by the town of Newcastle: the "Daniel," the galleon "Hutchin," the barque "Lamb," and the "Fancy," which had been detached from Lord Henry Seymour's squadron for the purpose of convoying the cloth fleet to Stade.

† The Duke's other letters, dated 13th and 15th July, contain no details of interest, except that in the latter letter he complains that the bills he gave to the German shipmasters who brought the powder to Lisbon have not been accepted in Seville. His credit suffers in consequence, and he somewhat indignantly asks that the King should order the money to be paid.

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Your Majesty will see by the enclosed statement the men who were present at the muster. The falling off is not so large as I expected it would have been when we put into port, but still it is something; especially as the sick here will not be in a condition to sail with us, although, thank God, they are progressing favourably, and none of them die. Three hundred soldiers of the count de Lemos' vassals arrived here to-day, and more are expected. The marquis of Cerralbo also expects some troops from the county of Monterey. If they arrive in time I will ship them, and if not, the Lemos contingent and the two garrison companies from Corunna will serve to fill up the short companies on some of the ships. I will pick out some veterans and mix them with the recruits, so that every vessel will have a proportion of old and new men. These 300 Gallegos were not formed into companies, but distributed amongst the short companies on the Armada.* I have been round some of the ships to see to the execution of the order for demolition and throwing overboard of all the cabins, partitions, bunks, bedsteads, etc., and, with God's help, hope to have everything ready for sailing by to-morrow, or the day after, weather permitting. I have already had the squadrons of Diego Flores, Valdes, Oquendo, and Ojeda towed out of the harbour, and the rest will go outside to-morrow. We can then take advantage of the first fair wind to get clear away. At present a north wind is blowing, which is contrary for us. The men are in excellent spirits, and eager for an opportunity to serve your Majesty.

In order that all the men might be confessed and absolved, and that the want of accommodation should not deprive them of this great benefit, both to their souls and bodies, I ordered all the friars in the fleet to land on an island in this harbour, and had some tents and altars erected for the purpose of their ministrations. I had a good watch kept on the island, and had the men landed in companies. The soldiers and sailors have done so well that the friars tell me they have already confessed and absolved 8,000 of them. This is such an inestimable treasure that I esteem it more highly than the most precious jewel I carry on the fleet. On this account, and because the Armada is much improved since we left Lisbon, the men are, as I say, contented and in high spirits.—Corunna, 15th July 1588.

* On the 19th July the Duke wrote to the King advising him that the Armada was quite ready to set sail and only awaited the wind. In the course of the letter he remarks, "The 400 Galician soldiers sent by the count de Lemos, and some that came from "Monterey, are so useless that they are no good, even for pioneers. Besides this they "are nearly all married and have large families; and are, indeed, absolutely unserviceable "old men. Their wives have been coming in with their troubles and lamentations to "such an extent that it goes against my conscience to ship the men. The captains "themselves have refused to have anything to do with them, as it is evident that all "the use they would be is to die on board the ships, and take up space. Not a soul "of them knows what a harquebuss is, or any other weapon, and already they are more "dead than alive; some of them have not eaten anything for two days. Under the "circumstances, therefore, I have thought it best to send them all away and they have "gone to their homes." (Estado, 455.)

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13 July. **344.** STATEMENT of the Ships, and Men of all ranks and conditions, present at the muster at Corunna on the 13th July, held on the Royal Armada under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, etc.

Ships.	Sailors.	Soldiers.	Total.
Galleons of Portugal.			
Galleon, "San Martin," flagship	161	308	469
„ "San Juan," vice-flagship	156	366	522
„ "San Marcos"	108	278	386
„ "San Luis"	100	339	439
„ "San Felipe"	108	331	439
„ "San Mateo"	110	279	389
„ "Santiago"	80	307	387
„ "San Cristobal"	79	132	211
„ "San Bernardo"	65	171	236
Zabra, "Julia"	48	87	135
„ "Augusta"	43	49	92
	1,058	2,647	3,705
Squadron under Diego Flores Valdes.			
Galleon, "San Cristobal," flagship	116	187	303
„ "San Juan," vice-flagship	90	206	296
„ "San Juan the Less"	77	207	284
„ "Santiago the Great"	103	190	293
„ "Ascencion"	70	170	240
„ "San Medel y Celedon"	75	197	272
„ "Nuestra Señora del Barrio"	81	196	277
„ "Santa Ana"	54	99	153
„ "San Pedro"	90	184	274
„ "Nuestra Señora de Begoña"	81	219	300
Ship, "Trinidad"	79	162	241
„ "Catalina"	134	186	320
„ "San Juan Fernan Dome"	57	183	240
Patache, "Nuestra Señora del Socorro"	15	20	35
„ "San Antonio"	20	20	40
	1,229	2,579	3,808
Squadron under Juan Martinez de Recalde			
Ship, "Santiago," vice-flagship	106	206	312
„ "Maria Juan"	93	213	306
„ "Madalena"	61	183	244
„ "Concepcion Mayor"	58	161	219
„ "Concepcion"	58	167	225
„ "San Juan"	49	141	190
„ "Gran Grin"	75	261	336
„ "Santa Maria de Montemayor"	47	155	202
„ "Manuela"	48	115	163
Patache, "Maria"	25	19	44
„ another "Maria"	25	20	45
„ "San Estéban"	25	10	35
„ "Isabela"	29	24	53
	699	1,675	2,374

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Ships.	Sailors.	Soldiers.	Total.
Squadron under Don Pedro de Valdes.			
Ship, "Nuestra Señora del Rosario," flagship	119	240	359
„ "San Francisco," vice-flagship	85	238	323
„ "Duquesa Santa Ana"	65	207	272
„ "San Juan Bautista"	84	249	333
„ "Concepcion"	69	191	260
„ "Santa Catalina"	69	220	289
„ "Santa Maria del Juncal"	60	227	287
„ "San Bartolomé"	56	184	240
„ "San Juan Gargarin"	38	165	203
„ "Trinidad"	54	156	210
Patache, "Espiritu Santo"	15	18	33
	720	2,089	2,809
Squadron under Miguel de Oquendo.			
Ship, "Santa Ana," flagship	125	275	400
„ "Santa Maria de la Rosa," vice-flagship	85	238	323
„ "San Salvador"	90	281	371
„ "Santa Barbara"	47	135	182
„ "Santesteban"	73	201	274
„ "Santa Maria"	73	166	239
„ "San Buenaventura"	54	158	212
„ "Maria San Juan"	40	95	135
„ "Santa Cruz"	40	125	165
Hulk, "Doncella"	29	112	141
Patache, "Ascencion"	16	18	34
„ "San Bernabé"	17	17	34
„ "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe"	12	—	12
„ "Magdalena"	14	—	14
	715	1,831	2,936
Squadron under Martin de Bertondona.			
Ship, "Regazona," flagship	80	291	371
„ "La Via," vice-flagship	71	271	302
„ "Veneciana Valencera"	75	338	413
Galleon of the Duke of Florence	89	294	383
Ship, "Santa Maria encoronada"	93	355	448
„ "Juliana"	65	347	412
„ "San Nicolas"	68	226	294
„ "Anunciada"	80	186	266
„ "Trinidad Escala"	66	342	408
	687	2,610	3,297
Hulks under Juan Gomez de Medina.			
Hulk, "Gran Grifon," flagship	45	234	297
„ "San Salvador," vice-flagship	53	218	271
„ "Barca de Amburg"	30	259	289
„ "San Pedro el Mayor"	34	110	144
„ "Casa de Paz," chica	21	154	175
„ "Sanson"	31	184	215
„ "Ciervo Volante"	39	132	171
„ "Falcon Blanco," mayor	34	182	216
„ "San Gabriel"	16	31	47
„ "Castillo Negro"	46	157	203
„ "Perro Marino"	18	80	98
„ "Santa Barbara"	24	26	50
„ "Santiago"	33	32	65
„ "San Pedro Menor"	22	176	198
„ "Gato"	41	30	71

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Ships.	Sailors.	Soldiers.	Total.
Hulks under Juan Gomez de Medina– cont.			
Hulks "San Andres"	39	26	65
„ "Barca de Antique" (Dantzic)	28	150	178
„ "Buenaventura"	15	49	64
„ "Esayas"	24	23	47
	593	2,257	2,844
Ships and Pataches under Agustin de Ojeda.			
Ship, "Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza"	59	114	173
Hulk, "Caridad" (English)	37	43	80
„ "San Andres"	38	27	65
Patache, "Nuestra Señora de Fresneda"	20	—	20
„ "Concepcion"	19	—	19
„ "Otro Concepcion"	21	18	39
„ "Nuestra Señora del Puerto"	27	28	55
„ "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe"	32	17	49
„ "Nuestra Señora de Begoña"	23	—	23
„ "Concepcion"	18	—	18
„ "San Jeronimo"	40	—	40
„ "Nuestra Señora de Gracia"	26	17	43
„ "Concepcion"	18	—	18
„ "El Santo Crucifijo"	24	40	64
Zabra, "Trinidad"	24	—	24
„ "San Andres"	17	—	17
„ "Nuestra Señora de Castro"	18	—	18
„ "Concepcion"	18	—	18
„ "San Juan"	29	—	29
„ "Ascencion"	18	—	18
„ "Santa Catalina"	20	—	20
	546	304	850
Water Caravels.			
Caravel, "Nuestra Señora de la Ascencion"	14	—	14
„ "San Jorge"	11	—	11
„ "Concepcion"	24	—	24
„ "San Antonio"	17	—	17
„ "Otro San Antonio"	16	—	16
„ "San Juan"	8	—	8
„ "Jesus de Ayuda"	11	—	11
„ "San Lorenzo"	5	—	5
„ "Concepcion"	19	—	19
	125	—	125
Galleasses.			
"San Lorenzo," flag	124	244	368
"Napolitana," vice-flag	100	221	321
"Zuñiga"	102	196	298
"Girona"	120	229	349
	446	890	1,336
Galleys.			
"Capitana"	53	56	109
"Princesa"	44	37	81
"Diana"	47	32	79
"Bazana"	46	26	72
7 felucas.	190	151	341

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GENERAL SUMMARY.

—	Ships.	Sailors.	Soldiers.	Total.
Galleons of the Crown of Portugal - -	11	1,058	2,647	3,705
„ of Diego Flores Valdes - -	16	1,229	2,579	3,808
„ of Juan Martinez de Recalde -	13	699	1,675	2,374
„ of Don Pedro de Valdes - -	11	720	2,089	2,809
„ of Miguel de Oquendo - -	14	715	1,821	2,536
„ of Martin de Bertondona - -	9	687	2,610	3,297
„ of Juan Gomez de Medina - -	19	593	2,251	2,844
„ of Agustin de Ojeda - -	21	546	304	850
Caravels with stores - - -	9	125	—	125
Galleasses under Don Hugo de Moncada -	4	446	890	1,336
Galleys under Diego de Medrano - -	4	190	151	341
Felucas - - - - - - - -	7	42	—	42
	131	7,050	17,017	24,067

Generals, Staff Officers, Unattached, &c.

There are on the Armada, Generals, Admirals, Chiefs of Squadrons, and Field Officers - - -	41
Salaried officers unattached - - - -	219
Gentleman adventurers - - -	254
Officers of artillery gunners and muleteers - -	124
Hospital establishment - - - -	93
Friars, &c. of various orders - - -	198
Ministers of justice - - - -	9
Servants of unattached officers and adventurers -	450
	1,388

The above is exclusive of 450 sick men in hospital on shore.

The following is a list of ships and their companies which have not yet arrived at Corunna:—

—	Sailors.	Soldiers.	Total.
Ship, "Santa Maria de Gracia," put into Laredo - -	53	267	320
„ "Santa Maria de Vison," „ „ - -	38	183	221
Hulk, "Casa de Paz Grande," „ „ - -	70	255	325
Flagship of J. Martinez de Recalde's squadron, put into Santander.	101	311	412
Hulk, "David," put into Vivero, unserviceable - -	23	51	74
„ "La Paloma Blanca," put into Muxia - -	30	67	97
„ "Falcon Blanco Mediano," put into Muxia - -	23	57	80
Zabra "Concepcion," sent to Flanders - - -	20	—	20
	358	1,191	1,549

Note.—On the 19th July the Duke wrote to the King (Estado, 455) saying that he was now only awaiting a fair wind to set sail. The above ships had then all joined him at Corunna, except the

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hulk "Casa de Paz Grande," with 800 quintals of biscuit, and the "David," with 300 quintals of biscuit, with beans, peas, etc.

It may be interesting to compare the above complete list of the ships that sailed from Corunna with the adjoined statement of those that were lost. It is extracted by Captain Fernandez Duro from the transcript of a "relation" at Simancas, the original of which I have not been able to find.

A Statement of all the Vessels of the Armada which were lost.

Galleon "San Felipe," of Portugal.

Biscay Squadron.

"Santa Ana," flagship. Lost at Havre.
"Gran Grin," vice-flagship.
"Concepcion de Zubelzu."
"Concepcion de Juanes del Cano."
"La Maria Juan."
Patache, "Maria de Aguirre."
„ "De Miguel de Suso."

Castilian Squadron.

"San Juan Bautista." Lost in Ireland.
Galleon, "San Juan."
"Trinidad."
Patache, "Nuestra Señora del Socorro."
„ "San Antonio de Padua."

Andalucian Squadron.

"Nuestra Señora del Rosario," flagship. Captured by the enemy.
Hulk, "Duquesa Santa Anna."
Patache "Espiritu Santo."

Squadron of Guipuzcoa.

"Santa Ana," flagship. Burnt at San Sebastian.
"Nuestra Señora de la Rosa," vice-flagship. Lost in Ireland.
"San Salvador." Burnt in the fighting.
"San Esteban."
Hulk, "Doncella." Lost in Santander.
Patache, "Ascencion."
Pinnace, "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe."
„ "Magdalena."

Levantine Squadron.

"La Lavia," vice-flagship.
"La Rata." Lost in Ireland.
"San Juan de Sicilia."
"La Trinidad Valencera."
"La Anunciada." Sunk off Ireland.
"San Nicolas Prodonell."
"Juliana."
"Santa Maria de Vison."

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Squadron of Hulks.

"Gran Grifon," vice-flagship. Lost in Ireland.
"Perro Marino."
"Falcon Blanco," mayor.
"Castillo Negro."
"Barca de Amburg."
"San Pedro Mayor."
"San Pedro Menor."
"Falcon Blanco," mediano.
"Ciervo Volante."
"Ventura."
"Santa Barbara."
"Santiago." Lost in Ireland.
"David."

Squadron of Pataches.

"Nuestra Senora del Pilar," flagship.
"Caridad inglesa."
"Crufijo."
"Concepcion de Carasa."
"Nuestra Señora de Begoña."
"San Jeronimo."
"Concepcion de Francisco de Latero."
"San Francisco."
"Nuestra Señora de Castro."
"Concepcion de Somarriba."
"Concepcion de Valmaseda."
"Santa Catalina."
"San Juan de Carasa."
"Ascencion."

Galleasses.

"San Lorenzo," flag galleass. Lost in Calais.
"Gerona."
"Zuñiga."

Galleys.

"Diana." Lost at Bayonne.

Ships lost, 41. Pataches, 20. Galleasses, 3. Galleys, 1. Total, 65.

The above list understates the number of ships lost on the Irish coast. In the Carew Papers, Vol. 611, p. 149, will be found a list of 17 ships, with 5,394 men, that were wrecked or sunk off that coast. Amongst these were certainly the "Barque of Hamburg," the "Valencera," the "San Juan de Sicilia," the "San Marcos," the "Duquesa Santa Ana," the "San Juan Bautista," the "Falcon Blanco Mediano," the galleass "Girona," the vice-flagship "Gran Grin,' and the "Rata Coronada."

17 July (N.S.)

345. ADVICES from LONDON, 17th July (new style), sent by the Portuguese who usually remits them (Antonio de Vega?).

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I wrote on the 17th June and 2nd July. In the latter I related that the fleet had sailed, its strength being stated at 136 sail, large and small, and a much larger number of men than was expected.

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The fleet afterwards returned, and then again sailed, the greater part of it being now at Plymouth. Time had been wasted by the Admiral in cruising off the coasts of France with one squadron whilst Drake was with the rest near Ireland, the intention being to catch the Spanish fleet both in front and rear if it came. They sent to ask the Queen for 20 more ships, which she sent by Captain Winter from the 40 which were in the Channel.

I also reported that the earl of Morton had taken up arms in Scotland and that the King, persuaded by those who govern him, belonging to the English faction, was trying to seize him. The earl of Morton had therefore been obliged to embark, and had gone in search of the Spanish fleet. The news was current here, however, that he had been captured and beheaded, but such rumours as this are spread here every day. After his embarkation the Earl fell ill, and was obliged by contrary weather and his illness to land secretly to obtain medical help. He was then captured by an enemy of his, and the King now has him in his hands under guard. The Queen, in consequence of this, has sent a Secretary of the Council to Scotland with 4,000*l.* in cash, and great efforts were being made to have Morton executed. Both in Scotland and here, great surprise is felt at the delay in the coming of the Armada, as it is so long since it sailed and the weather is fine, although this evening news arrived here that the two fleets had met and that of Spain had had the worst of the fight. But they are silent as to details, and, if the fleets have met, this is a bad sign for them (the English). You may be sure they will hush up any bad news they get as long as they can.

I also reported that the Queen had appointed the earl of Leicester general and Lord Grey his lieutenant. The latter will command everything. The earl of Sussex (Essex) commands the cavalry, and Norris the infantry. The lords of the Council had ordered 1,000 horse to be raised at their own cost as a guard for the person of the Queen. The earl of Leicester contributed 300 and the other lords 100 each; but project has not yet been carried into effect.

On the 7th instant the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chancellor made public speeches at Westminster to all the nobility who had been summoned. They assured them that the duke of Parma had written to the Queen three times asking her to enter into negotiations for peace, and in view of this, and her desire for the tranquillity of her people, she had consented to send her Commissioners in compliance with the Duke's written request. After they had arrived he, the Duke, said he had no commission from the King, the only object being to gain time. The Queen, although she understood this, had dissembled, as she then lacked many things with which she was now well supplied. Conditions, however, had been submitted to her so injurious to her dignity that neither she could ever accept nor they (the nobility) confirm them; and consequently they were now completely undeceived, and she had every confidence that they would give such a reply as the Queen wished. She hoped with the help of God, and the co-operation of her subjects, to overthrow her enemies, and she urged them all to lend willing hands to so just a cause as the defence of their faith, their sovereign, their homes, their

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wives, and their children. Notwithstanding all this, people, large and small, are sorely afraid, and place all their hopes in their fleet. The Queen promised Don Antonio three days ago, that if the war continued she would turn all her forces to his aid, and would miss no opportunity of ruining his enemy and hers, as she had done hitherto. He, Don Antonio, is very much pleased at this, and at the arrival of a certain Gaspar de Gran, who was in Barbary, and promises him a multitude of groundless things. On the 13th instant a woman of the Queen's chamber, a Fleming named Jane Agnas, was arrested. The cause of this was that she, having charge of the Queen's gloves, a servant of hers stole some of them with diamonds on them. This was discovered and the servant man condemned to death. Just as they were about to cast him on the gallows, he begged them to stay their hands, as he wished to communicate something of importance to the life of the Queen. On being interrogated by the aldermen, he declared that his mistress was privy to the Babington conspiracy to kill the Queen, and the fact was referred by the aldermen to the Council. The mistress was examined, and was afterwards carried to the house of Alderman Martin; but not much credit is given to the story. The Queen is not well satisfied at the reply that Sir Thomas Leighton brought from the king of France, nor at Havre de Grace having declared for the League. I know that she sent a person to attack the duke of Guise in some way. If it has not happened it will.

I cannot say how much I am grieved at the news I have received that Bernaldo Luis has been arrested, with his brother and Geronimo Pardo, on the assertion that a ship which went to them from Hamburg with merchandise had loaded it at a port in this country. The truth of the matter is that she was driven hither by bad weather, but loaded nothing here. I believe that the fault of it lies with some person connected with the administration of justice, who wishes to make money out of it. I grieve that they say that your Lordship (*i.e.*, Mendoza) and I are the cause of it, but I am armed with patience to suffer all the crosses of fortune.

18 July. **346.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

You have already been informed that the duke of Medina Sidonia was forced by heavy weather to take shelter with most of the Armada in Corunna. The information was sent to you to prevent anxiety as to the mishap, of which rumours would sure to be current.

We have since ascertained that the whole of the Armada entered port without the loss of a single ship, and that after the necessary repairs have been effected, orders have been given to put to sea again on the 16th instant, they having strict orders from me to sail before the 20th. I have no doubt, therefore, unless the wind prevents them, the ships will all be out by that time.

You will accordingly hold yourself in readiness to make such representations to the Christian King as you may be instructed to do by my nephew, the duke of Parma, taking care, however, not to be too soon nor too late, but immediately after you have certain

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news that the Armada has passed the coast of Normandy, and you calculate that its object is about to be attempted. In case (which God forbid) any of the ships should be forced by tempest into French ports, to claim the good treatment you will have bespoken for them, I send you the enclosed credit for 15,000 crowns, which you will keep in reserve, and use solely for such an eventuality, and not otherwise on any account whatever. You will not employ it for the ships even, if those which may put into French ports have money on board for their own purposes. For the purposes of your embassy a separate credit of 8,000 crowns is now sent you.—San Lorenzo, 18th July 1588.

28 July. **347.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Since the letters from you of 14th ultimo nothing has been received from you, doubtless in consequence of the courier having been robbed on the road, as we are advised from Irun. Please send in duplicate all letters since the 14th ultimo.

The object of the present is to inform you that the duke of Medina Sidonia reports that the Armada sailed from Corunna on the 22nd, stronger even than when it left Lisbon, the weather being all that could be desired. I have since learnt that on the 23rd the Armada finally put out to sea, and I now trust in God that it will soon arrive at its destination. Forward the despatch for the duke of Parma with the utmost celerity, and as you will have now to let me know what happens almost from moment to moment do not fail to exercise the greatest possible diligence in this respect.

(In the King's hand.)—It would be advisable to tell him to have persons on the coast to send him reports of what occurs, so that he may send the news to us.—San Lorenzo, 28th July 1588.

18 July. **348.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Estado, 594.

I am greatly grieved at receiving no news of the duke of Medina Sidonia and the Armada, although vague rumours of all kinds continue to reach us. I pray God fervently to bless the enterprise, which is undertaken in His cause, and which I cannot persuade myself He will allow to fail.

The troops of all nationalities, both horse and foot, are in their places, mustered near the places of embarcation, as I have already informed your Majesty. Thank God the health is generally good, and the men full of spirits worthily to serve God and your Majesty. The number has been somewhat increased, and the armament improved, and I feel sure that, with God's help, when they set foot in England they will honestly do their duty.

The marquis of Burghout's regiment has also arrived at their quarters, whereat I was much rejoiced, not so much on account of the pleasure it will give to the Archduke Ferdinand, as because they are fresh Catholic troops, and there is a considerable number of them.

As it was evident that the rebels in Flushing were so near that they might give us a great deal of trouble when we brought out

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the little boats we had at the Sluys, I took the opportunity some days ago of bringing the boats through the canals to Nieuport, without putting to sea at all, and I did the same thing with the boats from Ghent to the Sluys. The work was very laborious, but with God's help we got through with it, and it was very apposite, because we shall now be able to put out from this coast more solidly and united, without having to wait for one another, or cause the Armada to have to sail so high up as would have been necessary for at least a part of it to have done, to protect the passage of these boats in case the rebels insisted in keeping at the mouth of the Sluys the boats they had there whilst our boats were inside.—Bruges, 18th July 1588.

20 July. Estado, 594.

349. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

(Fervently begs for money to be sent to him. He will be utterly undone without it, as he only has the 100,000 crowns from Sicily, which the loss on exchange reduces to 87,500.) After I have spent this, I shall be powerless. I pray your Majesty to consider what a state is ours. The troops are in the field, and we are on the eve of the execution of the task we have in hand, and yet at the last moment we may have to break up from sheer necessity. What account can I give of the fleet, of stores, artillery, and all the rest, unless some resources reach me from somewhere or in some form? Not only have I no money for the French business, which is so important,* or for leaving here or taking with me, which is equally so, but I shall lack the wherewithal to obtain daily food, which is absolutely indispensable. I beseech your Majesty not to think that there is any exaggeration in this, for it is simply the naked truth, that I can find no means nor expedient of providing for the needs which are already upon me.—Bruges, 20th July 1588.

20 July. Estado, 455.

350. CONSULTATION held by the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA respecting the advisability of the sailing of the ARMADA from CORUNNA.

On the royal galleon.—Present: the duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alonso de Leyva, Don Francisco de Bovadilla, Secretary Andres de Alva, Don Jorge de Manrique, the Admiral-in Chief, Juan Martinez de Recalde, Don Pedro de Valdés, Diego Flores Valdés, Miguel de Oquendo, Captain Martin de Bertondona, Captain Diego de Medrano, Don Diego Enriquez, Gregorio de las Alas, Admiral of the squadron of Diego Flores. The Duke submitted the question of the advisability of the Armada leaving port, and begged each officer present to give his opinion of the weather for the purpose. Don Alonso de Leyva said that as the Duke had here the best sailors in these parts, he should follow their advice. If they said he could sail, even with difficulty, he ought to do so with all possible dilligence; always on condition that nothing rash should be done which might imperil the expedition. Diego Flores de Valdés said that the Duke summoned them yesterday, and he (Flores) had said that to-day, the 20th, the weather

* To subsidise the Guises and the League.

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would be worse, judging by appearances. As he foretold, there has been a strong W.N.W. wind blowing to-day, and a heavy sea is running in. The evil appearances still continue, and forebode very bad weather. As it is of so much importance that the Armada should be kept intact, he is of opinion that it ought not to sail from this port until the weather be fine and there be a clear north-west course. There is, however, a conjunction on Saturday, the 23rd, at 2 p.m.. and he (Flores) expected that the wind would settle in the N.W. as the new moon came in with it. But if there were a clear N.W. course to-morrow, with a S.W. wind, the Armada might sail, although with the risk he had already pointed out; but as time was short, and the supplies running out, he thought that in such a case it would be advisable to sail.

Don Pedro de Valdés said that at yesterday's meeting he was of the same opinion as Diego Flores, and neither yesterday nor to-day has the weather been such that the Armada could safely weigh anchor and leave port, as they had Cape Priorio to the north, which they must double, and the wind must be more free for this to be done than was required for the rest of the voyage. The Spanish ships of the Armada might weather the point, as they were swift and could go well to windward, but neither the hulks nor the Levanters could do so without danger. He (Valdés) was therefore of opinion that the Armada ought not to weigh anchor with the weather as it was, but should wait to see how it looked at the conjunction on Saturday, 23rd, unless it improves in the meanwhile. If the Armada sailed with light airs, and got becalmed off the coast, it would run great risk from the many currents which run towards the land, and it would be impossible to prevent it. As it has been raining so heavily since yesterday, he is hopeful that a land wind will spring up within two days more favourable for them than the weather they had hitherto had.

Captain Martin de Bertondona said that from yesterday until 11 o'clock to-day the weather had been excellent. He would not wish for better weather for the sailing of the Armada; and the whole of the pilots and mariners with whom he had spoken were of the same opinion. Let the Duke, he said, inquire of them, and he would find it was so.

Don Diego Enriquez said the moon had come in with S.W. and W. winds, and it had begun to wane with the same winds. It had blown from the S.W. to-day until 10 o'clock, and since then it had come from the W. If the wind settles in that quarter to-morrow, the Armada might sail, because whilst the moon had waxed the winds remained fixed in the N.W. and N.; and it might be expected that the same thing would happen if they waited for this new moon to grow.

Miguel de Oquendo confirmed the opinion of Diego Flores and Don Pedro de Valdés, for the same reasons as they gave, and also because the Armada is so close inshore, so that nine or ten leagues have to be traversed before they could get clear. If any cross wind were to come on in the interim, the Armada, or at least a considerable part of it, would run great risk.

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Don Francisco de Bovadilla said that he was well aware that nothing was so important for his Majesty's service as the prompt sailing of the Armada, but in view of the difference of opinion that existed amongst the naval commanders and pilots, and because he (Bovadilla) was not a seaman, he could not advise the sailing of the fleet in such disturbed weather. He thought, however, that close watch should be kept, so that immediately the weather permitted, they might sail without losing an hour.

Don Jorge Manrique said that he was not a sailor, but the season was already so advanced, and the summer so short, that he was of opinion that (as all great affairs must encounter some obstacles) the Armada should sail immediately it appeared possible to double Cape Priorio.

Juan Martinez de Recalde said that, in accordance with the decision arrived at yesterday, he had kept a careful look out; so that if they had six hours of fair weather, they might sail. He had noticed that during nearly the whole of the night there was almost a calm, and at dawn the same, with a very light S.W. wind. But from midnight onward there was a heavy swell running in; with banks of cloud to the N.W. which looked very threatening. As soon as it was daylight he had come to report to the Duke, with whom he stayed over two hours, during which time the wind increased in strength. He then went to do some business on shore. During the whole of the period up to 11 o'clock in the day, the Armada, if it had weighed anchor, might safely have weathered Cape Priorio. He said it was quite clear that the old adage was true, "*Neither a bad sign in summer nor a good one in winter, but make "the best of the opportunity that comes.*" He was of opinion that, if the weather to-morrow was similar to that of to-day, they should sail without waiting for new moons. He had always understood that, as the moon waxed, the N. and N.E. winds grew in strength.

Admiral Gregorio de las Alas, commanding Diego Flores' squadron, confirmed the opinion of Juan Martinez (de Recalde).

On the same day the Duke summoned all the principal pilots on the Armada, in the presence of the officers above mentioned (here follow the names of all the pilots), and they agreed that if the weather to-morrow were similar to that of to-day, without any signs of a storm, the Armada might sail. The Duke in view of these opinions, decided that the course recommended should be adopted. A signal gun to make ready was fired, and another was ordered to be discharged at midnight when the anchors are to be raised, and the foremost ships to get out and leave the way clear. At daybreak all ships are to hoist their sails, and proceed on their voyage with God's blessing.—DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

Note.—The Duke wrote to the King on July 22nd (Estado, 455), informing him that it had been found impossible to carry out the intention set forth in the aforegoing document, as the weather on the night of the 20th was so heavy. The Armada, however, got out of harbour on the morning of the 22nd, with a very light S.W. wind. At two o'clock in the afternoon the Armada had barely gone three leagues when a dead calm fell, Cape Priorio being still undoubled. The Duke feared that he might have to put back to Corunna but at three o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, a land

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breeze sprang up, which grew to a brisk S.E. wind as the day advanced. This enabled the Armada to double Cape Ortegal soon after 6 p.m., the wind being then from the south. In hoisting sail the galley "Zuñiga" broke her rudder-socket, which damage was repaired after some delay, and the Armada then laid its course for England.—(Letter from the Duke to the King, 6 p.m., 23rd July, off Cape Ortegal. Estado, 455).

21 July. Estado, 594.

351. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

I have received news from Don Bernardino de Mendoza of the peace concluded in France, to the great advantage of the Catholic cause. Your Majesty's thanks are due to the League. There will be much less danger now of interference with the principal business we have in hand, which was to have been feared if the dissensions had continued.

Dr. Dale has come hither to complain to me about Cardinal Allen's book. I excused it as well as I could by saying that I did not understand the language, nor was I acquainted with the secret information which might justify his (Allen's) statements. If there is any ground for these, it must have originated with the English themselves, who worked through Allen. I cannot help judging that Dale must have had some other reason beyond this for coming to see me, though I know not what it may be. He informed me, however, that peace had been made in France, and that your Majesty's Armada was at Corunna. Possibly his object may have been to show the world that the Queen has done everything in her power to make peace, in order that her people may be the more willing to defend her and their country in case of war.

There has arrived here a Scottish bishop, a Carthusian monk, who has been to Scotland and conversed with the King by the orders of his Holiness. He brought me letters from Bruce and Semple, giving me an account of events there, which confirms what your Majesty says in one of your letters of 21st June, namely, that the King, being a confirmed heretic, the Government is in the interest of the Englishwoman, and the Catholic nobles are consequently unable to withstand them except at heavy risk, until the English are otherwise occupied and they (the Catholic nobles) obtain some outside aid. At the same time they persist in saying that if the Catholics were well supported and powerful, whilst the English had their hands full elsewhere, the King would join the Catholic party and turn against the English. Notwithstanding this, they affirm that he himself says he is obliged to act in an exactly contrary way, and persecutes the Catholics rigorously. Semple carried out very well the mission I entrusted to him, and obtained (from the King) the answer to which I have referred, which is the reply that he (the King) usually gives to Catholics. What I am most grieved at is that, in consequence of the earl of Morton's having insisted, against Semple's advice and that of other Catholics, in precipitating matters, he was discovered and apprehended, his life now being in danger. News from Calais and elsewhere agree that he has already been beheaded.

The earl of Huntly and the other Catholics say that they can hold out against the King for two months; and they urge me to send

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them reinforcements of men and money by the end of that period. The message was brought to me by a nephew of his (Huntly's?), who accompanied the Bishop hither.

I replied that, knowing as I do how much your Majesty esteems them, and wishes to defend Catholics, I would send them the reinforcements at once if possible; but the sea is so crowded with enemies that we must wait until the fleet comes from Spain.—Bruges, 21st July 1588.

24 July. **352.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1568. [EXTRACT.]

With regard to Miss Kennedy, I will proceed as your Majesty orders. They write from Scotland that she is already married to the man of whom I spoke.

With his letters of 14th, the duke of Parma sends me one from Bruce, which I have not yet deciphered, and cannot refer to in detail. The Duke informs me that the (Scottish) Catholic nobles have sent a gentleman to him, whom he has sent back to tell them not to precipitate themselves prematurely before the time which Colonel Semple understood; in order that they might not share the misfortune that had happened to the earl of Morton, which misfortune had arisen from the earl of Morton's refusal to accept Colonel Semple's advice, in accordance with the orders of the Duke and myself. I warned him when he left here. I expect he has been captured by the King, as is asserted here.

As I was about to sign this, the new friend informed me that the King has sent a message from Rouen to the English ambassador here, saying that as the terms of the arrangement for peace (*i.e.*, with the League) are so disadvantageous to him, he (*i.e.*, the English ambassador) will judge that they have been forced upon him, but before two months have passed he will see a very different state of things. The new friend thinks that this message is intended to be conveyed to the queen of England.

I have already paid Julio 500 crowns, and he is pressing me for an answer about the 2,500 he begs your Majesty to grant him. I am keeping him in hand the meanwhile, and, the better to do so, will in a few days hand him the other 500 crowns, particularly as I see he is making every effort to keep me well informed, and it will be unwise to lose him at this juncture. The new confidant will be much pressed in this journey to Blois, unless your Majesty grants him some favour. He informs me that since the peace (*i.e.*, with the League) was concluded the Queen-Mother said to a Minister that it would be well for her son now to seek means to strengthen his alliance with the queen of England. The Minister repeated it to him in order that he might consider what it would be well to propose with this object. But the matter had been carried no further.—Paris, 24th July 1588.

24 July. **353.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1568. My reports from London, dated 6th instant, confirm the departure of the Admiral and Drake from Plymouth on the 1st July, with

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140 sail and less than 8,000 men. The Queen's orders were, as I previously advised, for them to consider whether it would be wise or not for them to engage the Armada, as news had been received of its great strength. Reports from St. Malo, dated 4th instant, say that a ship had arrived there from Plymouth, bringing news that the English fleet had sailed for Spain on the 1st.

In answer to your Majesty's orders that I should inform you what further preparations had been made by the queen of England, after she knew of the sailing of your Majesty's Armada, I beg to say that the fresh efforts were only those that I have already reported, namely, to send 14 or 20 ships of victuals from London, and some sailors, as the plague had broken out on some of the ships in consequence of the meat having rotted through its being badly salted. What with this, and the desertion of men, Drake was short-handed.

When the Queen was informed that your Majesty's Armada had returned to Corunna, she swore by God's death, as she is accustomed to do, and with a great deal of brag, that she would send her fleet to disperse your Armada, even if it were in the interior of Spain. When, a few days afterwards, she was informed that your Majesty's fleet had again been sighted at sea, she did not answer a word, but remained very sad.

When this King was dining publicly at Rouen he was informed that your Majesty's fleet had returned to Corunna, in consequence of the plague. He replied loudly enough for every one present to hear, "That is a fine story! It was only because they had seen the English fleet and were frightened."

He has received reports from Bayonne and Rochelle that your Majesty's fleet had put back to Spain in a storm, and the story soon spread here that the fleet was dispersed. This was at the same time as I received your Majesty's despatch, saying that the fleet had returned in consequence of a contrary gale.

Fourteen ships have left Rochelle to join Drake, four of them, they say, are of 100 tons each, and the rest some of the little pirate ships there.

I enclose advices from Havre de Grace which the King recently sent to his mother with great speed. They are to the effect, that on the 17th a ship had arrived at Havre from Newfoundland, and reported that she had heard great artillery firing in the direction of Guernsey, which made them think that your Majesty's Armada had met the English fleet. As no confirmation of this comes from the Breton coast, it may be concluded that the firing they heard was the forts at Guernsey saluting the English fleet, unless it was thunder.—Paris, 24th July 1588.

Note.—In a letter of this date to the King, Mendoza says that Gaspar Diaz Montesinos (who had been sent by Vega from London with a proposal to kill Don Antonio) had had a quarrel in Paris and had left for Venice. He is full of lies and quarrels, and Mendoza is glad to get rid of him, as he now has better instruments. He hears he is now vapouring about Turin, talking loosely.

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25 July. Estado, 950. **354.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

On the arrival of this courier I mentioned to his Holiness the great prayers and intercession that were being offered to God in Spain for the success of the Armada, my object in doing so being to try to draw him on. But I got little by my motion, for he is as hard as a diamond. He displays great desire to hear of the arrival of the Armada, and has the money ready, so that no delay shall occur in the payment. God knows how I have striven. But I can do no more, and there is nothing for it. All kinds of rumours have come from France about the Armada having been seen, and that it was sailing round the island (Great Britain). But it is all proved to be false, as the fleet was on the Galician coast on the 21st.—Rome, 25th July 1588

25 July. Estado, 594. **355.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE OF PARMA.

After I wrote to your Excellency by Captain Moresin I continued my voyage with the fleet, but with such contrary weather that I was hardly able to double Cape Finisterre. When I had got as far as Cape Priorio, six leagues from Corunna, and was awaiting the arrival of the galleys I had ordered to join me there on the 19th instant, I was overtaken with a storm of such violence that I was obliged to take refuge in Corunna, followed by some ships that were near us. The rest of them, two-thirds of the Armada, were unable to get in, as they were too far to leeward, and they consequently had to run along the coast, some of them putting into the Biscay and Asturian ports. Some damage was sustained, but, by God's grace, it was repaired in Corunna and the various ports, and on the 16th all the ships were again collected in Corunna ready to sail when the weather served. This happened on the 22nd, and I left port on that day. At 3 o'clock the same afternoon the wind fell calm, but the next morning a fair breeze arose, and I ran before it for three days, until the present hour, when I am in 48 degrees (N.). I have thought well to send to your Excellency the bearer, Captain Don Rodrigo Tello de Guzman, a gentleman and soldier who has served his Majesty for many years, for the purpose of saluting you, and giving you news of our condition and whereabouts, with such other information as your Excellency may desire. I have instructed him to convey to you also some other points respecting the voyage. Please give credence to him.—Galleon "San Martin," 25th July 1588.

26 July. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **356.** ADVICES from LONDON.

People here do not fear the Spaniard any more, as they are convinced that he has returned to Spain. The rumour was current that the Spaniards were at the Scilly Isles, and the Admiral set sail to meet them, but as he could get no news of them he returned.

All the principal Catholics have been sent to the Isle of Ely in the custody of Lord North.*

* The principal Catholics were confined to Wisbech Castle on the pretext that, for their own safety's sake, they ought not to be at large and at the mercy of their infuriated Protestant neighbours in case of a Spanish landing.

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The Queen has caused a proclamation to be published against those who receive bulls from the Pope respecting the excommunication of the Queen, or similar subjects. Offenders are to be hanged, and half their goods confiscated to the informer. A book has been recently published here against Cardinal Allen's book, addressed to Sir William Stanley. The author does not state his name otherwise than "G. D." The book is very impertinent and ridiculous.

All other things are in the same state as when I last wrote.

Note.—The above "advice," although in Spanish, is evidently written by an Englishman.

29 July (N.S.).
Paris Archives, K. 1568. Portuguese.

357. ADVICES from LONDON (ANTONIO DE VEGA).

On 21st and 26th ultimo I sent reports by a Portuguese, viâ Havre de Grace. Since then I have not written, as I could get no trustworthy means of sending, and in consequence of my being under medical treatment for a great descent of rheum from my head, which I have had for many years past. My illness compels me to write very briefly to-day. The Admiral arrived at Plymouth on the 4th and sailed with Drake on the 8th. They remained two days at Falmouth, and then put to sea. But the weather was against them, to judge from the winds prevailing here, and I do not think they can have got out yet, although they say they have. They have 120 sail, in addition to some store ships that are to follow. They have orders not to attack or do any damage until they see that the Spanish Armada is coming to English ports.

Don Antonio did not go, as the Queen was on the alert, and sent special orders to the admirals that they were not to take him if he attempted to go. He is rather more quiet with the promises they have made him, and better supplied with money secretly, in case it should be necessary to escape. The money comes from a patent he has granted to certain English merchants, giving them the exclusive right of going from this country to the River Gambia and neighbourhood for 10 years; for which they have given him 400*l.* in money, and will pay him 5 per cent. of all they bring. This has been confirmed by the Queen, and three ships will sail from here in August, two of 250 tons and one of 140, this being in accordance with the terms of the contract. Some Englishmen are going in them. As for Don Antonio, I will take care to cut off all the paths he thinks are safe. I am his depositary of 500 cruzados for this purpose (*i.e.*, his escape in case of need), which he did not wish to confide even to his second self, Diego Botello.

30 July (N.S.).
Estado, 455.

358. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 23rd, that we were proceeding on our voyage in excellent weather. This continued all that day and the two following days. No better weather could have been desired; and really if three or four of our ships had cared to clap on sail, even though they were not very swift, they might have arrived at the mouth of the Channel by Monday the 25th. But I, in this galleon, could only sail as fast as the scurviest ship in the fleet, as

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I have to wait for the slowest of them—verily some of them are dreadfully slow—so I was obliged, anxious as I was to get forward, thus to tarry on the way. I was much distressed at this. I should have wished them all to sail as fast as I could; but withal, during these three days I made so much way that I reached 48 degrees (N.) at sea. On this day (Monday, 25th July, N.S.) I dispatched Captain Don Rodrigo Tello to the duke of Parma, to inform him of the day I sailed from Corunna and my present position, and to give him an account of the course I expected to follow until I met with a messenger from him informing me how I should proceed for the purpose of effecting a juncture, and other particulars upon which I thought we should mutally be agreed. In case he should not have sent such a messenger, I begged him to do so at once in the armed pinnace that carried Don Rodrigo; or else by the Biscay smack (zabra) that took thither Captain Moresin, which I fear may have been lost, as there has been ample time for it to have gone thither and returned to me.

On Tuesday at dawn we had a dead calm, with a very dense fog, and the Armada made no way until midday, when a wind from the north sprang up, and we set an easterly course. By a signal gun I then ordered the fleet to tack to the west, to which was done, and in N.N.W. winds and constant heavy squalls the whole day and following night we made but little way. During the day the leading galley, called the "Diana," was missing, which caused me great anxiety until I learned what had become of her. I sent to ask Captain Medrano what he knew about her, and he replied that the captain of the galley, a man named Pantoja, had sent to him during the night, saying that she was making so much water that she was unable to follow the Armada, and was forced to run for the first Spanish port she could make. Medrano sent word to me that the sea was very heavy for the galleys, and if necessary he should run for shelter to the coast of France. I begged him to make every effort to continue with the fleet, as I, perhaps, might not touch at the Scillys, but run into the Channel direct. I sent two pataches to stand by the galleys in case the latter should require assistance, and to enable them to communicate with me. This was done on the 26th instant, and all that day the three galleys were in sight; but after nightfall, when the weather became thick, with very heavy rain, they were lost sight of and we have seen them no more.

On Wednesday, the 27th, it blew a full gale, with very heavy rain squalls, and the sea was so heavy that all the sailors agreed that they had never seen its equal in July. Not only did the waves mount to the skies, but some seas broke clean over the ships, and the whole of the stern gallery of Diego Flores' flagship (*i.e.*, the "San Cristobal") was carried away. We were on the watch all night, full of anxiety lest the Armada should suffer great damage, but could do nothing more. It was the most cruel night ever seen. The next day, Thursday, was clear and bright, with less sea, although it was still very rough. On counting the ships of the Armada, forty were missing, namely, Don Pedro de Valdés's ships, the hulks, and some of the pataches. I was in great anxiety about them until I learnt what had become of them, and sent out three pataches, one towards

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the Lizard to order the ships, if she sighted them, to wait the Armada; another to take soundings, and if possible to reconnoitre the land; and the third to return on our course and order any ships that had fallen astern to put on all sail and join the flagship. All day on Thursday we sailed with a westerly wind, the sea being much calmer than previously, the breeze, however, being light and with little appearance of freshening. The pataches that I had sent to take soundings returned at nightfall, as well as two pilots who had gone out in a boat for the same purpose, reporting that they had found bottom at 68 fathoms.

To-day, Friday, dawned fine but hazy, clearing as the day advanced. At eight o'clock in the morning the patache I had sent ahead to seek the ships returned, reporting that they were awaiting the Armada. The patache I had sent back to bring up stragglers also returned, and the rest of the vessels gradually came up, I standing by to enable them to reach me. We continued to sail with the westerly wind until midday, when I ordered the sun to be taken, and we found ourselves in 50 degrees (N.) bare, the soundings finding bottom at 56 fathoms. At four o'clock in the afternoon, whilst sailing still with a westerly wind, the weather being clear, we sighted land at the Lizard, and we are now about three leagues distant from it at seven o'clock in the evening. We shortened sail to allow the rest of the ships to come up, as some of them were knocked about in the storm and have been repairing.

I have now, Saturday, the 30th July (N.S.), all the Armada together, and I will set sail as soon as the flag galleass has been put in order, her rudder being broken. These craft (*i.e.*, the galleasses), are really very fragile for such heavy seas as these.

The galleys have not appeared, nor have I any tidings of them, which causes me great anxiety. The galleasses and the ships, thank God, are all right, and have suffered no damage. The men are so contented that I am delighted to see them. When land was first sighted from this galleon I had hoisted to the maintop a standard, with a crucifix and the Virgin and Magdalen on either side of it. I also ordered three guns to be fired, and that we should all offer up a prayer in thanks for God's mercy in bringing us thus far. God Almighty grant that the rest of our voyage may be performed as we and all Christendom hope it will be.

In sight of Cape Lizard, on board the galleon "San Martin."

(Signed) The DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

30 July. Estado, 455.

359. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I have written to your Majesty clearly (*i.e.*, not in cipher), and the object of the present letter is to say that I am obliged to proceed slowly with all the Armada together in squadrons as far as the Isle of Wight, and no further, until I receive advices of the duke of Parma informing me of the condition of his force. As all along the coast of Flanders there is no harbour or shelter for our ships, if I were to go from the Isle of Wight thither with the Armada our vessels might be driven on to the shoals, where they would certainly

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be lost. In order to avoid so obvious a peril I have decided to stay off the Isle of Wight until I learn what the Duke is doing, as the plan is that at the moment of my arrival he should sally with his fleet, without causing me to wait a minute. The whole success of the undertaking depends upon this, and in order that the Duke may be acquainted with it, I will send another pinnace to him as soon as I get into the Channel; and still another when I arrive off the Wight. I am astonished to have received no news of him for so long. During the whole course of our voyage we have not fallen in with a single vessel, or man, from whom we could obtain any information; and we are consequently groping in the dark. If we can pick up any intelligence by means of one of our pinnaces as we pass Plymouth, I will endeavour to do so.—In sight of the Lizard, 30th July 1588.

1 Aug. Estado, 594.

360. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE OF PARMA.

During the voyage I despatched Captain Rodrigo Tello to give your Excellency an account of the Armada. I have since then continued the voyage to this place. This morning the enemy's fleet came out, and having got the wind of us, attacked our rear. During their exchange of cannon fire with the Armada my flagship became so closely engaged that it was necessary for us to attack the enemy in force; whereupon they retired, although they still continue within sight of the Armada, with the object, apparently, of delaying and impeding our voyage. If their object had been to fight they had a good opportunity of doing so to-day. I have thought well to send this pinnace with Ensign Juan Gil to inform your Excellency of this, and to say that it is my intention, with God's help, to continue my voyage without allowing anything to divert me, until I receive from your Excellency instructions as to what I am to do and where I am to wait for you to join me. I beseech your Excellency to send with the utmost speed some person with a reply to the points about which I have written to you, and supply me with pilots from the coast of Flanders; as without them I am ignorant of the places where I can find shelter for ships so large as these, in case I should be overtaken by the slightest storm. Ensign Gil will give your Excellency all the information you may require about the Armada.—Galleon "San Martin," two leagues off Plymouth, 31st July 1588.

1 Aug. Estado, 594.

361. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE OF PARMA.

The ships which came out, forming the enemy's fleet, with Drake on board, are said to number 80 sail as far as they could be counted, some of them being excellent vessels, and all of them very rapid sailers. I could not send the ensign (Gil) yesterday, but he leaves to-day. I have nothing to add to what I have written, except that the enemy still continues to harass our rear, and that their ships now seem to have been increased to above a hundred sail. —Off Portland, 20 leagues from Plymouth, 1st August 1588.

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2 Aug. R.O. State Papers. Spain.

362. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DON HUGO DE MONCADA.*

A fine day this has been! If the galleasses had come up as I expected the enemy would have had (his fill?)

The important thing for us is to proceed on our voyage, for these people (the enemy) do not mean fighting, but only to delay our progress. In order to prevent this, and enable the Armada to keep on its way with safety, it is advisable that it should sail in two squadrons, vanguard and rearguard. The rearguard shall be reinforced by the best ships in the fleet, one half under the command of Juan Martinez (de Recalde), and the other half under Don Alonso de Leyva. You with your flagship and two other galleasses will join the rearguard with Juan Martinez, whilst Captain Peruchio with his galleass "Patrona" will go in the vanguard with me. You will keep the three galleasses well together, and ready to proceed without further orders to any point where they may be needed.—Royal Galleon ("San Martin"), 2nd August 1588.

3 & 4 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

363. ADVICES from ROUEN.

On the 1st instant a ship from Lisbon arrived at Havre de Grace, and reports that after doubling Cape Finisterre she discovered the Spanish fleet, which was sailing with a land breeze along the coast. The ship was four leagues from the fleet, and as she was farther out at sea the wind served her better. She did not sight land until she was at 30 leagues from Havre de Grace. She saw the fleet either on the day of Santiago or the following day.

News from Havre de Grace also relates, under date of the 2nd instant, that a ship had entered the port coming from the Newfoundland fisheries. The master reports that off Dartmouth he sighted the Spanish fleet to the number of about 200 sail. Eight or ten leagues farther on, when he was off Plymouth, he fell in with Drake and the English fleet of about 60 sail. Drake asked him for news, and on the master replying that he had sighted the Spanish fleet off Dartmouth, Drake made four sailors from the fishing boat come on board his flagship. In the night the master managed to escape from the English fleet.

Merchants' letters of 1st instant report from Calais that a ship belonging to M. Gourdan, governor of the town, had entered port and reported that eight days previously she had met the Spanish fleet, which had taken 20 sailors out of the ship. But they do not say where.

Note.—To the letter from Mendoza to Idiaquez, enclosing the above advices, Mendoza has added a hasty autograph note saying: "Whilst I am signing this news comes from English sources, "according to which, if it be true, the Armada must already be with "God's grace near Flanders. I await anxiously news from there, "which I will forward without a moment's delay."

* He was in chief command of the four galleasses, his own leading or flag-galleass, "San Lorenzo," being wrecked at the mouth of Calais Harbour on the disastrous night of Sunday, 7th August (N.S.). Don Hugo was killed whilst defending his stranded vessel, and the above document was doubtless captured by the English when they boarded and looted the galleass, before the guns of Calais drove them away.

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4 Aug. Estado, 594. **364.** DUKE of MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE of PARMA.

By Captain Rodrigo Tello and Ensign Gil I informed your Excellency of my progress on the voyage, and expressed a hope that I should shortly arrive on the Flemish coast. Since the last advice was sent we have made but slow headway, owing to the calms which have beset us; and the most I have been able to do is to arrive off the Isle of Wight. The enemy's ships have continued to bombard us, and we were obliged to turn and face them, so that the firing continued on most days from dawn to dark; but the enemy has resolutely avoided coming to close quarters with our ships, although I have tried my hardest to make him do so. I have given him so many opportunities that sometimes some of our vessels have been in the very midst of the enemy's fleet, to induce one of his ships to grapple and begin the fight; but all to no purpose, as his ships are very light, and mine very heavy, and he has plenty of men and stores. My stores are running short with these constant skirmishes; and if the weather do not improve, and the enemy continues his tactics, as he certainly will, it will be advisable for your Excellency to load speedily a couple of ships with powder and balls of the sizes noted in the enclosed memorandum, and to despatch them to me without the least delay. It will also be advisable for your Excellency to make ready to put out at once to meet me, because, by God's grace, if the wind serves, I expect to be on the Flemish coast very soon. In any case, whether I be further detained or not, I shall require powder and ball, and I beg your Excellency to send them to me at once, in as large a quantity as possible. With regard to this and other points, Captain Pedro de Leon, whom I am sending with this mission, will give your Excellency all necessary particulars.—Royal Galleon ("San Martin") off the Isle of Wight, 4th August 1588.

4 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **365.** ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Two English couriers, who embarked at Rye on the 4th instant, report as follows. After they had left port they fell in with some fishermen, who told them that shortly before a large Spanish ship, with many oars on each side, and full of Englishmen, had passed. They said she bore a banner of Santiago, and another flag of the queen of England over all. The people on board had spoken with them, and had told them that the English fleet had encountered the Spanish fleet on Sunday, and fought it,* and they (*i.e.*, the people on board) were going to warn Lord Harry Seymour to take care that the duke of Parma did not cross. They said they had fought, but did not say whether they had been victorious or were beaten. The English ambassador is troubled, as it is thought that their fleet is defeated, and that this vessel was going to give notice to the duke of Parma to embark. A courier also who came from the French ambassador in England, and was captured and carried to Gravelines, says that on the same Tuesday a cutter had arrived there with news

* The Spanish ship in question was probably the flagship of Don Pedro de Valdes ("Nuestra Señora del Rosario") which, as will be seen, had surrendered to the English on Monday, the 1st August.

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for the duke of Parma that the Armada was coming up. The couriers also say that on Thursday at Dieppe they heard firing—a heavy cannonade—and that doubtless the fleets were engaged.

5 Aug. Estado, 594. **366.** POINTS of the EARL OF HUNTLY'S LETTER to the DUKE OF PARMA from LISLEBURGH, 5th August 1588.

He received the letter of 14th July sent by the hand of Chisholm, the nephew of the bishop of Dublin (Dunblane). He is much obliged, as are the other Catholic nobles, for the willingness expressed to aid them in their cause, which really is identical with that of his Majesty; they and theirs having offered him their services, as he is attached to the cause of God, to which they have consecrated their lives. They do not therefore further urge their cause upon him, as it is his own. Prays him not to miss so many good opportunities of helping them, as such opportunities cannot always be recovered. If the aid is further delayed, he would rather leave the country, and go and serve in Flanders, than consent to anything against his conscience and the Catholic religion, to which he is being urged strongly by the King and the heretics.

He will do his best to prevent the King from proceeding against the earl of Morton, and to save his life, which would not be in danger, nor those of the other Catholics, if the aid were to arrive promptly. For the rest he refers to the letter from Bruce and Semple.

6 Aug. Estado, 594. **367.** POINTS of LETTER from ROBERT BRUCE to the DUKE OF PARMA.

Thanks for the Duke's letter. The lords rejoiced greatly at the letter sent to them, as they recognised that the Duke's object in wishing to help them was to promote the Catholic religion. When they are succoured with this end, and for the conversion of Scotland, the Scottish lords will desire no other master than his Majesty. They think it will come to this, seeing the state of the country and the disturbed condition of many of those who at present are most alienated from it.

He refers to the bearer to say much about the earl of Morton, the other nobles, and the Catholics. He was sending to Colonel Semple, who was in his own country, the letter addressed to them jointly. He asks that the bearer be sent back some days before the reinforcement, so that they may send out and meet it.

BRUCE'S DISCOURSE.

He points out the advisability of conquering England in order to bring the Netherlands to submission. For this purpose the easiest means must be sought, and these means are urged by those who advocate the entrance from Scotland. This would divide the English forces, and the (invading) army would have greater commodity there than elsewhere in the island. This is all the more necessary for your Majesty, seeing how much more difficult the enterprise would be if the King and Scottish heretics joined the English. It is, moreover, of the greatest importance that an entrance should be effected in the north of England, where the Queen has most forces,

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because, as the other Spanish force would attack the south, her armies will have to be divided.

It is therefore meet that a commencement should be made with the complete submission of the island, not only for the conquest, but also for the maintaining of it afterwards. The king of Scotland himself, referring to this, said that your Majesty would undertake the English enterprise at great risk, with the only effect, after all, of handing over the possession of the country to him, or some other person than the conqueror; because, in order to hold England peacefully, it is necessary to make sure of those who have any claim to it, and who may seize opportunities of disturbing it, such as the existence of war in Spain, or otherwise. And as the English are a proud people, they would desire to throw off the yoke, forgetting the benefit they had received by their conversion.

The king of Scotland has the best claim to the English crown, and all the English heretics would help him, as well as the king of Denmark. If he were to be converted he would probably be supported by his French kinsmen, and by all Englishmen, who would rather have a native king than a foreigner. He (Bruce) is of opinion that the only remedy for these difficulties is to bridle the king of Scotland, by supporting one of the great parties in the country, namely, the Catholics, who will be the stronger with a little help, and will be able to ensure from Scotland any necessary help to the Armada against England. The other side would act in a contrary manner, as the King has the same right to England as to Scotland, and if he is incapacitated from ruling the one, he is for ruling the other.

No less advantage may be looked for from the conquest and conversion of England by the Catholic lords than from the League in France, which at first did not possess so much force in comparison* as is now possessed by the Scottish heretics. The country was never in so favourable a condition for being conquered as at present, owing to the disputes that exist. He concludes by recommending the bearer, who is trustworthy, and a good penman.

6 Aug. Estado, 594.

368. Duke of Medina Sidonia to Duke of Parma.

I have constantly written to your Excellency, giving you information as to my whereabouts with the Armada, and not only have I received no reply to my letters, but no acknowledgment of their receipt has reached me. I am extremely anxious at this, as your Excellency may imagine; and to free myself of the doubt as to whether any of my messengers have reached you safely, I am now despatching this flyboat, with the intelligence that I am at anchor here, two leagues from Calais, with all the Armada, the enemy's fleet being on my flank, and able to bombard me, whilst I am not in a position to do him much harm. I feel obliged to inform your Excellency of this, and to beseech you, if you cannot at once bring out all your fleet, to send me the 40 or 50 flyboats I asked for

* The King has specially called attention to the underlined passages.

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yesterday, as, with this aid, I shall be able to resist the enemy's fleet until your Excellency can come out with the rest, and we can go together and take some port where this Armada may enter in safety. As I am uncertain whether this messenger will arrive in time, I only again supplicate your Excellency to accede to my request, as it is of the utmost importance for carrying out the desired object in the interest of God and his Majesty.—From the Armada, before Calais, 6th August 1588.

7 Aug. **369.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Of the four galleys that sailed from Corunna with the Armada, one of them arrived two days afterwards at Vivero on the same coast—Galicia—and two of the others, after having reached Ushant, were so clumsy, that instead of entering one of the Breton ports they came to the ancient channel near Bayonne, where one was wrecked and the other ran ashore, the crew escaping and deserting from both of them.

Captain Medrano, who was in charge, writes that he has seen the governor of Bayonne, who has replied that he can take no steps until he has heard from the King (of France). Address the King in my name, and say that as we are at peace, and his ports are open to my ships, I pray that he will order the governor of Bayonne to deliver the two galleys, or what may remain of them, and to lend such assistance as he is able to rescue all the salvage possible. If the missing galley should have put into a French port I am sure you will have taken due steps to protect it.—San Lorenzo, 7th August 1588.

7 Aug. **370.** The KING to the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

Estado, 165.

Since my letter to you of 1st instant, our only news of you is that, on the 27th ultimo, you were near the mouth of the Channel, but I hope that by this time, with the blessing of God and fine weather, the successful carrying out of the undertaking will be far advanced, and that you will have suffered no great inconvenience for lack of the galleys, which we now know were unable to follow you. What I wrote to you in my last, about taking one of the enemy's ports where the Armada may refit, I think well to repeat here, and impress upon you how important it would be for you to enter and make yourself safe in the Thames itself. The season is so far advanced that this course seems to be necessary, and it will have the effect of compelling the enemy to maintain two armies, one on each side of the river, as they will be uncertain where the attack upon them will be made. If they do not do this, the road to London will be open to us on the unprotected side, whilst otherwise they will divide their forces, and may be attacked where they are weakest. It will also be very advantageous for our forces to be so concentrated, as co-operation and mutual assistance will be easy, and will restrain any aid that might otherwise be sent to the enemy, whilst keeping clear the passage from Flanders for sending the necessary reinforcements and supplies. It will have the effect, moreover, of preventing disorder, and will cause desirable emulation amongst the soldiers. These are all weighty reasons for the step

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now proposed, which you will see is desirable. I confine myself to proposing it merely, and leave the decision to my nephew the Duke (to whom I have written about it) and yourself. I am sure you will do what is best. As you will understand how anxious I am until I hear from you, pray endeavour to send me almost hourly intelligence of what occurs.—San Lorenzo, 7th August 1588.

7 Aug. Estado, 594.

371. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE OF PARMA.

By Captain Don Rodrigo Tello I received your Excellency's letter of 3rd instant, and rejoice to hear that you are well. I have sent you daily reports of the state of the Armada, and my secretary wrote to you last night saying where we were, and the danger of the position, in consequence of the lack of shelter and the strong currents, which will force me to get clear away at the least sign of bad weather. I therefore beg you to hasten your coming out before the spring tides end, as it will be impossible for you to get out of Dunkirk and the neighbouring ports during the neap tides.

The general opinion is that it will be very unadvisable for the Armada to go beyond this place, as your Excellency may judge. I also wish to draw your attention to what I have written about obtaining a port for it, as the season is so advanced, and my ships so large, that I am obliged to be very careful, so that I may be able to give a good account of myself in the fulfilment of the task entrusted to me. On this and other points I refer your Excellency to my secretary's statement.—On board the Royal Galleon, 7th August 1588.

Note.—The duke of Parma has written the following note on the above letter:—"With regard to the duke of Medina's remarks "about getting out of Dunkirk during the spring tides, he may be "informed that there will be no difficulty in Nieuport, or in Dunkirk "either. It is true that in certain states of the winds the water "goes down, and the spring tide is necessary, but there are only a "very few boats which run this risk. Even if we should be unable "to avail ourselves of them, and they should not join the rest, there "has never been the slightest question or idea of waiting for the "spring tides, or of deferring the enterprise on this account."

7 Aug. Estado, 594.

372. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to DUKE OF PARMA.

I am sending the Inspector-General Don Jorge Manrique* to your Excellency, to give you an account of the state of the Armada and to represent to you the urgent need for providing a port for it, without which it will doubtless be lost as the ships are so large. In all respects I am of opinion that it would be advisable for you to adopt this course as speedily as possible; the season being so far advanced that it behoves us to be careful. Besides that, it is impossible to continue cruising with this Armada, as its great weight

* In the manuscript account of the Armada, written by Fray Juan de la Victoria, in the Madrid National Library (printed by Fernandez Duro), a piquant account is given of the violent quarrel between Don Jorge and Parma on the latter's alleged unreadiness. The Prince was only restrained from laying violent hands on Don Jorge by the Spaniards around him.

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causes it to be always to leeward of the enemy, and it is impossible to do any damage to him, hard as we may try. Don Jorge will give you as full an account as I could do personally.—Galleon "San Martin," 7th August 1588.

7 Aug. Estado, 594. **373.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

On the 2nd instant Don Rodrigo Tello came to me with news of the Armada, bringing me the Duke's letter of 25th July. On the 5th the Duke's letter of 1st instant was brought to me by Ensign Juan Gil, and on the night of the following day, 6th, I received by Pedro de León the letters dated 4th. To-day a pilot brought me the letters of 6th, copies of all of which are enclosed.

There is no need for me to dwell upon these communications, except to say that I have acceded with all speed and energy to the request that pilots and ammunition should be supplied. I have done this to the full extent that our penury here permitted. As I previously informed your Majesty, the troops and munitions were waiting, and on the receipt of the first advice by Captain Tello everything was made ready. When Ensign Gil arrived, I gave orders that the boats should be brought in-shore, and the embarcation commenced. This was done with all speed, and will shortly be completed. In the meanwhile I remained here to close up affairs and write despatches; my intention being to leave for the coast to-morrow, where I hope to be able to serve your Majesty worthily, and will try to carry out the task entrusted to me, in the firm confidence that our Lord in his infinite mercy will deign to grant me success in His own cause, and your Majesty's service If the Duke succeeds in getting to a place where I can assist him, your Majesty may be sure that I shall do so, and, as soon as the passage across is free, no opportunity shall be missed. Nevertheless, the constant advices I am receiving inform me that the enemy has a large force of armed vessels on this coast to oppose our coming out, but doubtless they will depart when the Armada arrives. In addition to this, we are making a feint of bringing our boats out of the river at Antwerp, and this may cause some of the rebel vessels to go thither to counteract the danger they apprehend from that quarter. To judge from what the Duke says, it would appear that he still expects me to come out and join him with our boats, but it must be perfectly clear that this is not feasible. Most of our boats are only built for the rivers, and they are unable to weather the least sea. It is quite as much as they can do to carry over the men in perfectly fair weather, but as for fighting as well, it is evident they cannot do it, however good the troops in them may be. This was the principal reason why your Majesty decided to risk sending the Armada, as in your great prudence you saw that the undertaking could not be carried through in any other way. I will, however, continue, as hitherto, to assist and co-operate with the Duke in every way in my power, and your Majesty shall be well served in this respect.

With regard to supplies of biscuits and other victuals for the Armada, I am so short of money that I can do but little, but I will still do my best.

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The peace negotiations with the English have ended in the recall of the Commissioners by the Queen, and they departed by way of Calais. My efforts to induce them to continue the negotiations, notwithstanding the presence of the Armada, were unavailing.—Bruges, 7th August 1588.

8 Aug. **374.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

Estado, 594.

I have news that the Duke, with the Armada, has arrived in Calais roads. God be praised for this! Although it may be superfluous to insist upon a point which I know your Majesty well understands, I cannot refrain from repeating once more what I have said so often already. I, for my part, will exert every possible effort to fulfil my obligation, and will duly co-operate with the Duke and assist him to the full extent of my power. But it appears that he still wishes me to go out and join him with these boats of ours, and for us, together, to attack the enemy's fleet. But it is obviously impossible to hope to put to sea in our boats without incurring great danger of losing our army. If the Duke were fully informed on the matter, he would be of the same opinion, and would busy himself in carrying out your Majesty's orders at once, without allowing himself to be diverted into another course. Suffice it to say, that I will, in all things possible, endeavour to please him, and will give him such assistance as he requires. As soon as I have signed this letter I shall mount and set out for the coast, where, please God, I shall arrive to-night.

The men who have recently come hither from the Duke, not seeing the boats armed or with any artillery on board, and the men not shipped, have been trying to make out we are not ready. They are in error. The boats are, and have been for months, in a proper condition for the task they have to effect, namely, to take the men across, although we have not so many seamen as we ought to have. Still, withal, we have sufficient for the work we have to do. The boats are so small that it is impossible to keep the troops on board of them for long. There is no room to turn round, and they would certainly fall ill, rot, and die. The putting of the men on board of these low, small boats is done in a very short time, and I am confident that in this respect there will be no shortcoming in your Majesty's service. What grieves me most is to learn that the Duke is in his present position, without a place of shelter in case of necessity, whilst the winds that have prevailed for so long still continue. This wind would prevent our boats from coming out, even if the sea were clear of the enemy's ships. But I trust in God, that He will aid us in everything, and allow us shortly to send your Majesty the good news we wish for. The men are brave and in good heart.—Bruges, 8th August 1588.

8 Aug. **375.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have letters from England, dated 29th ultimo, from Julio, who tells me that the news of the return of the Armada to the Corunna was looked upon as a feint, and that the Queen had consequently ordered the Admiral, with half the ships, to keep off the French coast, whilst Drake, with the other half, kept near the English side.

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So that, with the ships under Lord Seymour in the Downs, they had their force divided into three squadrons; the design being to fall upon the rearguard of your Majesty's fleet as it entered the Channel, and get the wind of it.

The earl of Leicester had been appointed by the Queen General of the land forces, with Lord Grey as Lieutenant, and as General of Cavalry she had appointed her new favourite the earl of Essex. Norris was to command the infantry.

She had sent the king of Scotland 8,000*l.* by Ashby. The bishop of Dunblane has arrived here as disillusioned as I feared he would be, at finding the king of Scotland as great a heretic as ever, which he (the Bishop) says he must, for the relief of his own conscience, confess he is. He has now gone to Rome.—Paris, 8th August 1588.

8 Aug. Estado, 950. **376.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

Cardinal Carrafa and I duly presented to his Holiness your Majesty's letter of 19th July. Carrafa addressed him in terms that would have moved any other heart, but the Pope only shrugged his shoulders, for when it comes to getting money out of him it is like squeezing his life-blood, and our efforts availed nothing.—Rome, 8th August 1588.

Appended to the above letter is the following document containing the speech delivered by count de Olivares to the Pope on the 7th August on behalf of the King:—

His Majesty wishes to inform your Holiness that on the 19th and 20th June the Armada suffered one of the heaviest gales that has been known for a long time past, and the duke of Medina Sidonia and the greater part of the fleet were accordingly obliged to take refuge in the port of Corunna, the remainder putting into other ports of Asturias and Biscay. Some of the ships arrived very near the coast of Brittany, but they subsequently rejoined the rest of the fleet in Corunna without a single ship being lost. This was a signal mercy of God, and his Majesty looks upon the first event (*i.e.*, the gale) as having been sent by Him, in order that the success the King anticipates may be recognised as coming from His hand.

As soon as the Armada was re-united (in Corunna) his Majesty sent me special instructions to inform your Holiness, in order that the good news might dissipate your anxiety; and I am also to inform your Holiness that whilst the ships were being got together great activity was exercised in re-fitting and re-victualling. His Majesty is consequently assured by the duke of Medina Sidonia that, at latest, the Armada will again sail on the 20th July, and from the known activity of the Duke there is every hope that the date of departure may even be some days earlier than this. With God's blessing and fine weather, therefore, as the voyage is so short a one, it may be hoped that both his Holiness and his Majesty will very soon be consoled for their common anxiety in consequence of this delay.

His Majesty wishes to represent to his Holiness the great expenditure he has had to incur in consequence of the delay, and

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the need to revictual the ships. Owing to this, and to the hope that had been entertained that his Holiness's subsidy would ere this have been in Flanders, it has been impossible to send with the desired punctuality the necessary funds from Spain. His Majesty therefore supplicates the Pope to anticipate the payments, as he has already been requested to do, and wishes to remind him that this enterprise is his own (*i.e.*, the Pope's), since it was by his persuasion that his Majesty was induced to undertake it. The task was so heavy a one (and the unavoidable accidents which have assailed it have rendered it still heavier), that his Majesty trusts that the Pope's postponement of the payments, which he could easily make, may, by God's grace, not result in some reverse, which would be a great injury to the cause of our Lord and the glory of his Holiness. His Holiness would never cease to grieve if he had been the cause of such a disaster, and all subsequent efforts he might make to repair it would be unavailing, whilst what is asked of him now he can do with the greatest of ease. His Majesty therefore hopes that his Holiness will not fail him on this occasion in a joint undertaking towards which his Majesty has already contributed so much.

His Majesty also begs his Holiness to send the Legate (for England), as the delay in doing so is no longer serviceable in the matter of secrecy, whilst it is very desirable that he should be sent in the interest of affairs there (*i.e.*, in England). In addition to this, it is meet the world should recognise the large share his Holiness has in this enterprise, and even if the Legate arrive during the time that fighting is going on, there will be nothing incompatible in the cross of the Holy See appearing in such a contest.

8 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

377. REPORT OF HASSAN, the late MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ'S Turkish freed slave, who left Calais 8th instant.

On Saturday the 6th instant, in the afternoon, his Majesty's Armada appeared before Calais, with the enemy's fleet a league behind; the wind freshening, Lord Harry Seymour's squadron, which was guarding the mouth of the Thames against the duke of Parma's passage, was able to join the other English ships. The weather favouring them they were able to approach our fleet, which, on Sunday, was endeavouring to anchor in front of Calais. The same night the enemy set fire to six ships which he had brought for the purpose of burning our fleet. When our people saw these ships drifting down upon them they cut their cables, set sail, and ran for the coast of Flanders. At this time the galleass "Capitana"* fouled with her rudder the anchor of the galleass "Patrona,"† and it became necessary to run her for the shore. Before she could enter Calais she ran on a sandbank, high and dry. Here she was attacked by the English pataches, who in fight killed most of those on board of her, although many had already gone ashore. During the day much artillery firing was heard. This Turk says that those who

* The "San Lorenzo." † The "Napolitana."

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were saved, report that Don Hugo de Moncada was killed on the galleass during the fighting.

9 Aug. **378.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

As I was in momentary expectation of receiving news from Flanders of the passage of the Armada through the Straits of Dover, or that an engagement had taken place, I received the enclosed original letter from Isoardo Capello (who in all things appertaining to your Majesty's service is as usual very willing, and especially zealous in furnishing me with information from all parts). The letter is from Rouen, and contains reports from men whom I am keeping specially in Havre de Grace and Dieppe, and who have hitherto reported most punctually and truly everything that has happened since the Armada entered the Channel. This fact encourages me the more to send this good news to your Majesty, hoping that God will allow it to be followed by many other victories, making use of your Majesty's arms to save our holy Catholic faith, as He has hitherto done. As I am sending off this courier in haste, I cannot detain him by writing any further information. The other despatches he carries were, however, ciphered already. The moment I receive confirmation of the news I will forward it.—Paris, 9th August 1588.

Note.—The despatch from Rouen enclosed in the above autograph letter is not now to be found, but a docket in the hand of Idiaquez on the outer sheet says, "With the relation of the victory over "Drake of the 2nd August, and the advices from London. Seen.'" This appears to have been the false news of victory for which Mendoza was subsequently so bitterly abused in England, and blamed in Spain. His name lent itself in the former country to punning accusations of "*mendacity*," but it will be seen that he merely transmitted the news.

9 Aug. **379.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I will pay Julio the 2,000 crowns your Majesty orders. As I saw his need, and experienced his good conduct, I had already provided him with what I advised in my last letter. I cannot learn from the new confidant that any negotiations are going on here between the King and the English ambassador in the matter of closer alliance or assistance. I wrote to Julio that Don Antonio was going to try to escape in a French ship, and he lost no time in telling the Queen. I am also keeping my eyes open as to what may be done by Pedro de Oro, who calls himself Andrada. He has arrived in France and I have advised Sampson.

The substance of the notes forwarded to me by the Duke of Parma, is to say that he* will not employ the money he had in his possession except in the eventuality for which it was ordered. Colonel Semple also gives him (the duke of Parma) an account of his arrival, and what had passed with the King, all of which the Duke has already conveyed to your Majesty. The earl of Morton

* The King has noted the obscurity of this phrase, and in a marginal note has thus corrected it, "The man who says this must be the one who first went to Scotland; I cannot recollect his name." It refers, of course, to Robert Bruce.

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followed his own opinion instead of my instructions, and the advice I gave to the Scots generally has been neglected, which was that they should keep afoot in the north and not return home until the opportunity came, when they might hold the north country in spite of the King. I hope to God that when the Armada arrives the Catholics will act up to their promise, and will rescue Morton from prison, in order that he may fulfil his part.—Paris, 9th August 1588.

10 Aug. Estado, 594. **380.** DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

On the 8th instant I sent your Majesty the news I had received from the duke of Medina Sidonia, and enclosed copies of his several letters to me. I also informed your Majesty of the state of things here, and the speed with which our men were being shipped, although the wind was against our going out from this coast, as it still remains, and made it impossible even for the powder, balls, and pilots he had asked for to reach the Duke. On the evening of the 8th I arrived at Nieuport, where the embarkation of the men was so forward as to be practically completed; 16,000 troops having been shipped that day in the boats at Nieuport. Without waiting there I pushed on to Dunkirk, where I found the men on the quay and everything ready, so that by that evening matters would be completed there also. At half-past 10 in the morning Don Jorge Manrique, the Inspector-general, arrived with letters from the Duke (he having sought me elsewhere and missed me). From the tenour of these letters, of which I enclose copies, your Majesty will see the danger that the Armada was in for the want of gaining a port. I can assure your Majesty that no one regrets this difficulty more than I do, and have done from the first, as I always considered it a most important point, and have mentioned it several times in my letters. I have always supposed that the Duke would have managed this as speedily as possible on his way up, and I am therefore not at all surprised at his anxiety, and his request that we here should go and help him to obtain a port, especially to capture the Isle of Wight. This is the request brought to me by Don Jorge Manrique, or else that I should join him to engage the enemy, which shows how badly informed the Duke must be as to the character of our small, weak boats, entirely unfit for fighting, or even to live in any heavy sea or high wind. The enemy's ships are, moreover, on this coast to prevent them from going out. My desire, nevertheless, effectually to serve your Majesty is so great that I decided to discuss the possibility with the marquis de Renti and practical sailors here, in the presence of Don Jorge Manrique, in order that, if it turned out to be impracticable, he might be satisfied that it really was so, and that the most we could hope for from these boats would be in fine settled weather, and with the Channel clear of enemies, to take our men across, as had been arranged; the general verdict being that it would be quite out of the question for them to undertake a voyage of seven or eight days as proposed by the Duke. When this was under discussion, the embarkation continuing actively the while, the prince of Ascoli arrived here in a small boat, and also in other small boats Marolin and Major Gallinaro, bringing me intelligence that the

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enemy had sent eight fire-ships against the Armada, and that early on the morning of the 8th it had been necessary for our ships to cut their cables to get away from the fire. Being thus adrift, and with a heavy gale coming on, the Duke had been obliged to run on a northerly course. The enemy in the meanwhile had never left him, and had engaged some of our vessels which had been unable to join the rest of the Armada, the galleass "Capitana" ("San Lorenzo") being aground in Calais Roads, and the galleon "San Felipe" ashore at Nieuport. What happened subsequently with the other ships is unknown, except that the English continue to follow them with very swift vessels, manned by good and experienced sailors. God knows how grieved I am at this news, at a time when I hoped to send your Majesty my congratulations at having successfully carried through your intentions. But I am sure that your Majesty knows me to be one of your humblest and devoted servants, who has laboured hard in this business, and will recognise that no one can be more grieved than I. I will only say, therefore, that this must come from the hand of the Lord, who knows well what He does, and can redress it all, rewarding your Majesty with many victories, and the full fruition of your desires in His good time. We should therefore give Him thanks for all things. Above all it is of the utmost importance that your Majesty should be careful of your health, and then, thanks to the prudence and valour with which you are endowed, and the power which God has bestowed upon you, with His help all will be well, and the enemies of the Catholic faith and your Majesty's greatness will have scant reason for rejoicing at this misfortune. This great army, moreover, which your Majesty has intact, should, with God's blessing, banish all cause for fear, especially as it may be hoped that by His divine mercy the Duke and the mass of the Armada may not have suffered any further loss beyond that which I have stated. What adds more than I can here express to my grief at this disaster is that it was humanly impossible to remedy it, or aid in any way, both on account of the character of these boats of ours, and because of the wind being contrary to our putting out from this coast. With regard to the embarkation of our troops, some of the officers who have come from the Duke wished to make out that we were not ready, but they are mistaken in this, as it was impossible to ship the men sooner, as was proved by the experience of those we shipped in a very few hours. It was not advisable to keep the men a long time beforehand in these boats, where they could not be controlled as if they were on land, and yet could go ashore when they liked, besides which, they would have rotted and died. Your Majesty knows these rivers and canals, and will recollect perfectly that the boats are alongside the land, and on a level with it. I will not dwell further upon this point, except to show the great facility which it offered for the embarkation of the men. If only the wind had been fair, and the sea clear of enemies, this would not have impeded the business. As God has so ordained it, however, there is no use in further discussing it, and we can only hope that He will take pity on us, and grant to your Majesty much cause for rejoicing. Your Majesty may well imagine how distasteful it is to me to send you this news, but my duty towards you renders it necessary

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that I should do so, in order that your Majesty may adopt such measures as you consider advisable in Spain and elsewhere to prevent this misfortune, and the presence intact of the enemy's fleet from leading to further evils. But above all I beseech your Majesty to recollect that I am without money, and know not where or how to obtain any. Upon these forces here your Majesty's prestige largely depends, and they should be kept afoot. The soldiers who have so willingly and quietly put up with trouble and misery in the hope of this enterprise might change their tone, and lose respect, especially if we cannot provide them with the ordinary pay and their ration bread as hitherto. I will keep your Majesty informed of all I hear.—Dunkirk, 10th August 1588.

10 Aug. **381.** ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1568. French.

Six or seven days ago the army of the king of Spain entered the Channel, and are at the present time between Calais and Dover. There have been continual skirmishes with the Admiral or Drake, but the losses which are asserted to have been suffered on either side are as yet unconfirmed. We are, however, sure that a galleass has been taken from the Spaniards, and that another great ship, said to be commanded by Vice-Admiral Don Pedro (de Valdez), has also been captured, and two Englishmen with him, one of them named Browne,* both of whom have been hanged. They have had bonfires all over the city recently for this victory, but they say nothing of the losses we have suffered, which are not slight if I am not mistaken, as the men who have been wounded in the skirmishes say they are certain that two of the Queen's great ships were sunk. I do not know, however, what the Spanish losses were, as I left our army before the capture of Don Pedro.

The Spaniards who have been captured are not ill-treated.

Our ships are in great want of powder.

There are two entrenched armies in Essex and Kent, the men having been collected from the various counties of England. There are about 20,000 men commanded by Lord Leicester, who is greatly disliked by his soldiers.

A bridge of boats has been built across the Thames at Gravesend in order that the armies of Essex and Kent may unite, if necessary. Eighteen merchantmen are on the point of leaving the Thames to join Lord Harry Seymour. They are hurrying them off so that they will not be able to wait for the stores which were being prepared for them, and will not therefore be fit to keep at sea long.

It is certain that the Spaniards are so strong that the Admiral and Drake have not dared to give them battle, but are obliged to resort to stratagems to gain advantage, in the hope of being able somehow to catch them unaware.

The principal people here say they are surprised to find that the Spaniards are so strong at sea as they are, and confess that they have underrated their power.

* In the King's hand:—"You will know very well who this is. The body is in danger." It is not clear to what person this refers. The only Browne I can find on the Armada was a gentleman volunteer of that name, with two servants, on board the "San Mateo." He was a relative of Viscount Montague.

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There is a great want of horses, although there are enough men: but they are not very well drilled.

There has been a rumour at Court, which has spread all over London, that the Spaniards have orders from their King to slaughter all English people, men and women, over the age of seven years. We know that the only object of this is to incense the people against the Spaniards.

10 Aug. (night). Paris Archives, K. 1567.

382. JOS. CUNET (of Rouen) to ISOARDO CAPELO.

I thank you for letters forwarded to me from Spain and the news you send me. It would be very advantageous that the four galleys should have gone with the Armada. But you say that three of them were lost near Bayonne, and we have news from St. Malo that the other had safely arrived at Blavet in Brittany, after having thrown overboard a part of her victuals. This evening there have arrived three shipmasters of Dieppe, who say that this morning, before they left, there arrived there (Dieppe) a boat from Boulogne, bringing news that on Thursday last the Spanish Armada was seen passing off Boulogne, hugging the French coast, apparently intending to bring up in St. John's Roads between Boulogne and Calais; there to await the vessels from Dunkirk, in order to go in company therewith to the Downs or to England. The same report adds, that on the same time, Thursday last, the English fleet was seen coasting along the English shore towards the Downs, both fleets being in sight of the French coast, it being almost possible to count the ships, which in the two forces amounted to over 400 sail. The news from Dieppe continues to assert that the English flagship was sunk. This is all the news up to the present.

11 Aug. Estado, 594.

383. JORGE MANRIQUE to the KING.

Statement of the events that happened to his Majesty's Armada, as observed by me, Don Jorge Manrique, up to Monday, 7th August, when by order of the duke of Medina Sidonia I came to discuss with the duke of Parma matters touching the Armada, leaving the said Armada at anchor in the haven of Calais. To this is added a relation of the subsequent occurrences as stated by Captain Marolin de Juan, who was present at the combat of the 8th instant.

His Majesty's Armada entered the English Channel on Saturday, 30th July, and on that day it came to a stand at sea off Plymouth, a number of vessels being sighted. On Sunday, the 31st, in the morning, seven ships were seen to the windward, and at 10 o'clock there were quite near to us 74 sail, 23 of which were great ships, the rest being small. They began to open fire on our rearguard, but upon the Duke's turning to close with them they retired without doing us any damage, except that two cannon shots struck the foremast of the vice-flagship "San Juan," which was in the midst of the enemy's fleet during the combat. On the same day the flagship of Don Pedro de Valdez fouled another ship of his squadron, breaking her bowsprit first, and then her foremast. The Armada passed on, leaving her behind in sight of the enemy; and what subsequently became of her and her crew is not known. At the same time the flagship of Miguel de Oquendo caught fire, and

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some of her men were burnt. As it was seen that she would founder, the contents were taken out of her, and she was abandoned the next day, 1st August, in sight of the enemy, who continued to follow us, still to windward. In consequence of calms the enemy did not attack our rearguard that day, nor until Tuesday, the 2nd, when a great engagement took place between the two fleets. The galleon "San Martin" being to windward of the Armada, and near the enemy's ships, the latter attacked her with the whole of their cannon, she returning the fire with so much gallantry that on one side alone she fired off a hundred shots, and the enemy did not care to come to close quarters with her, although she was alone, and her consorts were unable to aid her for an hour and a half. At last the enemy retired, without having inflicted any notable damage upon us. On the following day, Wednesday, the 3rd, the enemy attacked our rearguard, but retired almost at once, as a shot from one of our galleasses carried away the mainsail boom of his flagship. On Thursday, the 4th, off the Isle of Wight, he again attacked our rearguard at dawn, and displayed some signs of a desire to come to close quarters, but did not do so, always keeping off and confining the fight to artillery fire. The Duke endeavoured to close with him, but it was impossible in consequence of the swiftness of the enemy's vessels. On this day the largest ship in the enemy's fleet was on the point of being caught by the "San Martin," but she was rescued by 11 skiffs which grappled and towed her out, for which purpose they carry a great number of such craft. On Friday, the 5th, there was a calm all day, and the two fleets kept in sight of one another. On Saturday, the 6th in the morning the wind freshened somewhat on our stern, and we began to make some progress, the enemy always continuing on our rearguard with 100 vessels, as he had been joined recently by about 30 fresh ships.* The French coast was sighted on one side, and the English on the other, the Armada being abreast of Calais in the afternoon. The Duke consulted the generals and pilots as to what he should do, pending the coming out of the duke of Parma from Dunkirk, which was seven leagues off. Different opinions were expressed in consequence of the strength of the current, and the unsheltered nature of the port in bad weather; and the Duke finally decided to drop anchor in the haven of Calais, and not to sail into the North Sea, which would have jeopardised the undertaking, in consequence of the difficulty of getting back again. There were, however, some opinions opposed to the course adopted. The enemy also dropped anchor in the place mentioned, near to us, about two leagues from Calais. On Sunday, the 7th, the wind freshened, the current also running strongly, and each of our ships put out two anchors. At 11 o'clock that night the enemy let forth seven fire pinnaces, which burst into flame in the midst of our fleet. They burnt with such fierceness that it was believed they were "artificial machines," and as the Armada was in close order, the Duke, fearing the damage that might be caused by them, gave orders for the cables to be cut, and the whole of our ships spread their sails, leaving nearly 300

* In the King's hand :—"It says here 100 vessels, including the 30 odd which have joined them."

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anchors behind them. The Armada then sailed in a northerly direction, followed by the enemy. It is certainly believed that the battle of Monday, the 8th, must have been terrible,* and that some ships were sunk on both sides but there is no knowledge as to what ships they were, the loss of life involved, or the present position of the Duke and the Armada. The enemy's fleet is in pursuit with 160 sail; and 40 more of their ships are cruising within sight of Dunkirk,† these vessels having left Flushing to reinforce the enemy. On the night of the fire the rudder of the galleass "Capitana" fouled a cable, and the vessel being unmanageable, ran aground on the bar of Calais Harbour. This being noticed by the enemy, they sent 24 of their ships to attack her with their artillery, and although the galleass was stranded and lying on her side, Don Hugo Moncada defended her valiantly until he fell, killed by harquebuss shot. The soldiers and sailors seeing that their general, Don Hugo, had fallen, began to throw themselves into the sea, and the convicts did likewise; whereupon the enemy boarded the galleass, killing about 30 men. The duke of Parma has given orders for the recovery of the men who escaped, the artillery, stores, and all else that was saved. On the same day (Monday) the enemy furiously attacked the Portuguese galleon "San Felipe," with the Maestre de Campo, Francisco de Toledo, on board. When they had killed over a hundred of his men the rest of them, with the exception of about 15 or 20 who stood by him, escaped in spite of him to a hulk. The galleon, thus abandoned, brought up on the beach at Nieuport, five leagues from Dunkirk. Here she was discovered by the enemy, who with the aid of a number of ships from Flushing attacked and captured her, the Maestre de Campo, and the few men who were with him, having escaped in a small boat, six persons only being saved.—Dunkirk, 11th August 1588.

11 Aug. Estado, 594. **384.** JUAN MANRIQUE to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Many others will write to you the full details of the overthrow of the Armada, and I will therefore only say here that I pray to God to spare our good King to redress it, and you to aid him. Although you may think it bold on my part, I cannot refrain from saying how the happiest expedition in the world has been defeated. The day on which we came to embark (*i.e.*, in Flanders) we found the vessels still unfinished, not a pound of cannon on board, and nothing to eat. This was not because the duke of Parma failed to use every possible effort, for it would be difficult to find another person in the world who works half as hard, but because both the seamen and those who had to carry out the details openly and undisguisedly directed their energies not to serve his Majesty, for that is not their aim, but to waste his substance and lengthen the duration of the war; besides which the common people threw obstacles in the way.‡

* In the King's hand:—"I do not think that other advices say this of Monday, but of some subsequent day."

† In the King's hand:—"It says here that 160 sail are with the enemy, and 40 off Dunkirk. This seems a contradiction."

‡ The document is much mutilated, but the passage as it stands above appears to express the meaning intended.

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You must forgive me, but when I see the intentions of my sovereign thus badly fulfilled, I cannot help venturing to lay the matter before you. The general opinion here, is that if his Majesty orders the remainder of the Armada to stay here, the enterprise would be much easier. God guide it all! We are all of us ready to die, and serve his Majesty as he may command. The prince of Ascoli and Don Francisco de Toledo have arrived here, and the younger displays most distrust.

Don Jorge Manrique is here, and it is quite pitiable to see how he goes on.

For the love of God urge his Majesty to persevere in this enterprise, for upon it depends mainly the ending of the war in Flanders; people here are delighted to see its postponement.—Dunkirk, 11th August 1588.

11 Aug. **385.** ADVICES of the FLEETS sent from ROUEN.*

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

On Saturday the Spanish Armada arrived safely in these (Calais) roads in good condition, with the English at cannon shot distance to windward. Both fleets came to anchor in good order, and so remained until Sunday night, when, at the turn of midnight, the English sent on to the Spanish fleet eight well fitted ships, filled with artificial fire and ordnance, which advanced in line at a distance of a couple of pikes' lengths between them. Wind and tide were in their favour, and bore them down on to the Spanish ships. But by God's grace before they arrived, and whilst they were yet between the two fleets, one of them flared up with such fierceness and great noise as were frightful, and at this the ships of the Armada cut their cables at once, leaving their anchors, spreading their sails, and ran out to sea. The English ships followed them, always further out at sea, and to windward of them, cannonading them, with the intention of keeping them under fire; but this they were unable to do, and both fleets continued in this guise, without doing much execution one to the other. The remaining seven fire ships caught light when they arrived where the Armada was before it slipped cables, and the whole eight went drifting between the fleet and the shore with the most terrible flames that can be imagined. The whole of them burnt very fiercely until Monday morning, when they began to die down somewhat, although the fire on them continued till the hulls were reduced to embers.

At seven o'clock on Monday morning, at about two leagues from here (*i.e.*, Calais), both fleets came into action, the firing on both sides being the greatest ever seen or imagined. In the meanwhile they were constantly sailing in a northerly direction, the English fleet keeping the wind, as far as could be seen. The galleon "San Martin" was leading, with the galleon "San Juan" and two galleasses, which were doing much execution against the English. The cannonade was heard with the same fury the whole of that day, until at last it died away in the distance. Since then we have no news that we can trust, except from a fisherman who came in yesterday, reporting that he left them between Zeeland and England, about 22 leagues

* This report is anonymous, but it is directed to M. Capelo, Paris. It is annotated by Philip II. The events related of course happened in Calais Roads.

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from here; both fleets being mixed with each other, and still cannonading. He says he saw some ships broken into bits, others without masts or sails, from which they were throwing overboard artillery, trunks, and many other things, whilst men were striving to save themselves by escaping in boats, with such lamentation as may be imagined. I forgot to say that the flagship of the four Neapolitan galleasses, whilst trying to avoid the fire ships, lost her rudder, and consequently could not follow the Armada. She was assailed by 15 or 20 English ships, and getting as much in shore as possible, was nearly surrounded by small (English) vessels of 30 or 40 tons, which shot off about 100 cannon shots at her upper parts The guns on the galleass could not reply, as she had a list to landward. The Italian sailors and artillerymen, with some others, were the first to escape and fly to shore; and so many went that not more than 50 men stood by the captain to defend the ship. At last the captain was killed, and several others, and the rest sought safety in flight, whilst the English to the number of 200 entered, robbing what they could lay their hands upon and carry. They were awaiting the return of the tide to float her and carry her off, when seeing that she was at the mouth of the port, not a fathom from the inside, the governor, before there was water enough to float her, determined to fire his cannon upon the English, which he did both from the fortress and the town walls; whereupon they fled, and left the galleass with some loss. They tried three times to burn her with artificial fire and gunpowder, but failed, as if almost by a miracle. The loss amounted to about 50 English and a similar number of Spaniards and slaves, who made a terrible outcry. If the Spaniards had stood by the ship, as they might have done, the English would never have entered her, as not one of the English cannon shots had pierced the hull of the ship, but only her upper planks above the oars. She was therefore still very sound, but now they are dismantling her for her timbers and taking out her ordnance, which is the greatest pity in the world, for there was no better ship in the Armada for fighting in these parts, and such another could not be launched for 100,000 crowns. She alone is enough to face 20 of the best English ships, and draws so little water that she could easily enter Dunkirk.

There has been very bad management with the Flemish ships, which cannot be ready for another fortnight, in consequence of the neglect of the commissaries, whose one care has been to steal all they could. If they had joined the Spanish fleet they could no doubt have carried out the design.

The Spanish fleet is very powerful, only it has no port of refuge in these parts, and with bad weather it may be driven on to the banks, which is the English plan, without thinking of coming to close quarters.

The English fleet consists of 150 sail all told, including any that may have joined them from Holland and Zeeland.

The Dunkirk ships are short of sailors, in consequence of the neglect they have shown towards them. They (the sailors) have even been dreadfully ill-treated.

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The whole of the fame gained by the duke of Parma in the past is forfeited by this great neglect, and this will cause the Spanish fleet to be lost if God does not come to its aid.

Whilst the Armada was in these roads, the Dover people held a review, where instead of the 25,000 men they expected they could only muster 22 companies of 100 men each, and in very poor order.

To-day, the 11th, the English deputies entered Calais on their return to England, with passport from the prince of Parma.

They say that the fleets were still sailing slowly towards the north, fighting as they went. On the night of Tuesday Drake burnt two ships, and had captured and sunk six, amongst which were some galleons, and they say also the "San Felipe" ran on a shoal off Nieuport.—13th August.

Postscript.—I have kept this until to-day, Saturday, 13th August. It is reported that Drake came alongside the galleon "Capitana" ("San Martin"), which was somewhat separated from the rest of the Armada, and surrounded by the English fleet; and the engagement was so fierce between, them that the whole of the two fleets assembled, and in the fight the Spaniards captured Drake with many ships, sinking others, and disabling 15 which took refuge at Harwich. The Spanish fleet by the same report was still sailing towards Scotland, some say to enter port, others to return round that way to Spain. It was still being followed by the rest of the English ships,* but it was feared that the Lord Admiral was in as bad case as Drake.

Note.—The latter part of this communication is written so hastily and badly as to be hardly intelligible. After it had been finished a small strip of paper was pasted on to the foot, containing a postscript. The King had apparently tried to read it, but had been unable to do so, as a note below it for his information says "this postscript came inside the letter, the writing is so involved "that it is re-written more clearly here following."

Second Postscript.—These deputies are stating some particulars of the duke (of Parma). They are pleased at the small activity he has shown in aiding the enterprise, either out of jealousy of Medina or otherwise, designing to do some day what others have done before, although I hope he will not forget himself so far. Our Lord inspire him to do right.

12 Aug. Estado, 594.

386. PRINCE OF ASCOLI† to the KING.

On the 7th instant your Majesty's Armada was at anchor in Calais Bay, the enemy's fleet being a league distant from it. At midnight, when the tide was running from the enemy's fleet towards us, they let loose seven fire ships, which came towards the Armada. The duke of Medina considered it necessary that the Armada should avoid these ships, and he accordingly directed some of us who were most in his confidence to go in zabras (Biscay smacks) and carry instructions to the other squadrons. By the Duke's orders I took

* The King has written in the margin here :—"If what they say here were true, I do not know how they could follow." This report was probably the first detailed news which Philip received of the disaster to his Armada.

† Antonio Luis de Leyva, who was usually believed to be a natural son of the King.

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with me Captain Marco, as I had done on other occasions, and sailed towards the rear squadron. In the interim the flagship sailed away, and at daybreak I found myself in the midst of the enemy's ships, and our Armada too far away for us to reach it. Whilst I was in this position I saw a small pinnace in which were two majors who had been sent to carry orders through the Armada for the ships to put themselves in fighting trim. I therefore went on board the pinnace with the intention of making for the galleon, and we clapped on all sail with that object. Both wind and tide were against us, and the enemy were engaged with our fleet, so that I was cut off and in the rear of both fleets. I decided to follow in the wake of the fleets, but I was so hotly pressed by the boats which had attacked and defeated the galleass "Capitana" ("San Lorenzo") that not a sailor could be induced to stir. Thus I remained all day until two o'clock next morning, when so violent a gale broke that I was obliged to run before it, I knew not whither, all that night without a pilot. In the morning I sighted Calais, but was too far to leeward to make it. I therefore had to enter this port, where I found the duke of Parma, and gave him an account of my proceedings, begging leave to return to the Armada. This he refused to allow. I am very unhappy to be out of whatever events may happen to the Armada, but as God has ordained otherwise, it cannot be helped, and my only wish is to be in some place where I may serve your Majesty and do my duty in a manner worthy of my birth. This I will always keep before me, and on all occasions when my person may be of any service it shall be exposed to the death on your Majesty's behalf.—Dunkirk, 12th August 1588.

Note.—The above manuscript is much mutilated and the writing almost undecipherable.

12 Aug. **387.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

On the 8th instant I wrote enclosing an original letter from Rouen. This courier is on his way from the duke of Parma with news, thank God, that Medina Sidonia with the Armada is safe in St. John's Roads, between Boulogne and Calais, where he arrived on the 5th (*sic*). From what I hear from the Armada, the Breton sailors who were in the English fleet were quite right in saying that the English ships had received great damage from the artillery on your Majesty's vessels, the English flagship having been sunk. This is again confirmed by advices of the 10th from Havre de Grace and Dieppe, which say that the name of the ship was the "Raleigh."* As the night came on, and the duke of Medina continued his voyage, there could not have been so much damage done in the English ships as the Breton sailors say, but it is a good sign that since then they have none of them dared to attack any of your Majesty's ships. The Breton sailors also confess that they saw one of your Majesty's vessels burnt, all the men on board of which were saved. This was Admiral Oquendo's flagship.

Isoardo Capelo has had letters from the coast of Normandy, and also one, dated the 10th, from Rouen, stating that the third missing

* The name of Howard's flagship was, of course, the "Ark Raleigh," but it is hardly necessary to say that she was not sunk.

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galley had entered Blavet, in Lower Brittany, without further loss than the victuals they had thrown overboard to lighten the ship. I sent off a courier at once and opened credits at Nantes for the 15,000 crowns your Majesty ordered, to provide them with what they may require. I also wrote to the captain of the galley, asking him whether he has orders as to what he is to do, and to let me know. I will report his answer to your Majesty, and if it be necessary I will send from here one of my servants with letters from this King to the governors ordering them to assist the captain of the galley.

The moment I heard that the Armada had arrived off the Isle of Wight, and that shots had been exchanged with the English, I posted to Chartres to influence this King in the direction your Majesty instructed me to do in the despatch which reached me through the duke of Parma. I used this diligence because I had heard that the queen of England was asking the King to assist her with the forces stipulated in the articles of their alliance. As soon as I arrived the King sent to say that he would give me audience after he had dined, which was much sooner than usual. I addressed him to the effect your Majesty instructed me, adding what I thought necessary in the present state of affairs. This was in substance that, even if he was not bound by the obligations I mentioned, the fact that the queen of England had laid violent hands on the queen of Scotland, whom he (Henry III.) had seen in her wedding garments, and had acknowledged as queen of France, was a sufficient reason for her (the queen of England) not receiving encouragement from this country at the present juncture; but, on the contrary, should inspire him with a desire to avenge himself upon her. In the recent settlement (*i.e.*, with the League and the Guises) he had solemnly promised to withdraw from all alliance with heretics, and particularly with the queen of England; and this, of itself, I said, was almost a sufficient reason to render it unnecessary for me to address him in the terms I was ordered to by your Majesty, but in fulfilment of my instructions merely I had been obliged to mention it to him, to remind him of the duty resting upon the most Christian King Henry II. (III. ?), to whom since his youth our Lord had vouchsafed so many victories in defence of our Catholic faith. He replied at length, very kindly, to the effect that your Majesty showed clearly by your acts the zeal you had always exhibited in the interests of the Church. His zeal was the same, and he had done what he could and would consequently never stand in the way of the destruction of heretics. He had, he said, two sorts of subjects, like your Majesty in certain of your dominions, one sort being obedient to him, and the others not. It was quite certain that the former would not go to help the queen of England, and he will prevent the others from doing so. He asked me to give him in writing what I had said, and he would again discuss it with M. de Villeroy, who was present, and the King repeated it to him in my presence; promising me that the reply should be communicated by him.

With regard to his remark about two sorts of subjects, I said that the Huguenots only possessed Rochelle, and that, without his permission, it would be difficult for a single Frenchman to go to the

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aid of the Englishwoman, and I pointed out to him how much better it would be for him that England should be under a Catholic King, rather than a heretic.

In conversation with Villeroy afterwards I repeated what I had said, and offered it to him in writing, but he said it was not necessary, as he understood the points perfectly well, and your Majesty's request; promising me a reply in the morning. At the time appointed the King sent me word that, as Villeroy was in council, he could not bring me the answer, but that Geronimo Gondi would do so. It was to similar effect with the King's own reply, and I answered that it was such as I had hoped for from his most Christian Majesty. I said that I would at once forward it to your Majesty; and I took care to spread it abroad immediately, with what I had said on your Majesty's behalf, in order to pledge the King to fulfil his words. If he breaks his promise the members of the League and the towns of the Union will have good reason to resent his proceedings, and to complain to his Holiness and your Majesty.—Paris, 12th August 1588.

12 Aug. **388.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

In order not to detain this courier a moment on his way from the duke of Parma, I must delay answering yours until my next despatches go, assuring you that the utmost vigilance and care are being exercised in his Majesty's service to discover what is going on everywhere, for his information.—Paris, 12th August 1588.

Postscript (partly in cypher and partly autograph).—As the Armada has passed the Straits, I hope to God I shall soon send good news. Lord keep His hand to the work!

The sailors and pilots blame Don Hugo de Moncada for the loss of the galleass, by refusing to take out the rudder when they told him, and then doing so when it was of no use.

You will please convey the reports I send to his Majesty. They are confirmed from Calais.

13 Aug. **389.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.*

Paris Archives, K. 1567. Holograph.

Just as I was despatching a courier to your Majesty with the good news I have this moment received from Calais a man arrived from the duke of Parma, who will relate them to your Majesty in full detail, and I therefore need not dwell upon them or detain the man a moment longer from carrying them to your Majesty. I give infinite thanks to our Lord for the news.—Versailles, 13th August 1588.

13 Aug. **390.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I will not detain you with a long letter from the rejoicing you will experience at the news I was about to send you, which, however, you will now learn from the duke of Parma's reports.

God be praised for the trifling punishments He deals out to us for our correction, and for the infinite mercies and benefits which He, the Father of Mercy, vouchsafes to us.—Paris, 13th August 1588.

* The good news referred to in this and the following letter, was, that the Armada had arrived at the rendezvous and was in touch with the duke of Parma.

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Note.—In a similar letter to the above, of same date, from Mendoza to Don Martin de Idiaquez, the writer adds the following holograph postscript—"As I am not sending a special courier in order that the "duke of Parma may not have cause to complain, I beg you to hand "to his Majesty my letter at the same time as the Duke's reports, "unless, indeed, it can be given to him before he learns the good "news."

13 Aug. Estado, 839.

391. STATEMENT of what happened to his Majesty's Armada, from its entrance into the English Channel up to the events of which news came to Dunkirk and Calais on the 12th and 13th August.

The Armada entered the Channel on Saturday, 30th July, on which day it proceeded as far as Plymouth, a number of enemy's ships being seen.

On the next day, 31st July, 64 of the enemy's ships collected and opened fire on the rearguard of our fleet. The Duke desired to come to close quarters but they retired, after doing us no more damage than hitting with two shot the foremast of the fleet vice-flagship "San Juan," which during the combat was in the midst of the enemy's fleet.

On the same day Don Pedro de Valdez's flagship having come into collision with a ship of his squadron, the flagship broke her bowsprit and foremast, and as the Armada was very far ahead he could not follow it. The said flagship consequently was left behind by the fleet and doubtless fell into the hands of the enemy, news having come from London that he (Valdez) had been taken thither a prisoner. On the same day the vice-flagship of Oquendo's squadron caught fire, the people on board escaping, but it was impossible to save the ship.

On the 1st August there was a calm, and the two fleets could not approach each other.

On the 2nd August a furious fire was exchanged. The galleon "San Martin," flagship of our Armada, being to the windward and near the enemy, the latter concentrated the whole of his artillery fire on to her; but she went at them so gallantly that, although she was alone and her consorts could not come to her assistance for over an hour, the enemy did not dare to come to close quarters with her and ultimately retired.

On the 3rd the enemy approached, but shortly afterwards retired in consequence of the mainsail boom of his fleet flagship having been brought down by a shot from one of our galleasses.

On the 4th, off the Isle of Wight, at daybreak, the enemy attacked our rearguard, and showed some signs of a desire to come to closer quarters, but he always avoided coming nearer than artillery range, his plan being to fight only with his ordnance and not to grapple. Although the Duke wished to bring him to close quarters it was impossible in consequence of the swiftness of the enemy's vessels. During this day the largest ship of the enemy's fleet was very nearly caught by the "San Martin," but she was rescued by skiffs, which took her in tow, for which purpose they carry a great number of such craft.

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We learn by advices from London that it is there asserted that during these days two of the Queen's ships were sunk. French advices say seven; but as our Armada continued on its course it did not ascertain the truth.

On the 5th August there was a calm all day, and the two fleets kept in sight of one another.

On the 6th the wind freshened somewhat astern, and we began to make some progress, the enemy, with 100 sail, being sighted both from the French and English coasts. In the afternoon the Armada was off Calais, where it anchored, the duke of Parma having been informed by the Duke (of Medina Sidonia) of his approach. The English fleet also anchored at some little distance, both fleets being within sight of Calais.

On the 7th the two fleets were at anchor, the wind freshening. On the night of the 7th, at eight o'clock, the enemy sent forth towards our Armada eight fire ships, the wind and tide being in their favour and the ships burning with great fierceness. In order to avoid the damage they might cause the Armada if the latter were in close order and at anchor, the Duke ordered the cables to be cut, so that the ships might escape the fire. Sail was then set, the enemy also setting his sails and trying to embarrass us and keep us in the direction of the fires; but this he was unable to do. In the meanwhile a strong westerly gale sprang up, which forced our fleet to run in a northerly direction, surrounded by the enemy; the fire ships having brought up on the very place where the Armada had been anchored, where they flamed furiously but did us no damage, as they would have done if it had stayed.

On the 8th the two fleets were seen fiercely engaged, two leagues from Calais, sailing in a northerly direction. From shore it was seen that our galleons "San Martin" and "San Juan," with two galleasses, were doing much damage to the English, and during the whole of the day cannonading was heard until the increasing distance prevented it.

On the night of the fire ships the rudder of the flag galleass fouled a cable and became unmanageable, when she drifted ashore at the mouth of Calais bar. The enemy seeing this sent 25 vessels to attack her, cannonading her on the side where her own guns were useless, as she was aground and listed. The sailors and some of the soldiers cast themselves into the sea, Don Hugo de Moncada being left with a very few men. He nevertheless fought bravely until he fell, killed by two harquebuss shot. When he failed them the rest of the men and the convicts jumped into the sea, and the English boarded the galleass to sack her. The English had about 50 men killed, and a similar number of Spaniards and slaves fell. It is understood that if Don Hugo had not been deserted by his men he could have held the galleass. The vessel herself remained intact, with her artillery, &c., all of which the Christian King has ordered to be restored to us.

On the same day, the 8th, the galleon "San Felipe," of the Portuguese squadron, with the Maestre de Campo, Don Francisco de Toledo, on board, being somewhat separated from the Armada,

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was attacked by so many of the enemy's ships, that, after she had defended herself bravely and lost a great number of men, she was obliged to bring up on the beach at Nieuport, crippled and unseaworthy. Don Francisco landed there.

On the 10th August a ship from the north brought news to Calais that she had seen both fleets intermixed, between Zeeland and England, about 20 leagues from the Straits. She reported that some of the ships were knocked to pieces, and others without masts or sails, from which many things were being thrown into the sea, and the men were trying to save themselves in boats.

On the 13th news came to Calais, by way of Harwich, that Drake having attacked the galleon "San Martin," which was somewhat apart from the Armada, the two ships got to such close quarters that it caused a general engagement, in which our fleet captured Drake with many ships, and sank others. It was said that 15 English ships had taken refuge, much damaged, in Harwich, whence the news comes. The Admiral's ship had also suffered much and had no sails, but he and other ships were still at sea.

The same advice reports that our fleet was sailing towards Scotland. This is what is said, but only on the authority above-mentioned since the 8th, when the fleet left the Channel. The duke of Parma, with most of the army, were embarked at Nieuport on the 9th August, and the rest were shipped on the 10th at Dunkirk, when news came that the gale of the 8th had forced the Armada to run in a northerly direction.

15 Aug. **392.** ANTONIO DE VEGA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

The bearer of this is the master of the household of the French ambassador, whom I have sent with a report to the duke of Parma of all that has occurred up to the present with regard to the Armada, and to urge him (the Duke) to order the Armada what it is to do. I was going myself but obtained the bearer, owing to my close intimacy with the ambassador, and his desire to do all the evil he could to the queen of England, with whom he is scandalised. You may give all credit to the bearer, who will report fully everything that has happened.—London, 15th August 1588.

18 Aug.. **393.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Your letter of the 9th has just arrived with the report from Rouen that my Armada had fought the enemy on the 2nd instant, and that God had given me the victory. As you consider the news to be true, I am hopeful that it will prove to be so; particularly as the author claims to have been an eye witness. I am looking anxiously for the confirmation, and I thank you warmly for the care and diligence you have exercised in sending me this and other information, this report having been the first intelligence I have had of the event. You may imagine how eagerly such information was wished for; and I hope you will continue to send with your accustomed activity all the news you get, and please God it may be as good as we desire.—San Lorenzo, 18th August 1588.

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18 Aug. **394.** The KING to the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

Estado, 165. After the enclosed letter was written advices arrived here from Rouen, through Don Bernardino de Mendoza, saying that the Armada had fought Drake on the 2nd instant, and that God had granted us the victory; the Armada having gained the wind and sunk 15 of the enemy's ships, including the flagship. It is affirmed that the rest of the enemy's fleet had retreated towards Dover. This news is asserted in France to be true, and witnesses of the engagement are said to be in Havre de Grace and Dieppe. I hope to God that it may be so, and that you have known how to follow up the victory, and make the most of it, pursuing the enemy actively without giving him an opportunity of reforming; and pushing on until you join hands with my nephew, the Duke. This being done, it may be hoped that, with God's help, the enemy's fear of us, and our men's courage, other victories will have followed. I confidently look for God's favour in a cause so entirely His own, and expect that your valour and activity will have accomplished all I could desire. I anxiously await news.—San Lorenzo, 18th August 1588.

19 Aug. **395.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

Estado, 950. When I received your Majesty's advice of 27th July, that the Armada had sailed, I was so hopeless of obtaining any money of the Pope until the terms of the arrangement were fulfilled, my constant and strenuous efforts to that end having been quite unavailing, that I sent the news to the Pope by my secretary, and avoided saying anything about the money. When that subject is broached to him the only effect is that, the moment my back is turned, he babbles the most ridiculous nonsense at table, and to everyone that comes near him, such as would not be said by a baby of two years old. He possesses no sort of charity, kindliness, or consideration, and his behaviour is attributed by everyone to the repulsion and chagrin that he feels as the hour approaches for him to drag this money from his heart.

Although the only answer he gives to me is that the terms of the agreement have not yet been fulfilled, his excuse to others for not paying the money is that the Armada business is nothing but a trick, and that your Majesty has not raised the fleet for the English enterprise at all, but for brag, and to frighten the queen of England into making peace, which your Majesty would accept in any case. He shows reports he has received to this effect. I have a very shrewd idea of the source of these reports; but as I have no certain proofs that I am right in my conjecture, I refrain from saying anything further to your Majesty about it. However unlikely a report may be, it matters not to his Holiness if it serves his purpose. —Rome, 19th August 1588.

20 Aug. **396.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING

Paris Archives, K. 1568. I have received from England the information enclosed herewith, by which, and the intelligence sent by the French ambassador in England, your Majesty will see that, in their description of the

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engagement between the Armada and the English off the Isle of Wight, the Breton sailors did not lie, for the English lost seven ships, and amongst them three of the largest the Queen possessed.*

The people in London were in such fear, that, although the officers of the law ordered them to open their shops, they refused to do so. The Queen had retired to St. James,† which is behind her London house, Whitehall; and it is said she had ordered a guard of 4,000 men and 1,000 horse to keep near her for her personal safety. As the London people were so alarmed, Don Pedro de Valdez and the rest of those who were captured, owing to their ship being disabled, had been taken in carts to London, so that the people might see that some prisoners had been captured; the rumour being spread that the whole Armada had been dispersed.

There is not a word about Don Antonio in any of the advices. He has sent Pedro de Oro, the French consul to (the Prince of) Bearn to ask him to furnish him with 2,000 men, the queen of England providing the ships, for the purpose of his going to Portugal as soon as your Majesty's fleet was clear away from Spain.

The new confidant has advices dated the 11th, but he says they only contain the information the English heretics want published here. They relate events very much to their own advantage.

Letters from Rouen, dated 19th (?), say that there is a man there who left London on the 12th, who asserts that the English lost heavily in the engagement, and they were very sad, as it was said that Drake had been wounded in the legs by a cannon ball. The English ambassador here had some fancy news printed, stating that the English had been victorious; but the people (*i.e.*, in Paris) would not allow it to be sold, as they say it is all lies. One of the ambassador's secretaries began to read in the palace a relation which he said had been sent from England, but the people were so enraged that he was obliged to fly for his life.‡—Paris, 20th August 1588.

20 Aug. **397.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

On the 12th instant I wrote to your Majesty forwarding despatches from the duke of Parma, and also on the 13th by Henry Trapetier, who was on his way from Bruges, whom I did not wish to detain one moment, as I understood that he bore news of the duke of Medina Sidonia's arrival with the fleet at the port agreed upon with the duke of Parma, which news I had already received from Calais, and was on the point of sending to your Majesty when Trapetier arrived here. The news since then is that the weather had freshened to such an extent, that it became necessary for the duke of Medina Sidonia to run up north towards Scotland with all the Armada. I have letters from England of 12th instant, advising

* In the King's hand:—"Don Jorge (Manrique) says nothing of this. Perhaps he "did not see them." Don Jorge's letter of 11th August had then reached Philip.

† In the King's hand:—"It is a pleasure house, formerly a monastery. There is a "park between it and the palace they call Whitehall (Huytal). I do not know why." Philip was fond of thus airing his knowledge of England.

‡ It may be remarked in explanation of this that Paris was violently in favour of Guise, and that the King was a refugee from his own capital, which was in the hands of the League.

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the receipt of reports there, dated the 10th, that your Majesty's fleet had been seen off Newcastle, 20 miles from the Scotch frontier, with the English fleet always following it up, the winds having hitherto being from the S.W. and S. which are unfavourable for the return of the Armada to Dunkirk. As the storm that forced them to leave the Downs was so violent, it may be feared that if any of the galleons go near the Flemish coast they may run on to the banks and so lay at the mercy of the enemy's ships.

As soon as I heard that the two galleys of your Majesty had run aground at Bayonne, I requested this King to send orders to the governor of Bayonne to restore what might be saved from them, as he (the King) had consented to allow the ships of the Armada to take refuge in his ports. The King did as he requested immediately. I could not report this by Trapetier as he left so hurriedly.

When also I heard of the galleass "Capitana," which ran aground at Calais, I wrote to the King begging him to order M. de Gourdan to restore what remained, as he had done in the other case at Bayonne. The King gave the necessary orders, but on the 16th a courier from the duke of Parma at Dunkirk arrived here, with despatches dated the 11th, which are now enclosed. The Duke wrote to me at the same time saying how M. de Gourdan had behaved in the matter, and that he was very anxious to keep the galleass and its ordnance, and requesting me to use my best influence with the King to prevent this. I left immediately by post for Chartres, and thanked him warmly for having commanded M. de Gourdan to restore the galleass and what remained of her contents, but regretting greatly that she had been allowed to be lost in that way. If the King desired to be neutral in this war, it was nevertheless a matter of honour with him and his fortresses, that anyone seeking shelter under his guns should, according to the law of nations, be allowed to do so. I had, moreover, special reason to complain in this case, as he, the King, had granted me the use of the ports, of which I advised your Majesty and the duke of Parma, and I was greatly surprised, therefore, that M. de Gourdan should have acted as he had done. The King replied that he had ordered the galleass to be restored, notwithstanding any claim the Admiralty might have upon it, and he had every reason to be satisfied with M. de Gourdan's conduct, which, he was informed, had in no way transgressed the duty of a good governor of a fortress. I replied by pointing out how differently we had acted under similar circumstances, when his brother Charles was King, and France was at war with England about the possession of Havre de Grace. Two English ships were then at Gibraltar, and a French ship appearing, they captured her almost at the mouth of the harbour. At the same time Don Juan de Mendoza arrived with 20 Spanish galleys, and seizing the crews of the English ships, he put them in irons, and liberated the Frenchmen, restoring to them everything, to the last trifle, which the English had captured. The queen of England had frequently requested the restitution of these ships, and the release of the crews but it had always been refused on the ground that they had violated, the peace in neutral waters. The King referred me to Villeroy, who

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wished to make out that the galleass was cast away when she came ashore, and that Gourdan had defended her from capture by the English, but had retained his own claim to her. I replied that if Gourdan had the right to her as soon as she came ashore, he had the same right whether she was cast away or not. He denied this, but did not refute it. I also disputed with him (Villeroy) the claim of the Admiralty, upon which point I was well posted, as during my long stay in England such cases were of constant occurrence. I know M. de Gourdan, and I do not believe that his failure to help the galleass was from any want of goodwill on his part, but rather from the secretaries here having neglected to write to the ports saying that the use of them had been granted to your Majesty's ships, which were to be welcomed. It was from no failure of mine in demanding the letters, for as soon as the Queen-Mother answered me on the matter, I begged her to have letters given to me. She answered that the King would write to the governors of the provinces and give due orders in the ports.

They write from Normandy that the flagship of Juan Martinez de Recalde, with the Camp Master Nicholas Isla,* had entered the port of Conquet in Brittany, and the duke of Parma advises the same. I have sent a courier to Conquet that they may report to me what state they are in, and I have sent a credit of money in case they require anything.

The duke de Nevers has proposed to this King to undertake in France a sort of crusade against the heretics, to be led by the King in person, a general loan being raised to defray the cost, he, de Nevers, offering to contribute 50,000 crowns. All this is only to bring about disunion in the League, M. de Montpensier, de Nevers, de Longueville and the rest of them being annoyed at the King having made the duke of Guise his Lieutenant-General of the realm. The prince of Bearn it is said, intends to send 3,000 harquebussiers to help the queen of England, in six ships from Rochelle. Others think it will be impossible for him to spare so many men and keep his own fortresses garrisoned.

They write from Rouen that in the pays de Caux in Normandy the Huguenots are secretly raising troops to send to England. They cannot send many, in any case, but I will speak to the King about it if it be confirmed, as that part of the country is obedient to him.—Paris, 20th August 1588.

20 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

398. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

Whilst I am writing this I received the enclosed letter from Calais viâ Rouen. The person who sends it is intelligent, and gives me reports from that place in which he endeavours to tell the truth. As Calais is the first place that news of what had happened between the fleets would reach, considering their position and the winds that prevail, I am in hopes that the news he gives as having

* The King in a marginal note expresses his disbelief of this. He says he thinks the officer was serving elsewhere.

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come from Harwich is true, particularly as details are sent.* God grant that it may be followed by greater victories.—Paris, 20th August 1588.

20 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

399. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.† [EXTRACT.]

It is advisable that the news from Flanders and Calais should reach his Majesty's hands speedily. In confirmation of what they write from there, reports are coming from all quarters of the neglect which has occurred in Dunkirk respecting the victuals, and the indifference displayed as to having the ships ready. With regard to this point, I am sure that you will have plenty of reports from Flanders. It is doubtless a lesson to us from God Almighty that all good fortune comes from His hand alone, and not from human effort.

According to the current account, it may be concluded that our Armada has been forced to seek some shelter or anchorage in Scotland to refit. God send it victory. With the payment of my account, and the sums his Majesty has instructed me to disburse, I have almost finished the credit of 18,000 crowns, and unless more is sent I can hardly go to Blois; pray remind his Majesty.

The King has ordered the arrest of ships in Normandy. This is simply a matter of State precaution, as he sees his neighbours in arms. The writer has greatly suffered from his visit to Chartres. Bad horses, old age, and hot sun have combined to give him the worst time he ever had in his life.

Note.—In a similar letter of same date from Mendoza to Martin de Idiaquez the following passage occurs: "I learn from Lille, "13th instant, that the galleon of Don Francisco de Toledo fought for "a long time with the enemy off Nieuport, refusing to surrender "except to overwhelming force. But she was abandoned by our "Armada and at last the enemy took her."

21 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1568. Portuguese.

400. ADVICES from LONDON (Antonio de Vega).

On the 15th I reported fully by special messenger to the duke of Parma. I was on the point of going myself to give him an account of what had happened with the Armada, in order that he might endeavour to communicate with it, if he had not already done so, and animate them (the Spaniards) or give them the necessary information about winds, and orders as to when they were to return, etc., etc. And, if his Majesty's intentions for any reason could not be carried out, that the Armada might put into some port of Embden or Norway, and there be furnished with what is stated to be lacking, and subsequently again undertake the task for which it was sent, without danger of loss of the Armada itself, which God forbid for the sake of Christianity! I wrote this (to the duke of Parma) and gave the bearer a few lines of credence

* The King in a marginal note expresses a fear that this will turn out "like the first news he sent." *See* advices Rouen, 11th August.

† Partly cipher, partly autograph.

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for your Lordship (Mendoza). The bearer is the master of the household to my friend the French ambassador, to whom I was obliged to discover myself; although not before he had discovered his own feelings to me, in consequence of some slight cast upon him here. He swore solemnly to do everything in his power to injure the Queen. He has made me great offers, and I think it would answer our purpose for him to go to France for a couple of months, to point out to the King the advisability of striving with all his strength to ruin this country, which is the cause of all his trouble, and not to resist the aggrandisement of the king of Spain. He assures me he will do wonders with his master, and if necessary, will find means for the Pope to intervene. If necessary I myself could go to Spain to lay the matter before the King directly. There will be no difficulty in finding a person to report what happens here.

I will now proceed to relate the arrival of our Armada in this country, the events up to the present, and the opinion entertained of it both by friends and foes. I will not try to adorn my statement with fine words, but will state the facts without deception.*

Although my special messenger will have given a verbal report of the events of the Armada up to the time he left, and your Lordship will also probably have received information from other quarters, I think well to repeat briefly the substance of all the news up to the present. Our Armada first arrived in sight of this country on the 29th ultimo, and Drake and the Admiral were informed thereof the same day, they being in Plymouth in consequence of the weather. On the 30th they took their ships out of harbour in tow of their boats; the wind still being against them. On Sunday, the last day of the month, they attacked our Armada with 75 sail, keeping up the combat with cannon from eight o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the English retired, astonished at the strength and size of our ships and artillery. The Channel then being free, our Armada proceeded on its way, followed by the English fleet already mentioned, the rest of the English ships, to the number of 40, being under Hawkins in the direction of Ireland.

The Admiral at once sent word to the Queen, reporting that our Armada was much more powerful than had been expected, and begging her urgently to order all ships in the Thames to join Lord Harry Seymour and Winter, who were between Dover and Calais, to oppose the forces of the duke of Parma. Orders were also sent to Hawkins to join the fleet; the intention being that on the arrival of our Armada at the Downs it should be attacked on both sides by the reinforced fleets, and dispersed. Such diligence was shown in the matter here (*i.e.*, in London) that of the ships in the river, and the flotilla with a few stores that had come from Hamburg, they managed in five days to send out 30 ships, and orders were given to

* Notwithstanding this preamble, the style of the communication is, as usual with the writer, insufferably vain, tedious, and bombastic. No other correspondent but Vega, not even ambassadors of the highest rank like Mendoza or Olivares, presumed to suggest to the King main lines of policy, such as that of employing Chateauneuf to intervene with Henry III. and the Pope in favour of Spanish objects. Such impertinent meddling was of course ignored by Philip.

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arm the rest, great and small. They also wrote to Holland and Zeeland that the enemy's Armada had arrived, and begging them to come at once with all the ships they had ready, and to arm the rest. They raised a great number of men, both horse and foot, to hold the country opposite Dunkirk, and sent many more on board the ships; a large number of noblemen volunteered and embarked.

On the passage of our Armada up the Channel, the ship of Don Pedro de Valdez ran foul of another, and one of the enemy's ships thereupon fired at her, and brought down her mast. Drake's ship then came up and Don Pedro surrendered, without fighting, or having a single man hurt. The other ship caught fire, and many of her men were lost, 200 being saved and captured by the enemy, with 500 of Don Pedro's men. They distributed these men in various places, and brought 40 here for examination, lodging them in Bridewell. When the news reached London, bonfires were lit all over the city, and the bells were rung. Don Pedro, Don Alonso de Zayas, and Don Vasco de Silva, were placed by Drake in his own ship, where he kept them until the 9th instant; when they were sent hither to be interrogated by the Council, and were afterwards carried to the house of Richard Drake, 16 miles from here, where they are well treated.

The two fleets kept up the combat for the next few days; the principal engagement having been on Saturday (?) when they thought here that our men would be finished, and great prayers were offered up to this end. Our ships were attacked with great fury by the vessels from Flushing and the rest of the fleet, which was in the Channel, the Admiral always following up behind with 115 ships. But notwithstanding all this, our Armada still went on in spite of them, the English losses being heavy. So heavy were they that the next day a proclamation was made that no reference to the fleet was to be made. This is a sign that it cost them dearly.

Our Armada anchored near Calais on Saturday the 6th instant at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, where they remained until midnight on Sunday—32 hours. The enemy then prepared seven ships with pitch, hemp, etc., chained them together, the design being for them to be set on fire when they neared our fleet, in the hope of burning the latter. God so willed it that the ships caught fire before they were intended to do so, and our Armada, being warned in time, set sail, slipping their anchors. At this time the galleass of Don Hugo Moncada got her rudder foul with a cable and broke it. This made her unmanageable, and she ran aground near Calais, followed by some small (English) ships. Most of the men on the galleass fled, the captain being killed by a musket shot, and only 35 men were taken by the enemy. The Armada reached the Downs, but as the wind was too much S. and S.W., and the enemy was pressing our ships at the same time, they were obliged to run up the English coast towards the north. On the afternoon of the same day they had a great engagement with the Queen's ships, and news came hither that the latter had sunk a galleass, from which only the captain and five men had been saved.*

* This was probably the galleon "San Felipe," commanded by Don Francisco de Toledo.

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For this the Queen knighted Frobisher, Hawkins, and a man named Fenner. It was also reported that two others of our ships were in a sinking condition. The ship that was sunk, however, was not a galleass, but a ship from which they captured men, although they are now saying that it was a galleon, but not one of the Portuguese.

The Admiral wrote to the Queen saying that he and all the rest of the captains looked upon the Armada as lost, as it was surrounded by sand banks, and was very short of water; having thrown overboard large numbers of horses and mules, in consequence of this, and many of the men having died from sickness caused by bad and insufficient food. The prisoners, and some Portuguese who deserted at night and swam to the enemy's ships, say that the Armada would be ruined in a very short time, or at least forced to retire if they could. They (the English captains?) therefore hoped to be able to burn them first for which purpose they requested certain things.

The Queen thereupon sent Richard Drake and Raleigh with all speed to order the Admiral to attack the Armada in some way, or to engage it, if he could not burn it. She sent him many ships with fuel and tar, and two engineers to see whether they could not burn the Armada, as they dared not attack it at close quarters. It was agreed by all the captains that they should not attempt it, but should follow the Armada at a distance, harassing it with the wind and want of provisions. News then reached here, that two of our ships had been destroyed at Flushing, the Zeelanders having met them and taken them, hanging all the men they took alive. Our men therefore resisted desperately, and killed over 400 of the enemy before they were overpowered. The enemy confesses to have lost 300 in this fight.

Reports also came from Plymouth that another great ship had been captured, in consequence of its having broken its mast and been left behind; and so every day false news came in this way. I considered it necessary under the circumstances, to inform the Duke of this with all speed through your Lordship (Mendoza), the only reason for my not having done so before being that the ports were closed.

Yesterday the Admiral arrived at Margate with 30 ships, leaving the rest at Norwich (Harwich) with Drake. They report that our Armada left them on the 12th instant, sailing towards Norway, they (the English) thereupon returning, as they were short of provisions and munitions of war. They claim to have sunk three ships, in addition to those that had been lost, that is to say seven in all, although they say 12 or more, and that our Armada is destroyed. But it is untrue, which is the principal thing. They also announce that over 6,000 of our men have been lost or captured, whilst their loss does not exceed 300. It is really over 1,500, and it is secretly stated that they have lost 12 ships, although they deny it. They are still preparing energetically, and will have a large number of ships, 240 sail in all, great and small, including the Flushing contingent. They are also arming furiously in Holland.

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The Queen went to Gravesend to see the review of the troops that was held there. On the Essex side there are 7,000 foot, and in Kent 12,000, although they assert that there are more than 40,000.

The cavalry was not collected; but there are a great number more troops all over the country, well armed but inexperienced. From London only 1,000 men out of the 10,000 raised by the city were sent.

Please inform the Duke about the Armada, and also send the report to Spain as soon as possible. If the affair is to be prolonged a reinforcement of the Armada will be necessary, and will always be welcome. These people have received news that 60 ships are coming with provisions and munitions. If this be so and they (the men on the Armada?) could be advised of some place in France, away from the Channel, where they could await them, it would be well.—London, 21st August 1588.

21 Aug. Estado, 455.

401. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty as soon as I entered the mouth of the Channel on the 30th ultimo, but have been unable to do so since for want of opportunity, because from the time the queen of England's fleet sighted us, they have continued to follow the Armada. Your Majesty will learn from the accompanying statement, and from the relation of Don Baltasar de Zuñiga, what has happened. He (Zuñiga) was an eyewitness, and will be able to inform you precisely how events have fallen out. I have instructed him to submit to your Majesty other cases in which our Lord has seen fit to dispose matters differently from that which had been expected; and as this enterprise had been so fervently commended to Him, the result must doubtless be that which will be most advantage to His service, and that of your Majesty. I hope during your Majesty's time yet to see your holy plans completely successful, to the greater glory of Almighty God.

This Armada was so completely crippled and scattered that my first duty to your Majesty seemed to save it, even at the risk which we are running in undertaking this voyage, which is so long and in such high latitudes. Ammunition and the best of our vessels were lacking, and experience had shown how little we could depend upon the ships that remained, the Queen's fleet being so superior to ours in this sort of fighting, in consequence of the strength of their artillery, and the fast sailing of their ships. On the other hand your Majesty's ships depended entirely on harquebusses and musketry which were of little service unless we could come to close quarters as experience has demonstrated. With the concurrence, therefore, of the officers appointed by your Majesty as councillors, and the Generals, we have adopted the course we are now following. This course was rendered necessary also by the weather, the wind having continued to blow from the S. and SW. We have therefore run through the Norwegian Channel, and between the Scottish islands, and I am at present at this place, whence I have set my course for Corunna, so as to make the voyage as short as possible. Our provisions are so scanty that, in order to make them and the water

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last a month, the rations of every person on the fleet, without exception, have been reduced; just enough being served out to keep them alive, namely, half a pound of biscuit, a pint of water, and half a pint of wine daily, without anything else. Your Majesty may imagine what suffering this entails, in the midst of the discomfort of so long a voyage. We have consequently over 3,000 sick, without counting the wounded, who are numerous, on the fleet. God send us fair weather, so that we may soon reach port, for upon that depends the salvation of this army and navy.

I expect Secretary Andrés de Alva will be at Corunna, and will have collected the stores that your Majesty ordered to be made ready. They will be very welcome for the use of this Armada, and I therefore humbly beg your Majesty to have instructions sent to him, and also that I may find at Corunna orders what I am to do with the men and ships. Everything is in such a state that a great deal of assistance will be required speedily. I have written to the archbishop of Santiago, and to the bishops in Galicia, asking them to make preparations for the reception of the sick on the Armada.

I have been unable in any way to inform the duke of Parma of what has occurred on the Armada, or the course we have taken, and it will, therefore, be well that your Majesty should advise him at once; and also the galleys, which I was informed at Calais were at Conquet in France, although I have received no letters confirming it, nor have I any news of Juan Martinez's (de Recalde's) flagship, which they said was in the port of Calais.*

In due time I will report on the services rendered to your Majesty by those on the Armada. The present is no time to deal with this, but only to do the best possible in your Majesty's interests, and to inform you of the state of the Armada; for further particulars of which I refer your Majesty to Don Baltasar de Zuñiga.—On board the galleon "San Martin," 21st August 1588.

21 Aug. Estado, 455.

402. DIARY of the Expedition to England, sent by the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING with the preceding letter.

On the 22nd July 1588 the Duke and the whole of the Armada sailed from Corunna with a SW wind which continued for the next few days, the voyage being prosperous.

On the 25th the Duke sent Captain Don Rodrigo Tello to Dunkirk to advise the duke of Parma of his coming, and to bring back intelligence of Parma's condition, and instructions with regard to the place where a junction of the forces should be effected.

On the 26th the weather was dead calm and overcast, which lasted until mid-day. The wind then went round to the N. and the Armada sailed in an easterly direction until midnight, when the wind shifted to WNW., with heavy rain-squalls. The leading galley

* This was the "Santa Ana," the flagship of the Biscay squadron, which Martinez had left to go on board of the "San Juan," the vice-flagship of the whole fleet. The "Santa Ana" had been separated from the rest of the Armada and being unseaworthy she took shelter in the bay of La Hogue and subsequently in Havre. Her ultimate fate is related in Mendoza's correspondence in this volume. Martinez de Recalde himself died of grief and hardship on his arrival in Spain on the "San Juan."

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"Diana" was missed during this day. She was making so much water that the captain decided to run for a port.

On the 27th the same wind blew, but fresher, with very heavy sea. This lasted until midnight, and the storm caused a large number of ships and the other three galleys to separate from the Armada.

On Thursday, the 28th, the day broke clear and sunny, the wind and sea being more moderate. At dawn there were 40 ships and the three galleys missing, whereupon the Duke ordered the lead to be cast and bottom was found at 75 fathoms, 75 leagues from the Scillys. The Duke then dispatched three pataches; one to the Lizard to see if the missing ships were there, and order them to await the Armada; another to reconnoitre the land; and a third to return on the course by which we had come to order the ships to make more sail, and bring up stragglers.

On Friday, the 29th, the Armada continued sailing with a westerly wind. The patache that went to the Lizard brought back news that our missing ships were ahead, under Don Pedro de Valdés, who had collected them and was awaiting the Armada. During the afternoon all the ships, except Juan Martinez's (de Recalde's) flagship, with Maestre de Campo Nicolas de Isla on board, and the three galleys joined the Armada. The English coast was first sighted on this day. It was said to be Cape Lizard.

On the 30th, at dawn, the Armada was very near the shore. We were seen by the people on land, who made signal fires, and in the afternoon the Duke sent Ensign Juan Gil in a rowing boat to obtain intelligence. In the afternoon of the same day a number of ships were sighted, but as the weather was thick and rainy they could not be counted. Ensign Gil returned at night with four Englishmen in a boat, hailing, as they said, from Falmouth. They reported that they had seen the English fleet leave Plymouth that afternoon under the Lord Admiral of England and Drake.

On Sunday, the 31st, the day broke with the wind changed to the WNW. in Plymouth Roads, and 80 ships were sighted to windward of us; and towards the coast to leeward 11 other ships were seen, including three large galleons which were cannonading some of our vessels. They gradually got to windward and joined their own fleet.

Our Armada placed itself in fighting order, the flagship hoisting the royal standard at the foremast. The enemy's fleet passed, cannonading our vanguard, which was under Don Alonso de Leyva, and then fell on to the rearguard commanded by Admiral Juan Martinez de Recalde.* The latter, in order to keep his place and repel the attack, although he saw his rearguard was leaving him unsupported and joining the rest of the Armada, determined to await and fight. The enemy attacked him so fiercely with cannon (but without coming to close quarters) that they crippled his rigging, breaking his stay, and striking his foremast twice with cannon balls.

* Professor Laughton is inclined to read this passage somewhat differently, and to think that the vanguard, under de Leyva, was driven into the rearguard under Recalde. According to the strict rules of grammar his interpretation is correct, but the construction of these documents is frequently faulty, and I am strongly inclined to think that my rendering will, on consideration, be found to be the correct one.

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He was supported by the "Gran Grin," a ship of the rearguard, and others. The royal flagship then struck her foresail, slackened her sheets, and lay to until he (Recalde) joined the main squadron, when the enemy sheered off, and the Duke collected his fleet. This was all he was able to do, as the enemy had gained the wind, the English ships being very swift and well handled, so that they could do as they liked with them. On the same afternoon Don Pedro de Valdéz's flagship fouled the "Catalina," one of the vessels of his squadron, the bowsprit and foresail of the flagship being broken. Don Pedro then joined the centre squadron of the Armada to repair the damage. Our Armada continued to manœuvre until four o'clock in the afternoon, trying to gain the wind of the enemy. At this hour Oquendo's vice-flagship caught fire in the powder magazine, two of his decks and the poop castle being blown up. In this ship was the Paymaster-general of the Armada, with a part of his Majesty's treasure. When the Duke saw that the vessel was falling astern, he put about and went to her assistance, and gave a gun signal for the rest of the fleet to do likewise. He then ordered the pataches to go to the aid of Oquendo's ship. The fire was extinguished and the enemy, who was making for Oquendo's ship, put about when he saw the Duke's flagship standing by her. The ship was therefore recovered and was again incorporated with the Armada. During this manœuvre the foremast of Don Pedro de Valdéz's ship gave way at the hatches and fell on the mainsail boom. The Duke again put about to help him by sending him a hawser, but although great efforts were made, the wind and weather did not admit of this being done. Don Pedro's ship, therefore, began to be left astern, and, as it was now night, Diego Flores told the Duke that if he took in sail and stood by her the rest of the Armada would not perceive it, as most of the ships were far in advance, and he would find himself in the morning with less than half of the Armada. As we were so near the enemy's fleet he (Diego Flores) was of opinion that the Duke ought not to risk the whole of his force, as he was sure that if he stood by he would lose the day. In the face of this advice the Duke ordered Captain Ojeda to stand by Don Pedro's flagship,* with four pataches, Don Pedro's vice-flagship,† Diego Flores' flagship,‡ and a galleass, to attempt to pass a hawser on board Don Pedro's ship and tow her, or else to take the men out of her. Neither of these things, however, was possible, in consequence of the heavy weather and rough sea, and its being night-time, and the Duke therefore proceeded on his voyage and joined his fleet, his intention being to keep the Armada well together, in view of what might happen next day. An attempt was made this night to tranship the burnt and wounded from Oquendo's vice-flagship.§ During the night the wind and sea rose considerably.

Monday, the 1st August, the Duke ordered Don Alonso de Leyva to take the vanguard and join it to the rearguard, to form one body together with the three galleasses, and the galleons "San Mateo," "San Luis," "Florencia," and "Santiago"; making that squadron now consist of the 43 best ships of the Armada, to withstand the enemy

* "Nuestra Señora del Rosario." † "San Francisco."
‡ "San Cristobal." § "Nuestra Señora de la Rosa."

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and prevent him from standing in the way of our junction with the duke of Parma. The Duke, with the rest of the Armada, now formed the vanguard, the whole fleet being divided into two squadrons only. The rearguard was under the command of Don Alonso de Leyva, pending the repair of Juan Martinez's (de Recalde's) ship, the Duke in person commanding the vanguard. The Duke summoned the whole of the majors (sargentos mayores), and ordered each one to go in a patache, and take his instructions round to every ship in the Armada, specifying in writing the position which they should respectively occupy. Orders were also given to them, in writing, to immediately hang any captain whose ship left her place, and they took with them the Provost Marshals and hangmen necessary for carrying out this order. Three majors were told off for each of the two squadrons, whose duty it was to execute the aforesaid order.

At eleven o'clock on this day the captain of Oquendo's vice-flagship came and informed the Duke that the ship was foundering, and had become unmanageable. Orders were then given to tranship his Majesty's treasure, and the men on board, the ship afterwards to be sunk. In the afternoon of this day the Duke sent Ensign Juan Gil in a patache to inform the duke of Parma of his position.

Tuesday, the 2nd August, broke fine, the enemy's fleet being to leeward, sailing towards the land, and making great efforts to gain the wind of us. The Duke also tacked towards the land and tried to keep the wind. He led, followed by the galleasses, the rest of the Armada being somewhat more distant, and the enemy noticing that the Duke's flagship was approaching the land, and that it was impossible to get to windward of her that way, put about to seaward and sailed on the opposite tack. Our ships, being to windward of the enemy, then attacked him. Captain Bertondona engaged the enemy's flagship gallantly, pressing him to come to close quarters, and getting quite near him. The enemy's flagship then turned tail and put her head seaward, and the following of our ships also attacked him and endeavoured to close with him, namely:—the "San Marcos," "San Luis," "San Mateo," "La Rata," "Oquendo," "San Felipe," "San Juan de Sicilia," with Don Diego Tellez Enriquez on board (which ship had been near the enemy since morning), the galleon "Florencia," the galleon "Santiago," "the galleon "San Juan,' with Don Diego Enriquez, son of the Viceroy of Peru, on board, and the Levant ship "Valencera," with the Maestre de Campo, Don Alonso de Luzon, on board. The vanguard galleasses approached quite close to the enemy, thanks to the current, and the Duke sent them orders to make every effort to close—using both sail and oar. The Duke's flagship also turned to attack. The galleasses caught up with some boats of the enemy's rearguard, which were skirmishing with some of our boats; the latter having got quite close to the enemy for the purpose of boarding.* But it was all useless, for when the enemy

* The names of these ships which were attempting to grapple with the English vessels are given in the document as follows:—The galleons "Florencia," with Gaspar de Sosa on board. Oquendo's flagship ("Santa Ana"), "Begoña," with Garibay on board, "Valencera," with Don Alonso de Luzon, and the "Juan Bautista," with Don Juan Maldonado and Don Luis de Maeda.

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saw that our intention was to come to close quarters with him, he sheered off to seaward, his great advantage being in the swiftness of his ships. Soon afterwards the enemy's ships returned, with the wind and tide in their favour, and attacked Juan Martinez de Recalde in the rearguard. Don Alonso de Leyva reinforced the latter, and our flagship, which was then in the midst of the main squadron, sailed to the support of those ships of the Armada which were mixed up with the enemy's rearguard and separated from the mass of both fleets. The Duke ordered Captain Marolin to go in a feluca and try to guide the vessels which were near the Duke's flagship to the support of Juan Martinez de Recalde. When this was effected the enemy left Juan Martinez, and attacked the Duke's flagship, which was isolated and on her way to the assistance of the said ships. When our flagship saw that the flagship of the enemy was leading towards her, she lowered her topsails, and the enemy's flagship passed her, followed by the whole of his fleet, each ship firing at our flagship as it passed. The guns on our flagship were served well and rapidly, and by the time half of the enemy's fleet had passed her the fire became more distant. The flagship was reinforced by Juan Martinez de Recalde, Don Alonso de Leyva, the Marquis de Peñafiel, in the "San Marcos," and Oquendo, although by the time they came up the hottest fury was passed. The enemy then put about to seaward. We watched the enemy's flagship retreating and she appeared to have suffered some damage. The enemy's vessels that were engaged with our vanguard were also withdrawn. One of the most forward of our ships in this three hours' skirmish was the galleon "Florencia."

Wednesday, the 3rd, Juan Martinez de Recalde again assumed command of the rearguard, Don Alonso de Leyva remaining with him, the 40 odd ships that formed the rearguard being divided between them. At dawn the enemy was near our rear, the vice-flagship receiving some cannon fire from him. Our galleasses fired their stern guns, Juan Martinez's, Don Alonso de Leyva's, and the rest of the ships of the rear squadron did likewise without leaving their positions, and the enemy then retired without attempting anything further; our galleasses having disabled the rigging of the enemy's flagship, and brought down his mainsail boom.

Thursday, the 4th, St. Dominic's day, the hulk "St. Ana" and a galleon of Portugal had fallen somewhat astern, and were fiercely attacked by the enemy. The galleasses, Don Alonso de Leyva's and other ships came to their assistance. Although the two ships were surrounded by many enemies the galleasses were successful in bringing them out. Whilst the skirmish was going on in the rear, the enemy's flagship, with other large vessels, fell upon our royal flagship which was leading the vanguard. They came closer than on the previous day, firing off their heaviest guns from the lowest deck, cutting the trice of our mainmast, and killing some of our soldiers. The "San Luis," with the Maestre de Campo Don Agustin (Mexia) on board, came to the rescue, and the enemy was also faced by Juan Martinez de Recalde, the "San Juan" of Diego Flores' squadron, with Don Diego Enriquez on board, and Oquendo, who placed himself before our flagship, as the current made it impossible

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for him to stand alongside. Other vessels did likewise, although the enemy retired. The enemy's flagship had suffered considerable damage, and had drifted somewhat to leeward of our Armada. Our flagship then turned upon her, supported by Juan Martinez de Recalde, the "San Juan de Sicilia," the flagship of the galleons of Castile, the "Gran Grin" and the rest of our ships. To windward of us was the enemy's fleet coming up to support their flagship, which was in such straits that she had to be towed out by 11 long boats, lowering her standard and firing guns for aid. Our royal flagship and vice-flagship in the meanwhile were approaching so close to her that the rest of the enemy's vessels gave signs of coming in to her assistance, and we made sure that at last we should be able to close with them, which was our only way of gaining the victory. At this moment the wind freshened in favour of the enemy's flagship, and we saw she was getting away from us, and had no further need of the shallops that were towing her out. The enemy was then able to get to windward of us again. As the Duke saw that further attack was useless, and that we were already off the Wight, he fired a signal gun and proceeded on the voyage, followed by the rest of the Armada in good order; the enemy remaining a long way astern. On this day the Duke sent Captain Pedro de Leon to Dunkirk to advise the duke of Parma as to his whereabouts, and inform him of events, pressing him to come out with all possible speed and join the Armada. Don Diego Enriquez, son of the Viceroy (of Peru), was placed in command of Don Pedro de Valdéz's squadron, as he had shown great care in the science of seamanship.

Friday, the 5th, broke calm, both fleets being within sight of each other, and the Duke sent another feluca to the duke of Parma with the pilot Domingo Ochoa on board, to beg him to send us some cannon balls of 4, 6, and 10 lbs. as a great many had been spent in the skirmishing of the last few days. He was also instructed to request Parma to send out 40 flyboats immediately to join the Armada; and so by their aid to enable us to come to close quarters with the enemy, which we had hitherto found it quite impossible to do, in consequence of our vessels being very heavy in comparison with the lightness of the enemy's ships. Ochoa was also instructed to press upon the duke of Parma the necessity of his being ready to come out and join the Armada the very day it appeared in sight of Dunkirk. The Duke (of Medina Sidonia) was very anxious on this point, as he feared Parma was not at Dunkirk; Don Rodrigo Tello not having returned, and no messenger having come from Parma. At sunset a breeze sprang up and the Armada again got under way on the voyage towards Calais.

At daybreak on Saturday, 6th, the two fleets were close together, and sailed on without exchanging shots until ten o'clock in the day, our Armada having the wind astern and the rearguard well up, in good order. At this hour the coast of France was sighted near Boulogne and we proceeded on our voyage to Calais Roads, where we arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon. There was some difference of opinion as to whether we should anchor here, the

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majority being in favour of sailing on. The Duke, however, was informed by his pilots that if he proceeded any further the currents would force him to run out of the Channel into Norwegian waters, and he consequently decided to anchor off Calais, seven leagues from Dunkirk, where Parma might join him. At five o'clock the order to drop anchor was given to the whole Armada, and Captain Heredia was sent to visit the governor of Calais, M. de Gourdan, to explain the reason why we had anchored there and offer him friendship.

This afternoon the enemy's fleet was reinforced by 36 sail, including five great galleons. This was understood to be John Hawkins'* squadron, which had been watching Dunkirk, and the whole of the English fleet now anchored a league distant from our Armada. Captain Heredia returned that night from Calais, bringing friendly assurances and promises of service from the Governor. The Duke dispatched Secretary Arceo to Parma, to inform him of the position of the Armada, and to say that it was impossible for it to remain where it was without very great risk.

On Sunday, the 7th, at daybreak, Captain Don Rodrigo Tello arrived from Dunkirk (he having been sent thither by the Duke on the 29th ultimo) and reported that the duke of Parma was at Bruges, where he had visited him, and although he had expressed great joy at the arrival of the Armada, he had not come to Dunkirk up to the night of Saturday, the 6th, when Tello had left there, nor had the embarcation of the men and stores been commenced.

On Sunday morning the governor of Calais sent his nephew to visit the Duke (of Medina Sidonia), bringing with him a great present of fresh provisions. He informed the Duke that the place where he was lying was extremely dangerous to stay in, in consequence of the cross currents of the Channel being very strong. In view of the friendly attitude of the Governor, the Duke sent the Provedore Bernabé de Pedroso, with the paymaster, to purchase victuals. He also sent at night Don Jorge Manrique to Parma, to urge upon him to expedite his coming out.

On Sunday night Secretary Arceo sent word to the Duke (of Medina Sidonia) from Dunkirk that Parma had not yet arrived there, the stores still being unshipped, and that he (Arceo) thought that everything could not be ready under a fortnight.

At sunset on Sunday the enemy was joined by nine vessels, and at the same time a squadron of about 26 ships came closer in shore This raised a suspicion that their intention might be to set fire to us, and the Duke ordered Captain Serrano to go in a pinnace, carrying an anchor and cable, and in case they set adrift a fire ship to divert it towards the land. At the same time orders were sent to all the ships of the Armada to be on the alert, with rowing boats ready with soldiers, to perform a similar service if necessary.

At midnight two fires were perceived on the English fleet, and these two gradually increased to eight.† They were eight vessels

* This is, of course, a mistake. Lord Henry Seymour commanded the squadron before Dunkirk.

† Other accounts say that the fire ships did not burst into flame until they were nearing the Spanish fleet, and this agrees both with the English statements and the usual practice.

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with sails set, which were drifting with the current directly towards our flagship and the rest of the Armada, all of them burning with great fury. When the Duke saw them approaching, and that our men had not diverted them, he, fearing that they might contain fire machines or mines, ordered the flagship to let go the cables, the rest of the Armada receiving similar orders, with an intimation that when the fires had passed they were to return to the same positions again. The leading galleass in trying to avoid a ship ran foul of the "San Juan de Sicilia," and became so crippled that she was obliged to drift ashore. The current was so strong that although the flagship, and some of the vessels near her, came to anchor again and fired off a signal gun, the other ships of the Armada did not perceive it, and were carried by the current towards Dunkirk.

At dawn on Monday, the 8th, the Duke seeing that his Armada was far ahead, and that the enemy was bearing down upon us with all sail, weighed his anchor to go and collect the Armada, and endeavour to bring it back to its previous position. The wind freshened from the N.W., which is on to the shore, and the English fleet of 136 sail, with the wind and tide in its favour, was overhauling us with great speed, whereupon the Duke recognised that if he continued to bear room and tried to come up with the Armada all would be lost, as his Flemish pilots told him he was already very near the Dunkirk shoals. In order to save his ships he accordingly determined to face the whole of the enemy's fleet, sending pataches to advise the rest of the Armada to luff close, as they were running on to the Dunkirk shoals. The enemy's flagship, supported by most of his fleet, attacked our flagship with great fury at daybreak, approaching within musket-shot and sometimes within harquebuss-shot. The attack lasted until three in the afternoon, without a moment's cessation of the artillery fire, nor did our flagship stand away until she had extricated the Armada from the sandbanks. The galleon "San Marcos," with the marquis de Peñafiel on board, stood by the flagship the whole time. The leading galleass, being unable to follow the Armada, ran aground at the mouth of Calais harbour, followed by some of the enemy's vessels. It is believed that she was succoured by the guns of the fortress of Calais, and that the men on board of her were saved. Don Alonso de Leyva, Juan Martinez de Recalde, Oquendo's flagship, the whole of the ships of the Castilian and Portuguese Maestres de Campo, Diego Flores' flagship, Bertondona's flagship, the galleon "San Juan" of Diego Flores, with Don Diego Enriquez on board, and the "San Juan de Sicilia" with Don Diego Tellez Enriquez on board, withstood the enemy's attack as well as they could, and all of these ships were so much damaged as to be almost unable to offer further resistance, most of them not having a round of shot more to fire. Don Francisco de Toledo, who brought up the rear, attempted to close with the enemy. The latter turned upon him with so hot an artillery fire that he was in difficulty. Don Diego de Pimentel then came to his support, but they were both of them being overpowered, when Juan Martinez de Recalde, with Don Augustin Mexia, bore up and extricated them. But, notwithstanding this,

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these two ships (*i.e.*, those of Toledo and Pimentel) once more got in the midst of the enemy, together with Don Alonso de Luzon's ship, the "Santa Maria de Begoña," with Garibay on board, and the "San Juan de Sicilia," with Don Diego Tellez Enriquez on board. They very nearly closed with the enemy without grappling, the English keeping up an artillery fire, from which our men defended themselves with musketry and harquebuss fire, as they were so near. The Duke heard the sound of small arms, but was unable to distinguish what was going on from the maintop, in consequence of the smoke; but he saw that two of our ships were amongst the enemy, and that the latter, leaving our flagship, concentrated all his fleet in that direction, so the Duke ordered the flagship to put about to assist them. The Duke's ship was so much damaged with cannon-shot between wind and water that the inflow could not be stopped, and her rigging was almost cut to shreds, but nevertheless, when the enemy saw that she was approaching, his ships left the vessels they were attacking, namely, those of Don Alonso de Luzon, Garibay, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Diego Pimentel, and Don Diego Tellez Enriquez. The three latter were most exposed, and were completely crippled and unserviceable, nearly all the men on board being either killed or wounded, although that of Don Diego Tellez Enriquez made shift to follow us in very bad case. The Duke then collected his force, and the enemy did likewise. The Duke ordered pataches to be sent and take off the men from the "San Felipe," and the "San Mateo." The pataches succeeded in taking the men out of the "San Mateo," but Don Diego Pimentel refused to abandon the ship, sending Don Rodrigo Vivero and Don Luis Vanegas to the Duke to ask him to send someone on board to inspect the vessel, and ascertain whether she was seaworthy. The Duke sent a pilot and a diver from this galleon (*i.e.*, the "San Martin"), although we were in great risk without him (the pilot?). As the night was falling and the sea was very heavy they were unable to reach the "San Mateo," but they saw it that night at a distance, falling off towards Zeeland. The galleon "San Felipe" went alongside the hulk "Doncella," and transhipped on board of the latter all the company. But when Don Francisco (de Toledo) had gone on board the hulk a cry was raised that she was foundering, and Captain Juan Poza de Santiso leapt on to the "San Felipe" again, followed by Don Francisco. This was a great misfortune, for it was not true that the hulk was sinking, and the "San Felipe" also went towards Zeeland with Don Francisco on board, after the Duke had been informed that he and all his men were safe on the hulk. The sea was so heavy that nothing else could be done, and it was even impossible to patch up the injuries to the flagship; whereby she was in great danger of being lost. The Duke wished during this day to turn and attack the enemy with the whole Armada, in order to avoid running out of the Channel, but the pilots told him it was impossible, as both wind and tide were against us; the wind blowing from the N.W. towards the land. They said that he would be forced either to run up into the North Sea, or wreck all the Armada on the shoals. He was therefore utterly unable to avoid going out of the

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Channel, nearly all of our trustworthy ships being so damaged as to be unfit to resist attack, both on account of the cannon fire to which they had been exposed, and their own lack of projectiles.

Tuesday, the 9th, eve of St. Lorenzo. At two o'clock in the morning the wind blew so strongly that, although our flagship was brought up as close to the wind as possible, she began to fall off to leeward towards the Zeeland coast, the Duke's intention having been to stay so that he might again enter the Channel. At daybreak the N.W. wind fell somewhat, and we discovered the enemy's fleet of 109 ships rather over half a league astern of us. Our flagship remained in the rear with Juan Martinez de Recalde, Don Alonso de Leyva, the galleasses, and the galleon "San Marcos" and "San Juan" of Diego Flores, the rest of our Armada being distant and a great deal to leeward. The enemy's ships bore down on our flagship, which came round to the wind and lay to; the galleasses placed themselves in front, and the rest of our rearguard stood by ready to repel attack, whereupon the enemy retired. The Duke then fired two guns to collect the Armada and sent a pilot in a patache to order the ships to keep their heads close to the wind, as they were almost on the Zeeland shoals. This prevented the enemy from approaching closer to us, as they saw that our Armada was going to be lost; indeed the experienced pilots who accompanied the Duke assured him at this time that it was impossible to save a single ship of the Armada, as they must inevitably be driven by the north-west wind on to the banks of Zeeland. God alone could rescue them. From this desperate peril, in only six and a half fathoms of water, we were saved by the wind shifting by God's mercy to the S.W., and the Armada was then able to steer a northerly course without danger to any of our ships. The orders sent by the Duke in the pataches were that the whole of the ships were to follow in the wake of the flagship, as otherwise they would run upon the banks. The same afternoon the Duke summoned the generals and Don Alonso de Leyva to decide what should be done. The Duke submitted the state of the Armada, and the lack of projectiles, a fresh supply of which had been requested by all the principal ships; and asked the opinion of those present as to whether it would be best to return to the English Channel, or sail home to Spain by the North Sea, the duke of Parma not having sent advice that he would be able to come out promptly. The council unanimously resolved in favour of returning to the Channel if the weather would allow of it, but if not, then that they should obey the wind and sail to Spain by the North Sea, bearing in mind that the Armada was lacking all things necessary, and that the ships that had hitherto resisted were badly crippled. The wind from the S.S.W. kept increasing in violence, and the Duke continued to get further out to sea, followed by the whole of the enemy's fleet. With regard to the fighting on the flagship, taking up of position, &c., the Duke followed the advice of the Maestre de Campo, Don Francisco de Bobadilla, who had many years' experience of fighting on land and sea. He had been ordered by the Duke at Corunna to leave the galleon "San Marcos" and go on board the flagship, and had left on the "San Marcos" the marquis de Peñafiel, who declined to go to the flagship in consequence of the gentlemen who were with him on the former galleon. In the

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management of the Armada, and in maritime matters, the Duke was guided by General Diego Flores, who had also been ordered to go on board the flagship, he being one of the oldest and most experienced of seamen.

On Wednesday, the 10th, the Armada was under way with a fresh S.W. wind and a heavy sea, the enemy's fleet following us. In the afternoon the violence of the wind abated, and the enemy came under full sail towards our rearguard. The Duke, seeing this, and that the rearguard under Juan Martinez de Recalde was weak in ships, struck his topsails and awaited the rearguard; at the same time fired the signal of three guns at intervals, to order the rest of the Armada, which was under full sail, to shorten sail and stand by for the rearguard and the flagship. *What was done in these circumstances by our Armada will be related by Don Baltasar de Zuñiga.** When the enemy saw that our flagship, the galleasses, and 12 of our best ships were standing by, he shortened sail and dropped astern without firing at us. John Hawkins with his squadron turned back during the night.

On Thursday, 11th, we kept under way with the same fresh wind, the enemy's fleet having now fallen far astern; but in the afternoon he clapped on all sail and bore down upon us. We were then able to count his ships, and noticed that Hawkins' squadron had gone. The galleasses again brought to, and our flagship came round and waited, when the enemy once more retired without coming within gunshot.

On Friday, the 12th, at dawn, the enemy's fleet was quite close to us, but as they saw we were well together, and that the rearguard had been reinforced, the enemy fell astern and sailed towards England until we lost sight of him. Since then we have continued sailing with the same wind until we left the Norwegian Channel, and it has been impossible for us to return to the English Channel even if we desired to do so. We have now, the 20th August, doubled the last of the Scottish Islands to the north, and we have set our course with a N.E. wind for Spain.

24 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

403. DUKE OF PARMA to MAESTRE DE CAMPO NICHOLAS ISLA.

He is informed by the statement of Captain Duarte Nuñez of the events that have happened to their ship, and the port where she now is.† Depends upon their experience to do their best to save

* What was done is best told in Captain Cuellar's narrative in the Madrid Academy of History, Salazar collection (printed by Fernandez Duro). He was, he says, sleeping, after ten days without rest, when a wicked pilot of his clapped on sail without telling him, and passed two miles ahead of the flagship, as other vessels had done before, in order to lie to and repair. The unfortunate captain was summoned peremptorily on board the flagship with another captain of a hulk in a similar case, and both were immediately condemned to be hanged by Don Francisco de Bobadilla. Cuellar being a man of influence, with many friends, protested loudly against the sentence and was, after much trouble, eventually saved by the Auditor Martin de Aranda, who had been deputed to carry out the execution. The other captain, Cristobal de Avila, was hanged at the yardarm with much insult and cruelty, although he was a gentleman and known to many.

† This was the "Santa Ana," the flagship of Recalde's squadron. Her subsequent adventures and the death of Nicholas Isla are related in the course of the correspondence. There is in the same box K. 1568 a letter of 28th August from Henry III. to Mendoza, from Chartres, saying that he has written to his cousin Montpensier about the galleon at La Hogue, and is sending instructions all along the coast for the ships of the Armada to be welcomed. The "Santa Ana" by this time had gone to Havre de Grâce.

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their ship. They are secretly to land the money, of which there is much need for his (Parma's) army, with the assistance of the purser Igueldo. He (Parma) sends Claude Chastelayn to help them in this, and writes to the ambassador Mendoza asking him to aid in all that may be necessary.

The Channel being so full of enemies, and no knowledge existing of the whereabouts of his Majesty's Armada since it left Calais Roads on the 8th instant, it will be highly imprudent for them to go in search of it. They had better return to Corunna, and, if prevented by contrary winds, put into Conquet or some other French port, sending at once advice to the ambassador Mendoza. In case they should get into trouble for returning to Spain without their commander and the rest of the Armada, he (Parma) encloses an authority which shall clear them. Will be glad of Isla's return to Flanders.—Bruges, 24th August 1588.

24 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **404.** ADVICES from ANTWERP.

There is no certainty as to the whereabouts of the Armada, but they say it must have entered port in Scotland, somewhere near England. They say there has been another engagement, and that they have captured about 30 English ships. Four shiploads of killed and wounded have arrived at Dover.

24 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **405.** ADVICES from BRUGES.

Two cutters have arrived at Dunkirk, which had been sent by the duke of Parma in search of the Armada. They could not find it, but say they have heard that it was on its way to Spain. They learn also that the enemy, believing that his Majesty's fleet intended to land some men near Newcastle, ran ahead and occupied the place, leaving our fleet behind, and our fleet was obliged to fight. In the engagement the English suffered greatly, and lost many ships, the rest of them returning in very bad case. We may therefore be sure that they have lost a great number of men and ships in the few encounters that have taken place.

27 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **406.** ADVICES from SCOTLAND. Given by certain Scots mariners who left Little Leith on the 27th August.

The earl of Huntly had married the sister of the duke of Lennox. The ceremony was performed by the so-called bishop of St. Andrews. The earl of Angus, the head of the English faction, is dead. Sir William Stuart, brother of the earl of Arran, who captured Morton, gave the lie to the earl of Bothwell, and as he left the chamber Sir William Stuart was stabbed to death by Bothwell.

They also state that Colonel Semple had left the Firth to speak with a Spanish pinnace, and on his return was arrested, but afterwards released.

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Clermont Amboise, a Huguenot, had arrived in Scotland on a mission from Bearn and the queen of England. He had been despatched by the King the day he arrived.*

28 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

407. ADVICES from ROUEN.

Last night a ship arrived here from Hamburg, reporting that on the 12th she had fallen in with the Armada near Newcastle and the Scottish border, sailing northward towards Scotland; and considering the winds that have prevailed, we suppose that it will be by this time on the other side of the island on its way to Spain. God preserve it!

Reports from Zeeland state that for want of a pilot the galleon "San Mateo" ran on a shoal near Flushing, where it was attacked by 20 ships from the town, 300 men of the attacking force being killed and many wounded. As it was seen that the galleon could not be saved, she surrendered on very good terms, the whole of her sick and wounded being conveyed to Flanders, and the rest held to ransom. Don Pedro Pimentel† was walking about Flushing with only four men to guard him.

29 Aug. Estado, 594.

408. DUKE OF PARMA to the KING.

On the 10th instant I wrote to your Majesty from Dunkirk, giving an account of the departure from here of the duke of Medina Sidonia with your Majesty's Armada in a northerly direction, after losing the galleass "Capitana" ("San Lorenzo"), which had run aground at Calais, and the galleon "San Felipe," which had been wrecked within sight of Nieuport, the Maestre de Campo, Don Francisco de Toledo, being saved from her.

Since then intelligence has been received that the "San Mateo" had brought up at Flushing, greatly damaged by her fight with many of the enemy's ships. The enemy even had not time to finish discharging her before she sank in the harbour. It is asserted that the "San Felipe," which had been taken to Flushing, also sank there.

At Ostend another ship, not very large, called the "San Antonio de Padua" had brought up. The men who have been rescued from these various vessels report that after a great artillery battle,

* In a letter from Richard Douglas to Archibald Douglas, 1st August (O.S.), in Hatfield Papers, Part III., the coming of Clermont Amboise to Scotland is ascribed to accident—his having been driven there by a storm on his way to England—but it is stated that the King and Maitland had several long conferences with him. "They can "collect no great matter of his hither coming, only words and general fair promises, "whereby I fear me he shall depart with small contentment." Douglas fears that James may therefore listen again to the Catholic party. The same letter also mentions James' displeasure with Bothwell for the killing of Stuart, as related above.

† This was the Maestre de Campo, Don Diego Pimentel, commanding the regiment of Sicily. He was the second son of the marquis de Tavara and grandson of Count Alba de Liste (head of the house of Enriquez). From the duke of Medina Sidonia's diary page 402, it will be seen that he refused to abandon his ship, the "San Mateo," although she was almost in a sinking condition. He was imprisoned at Medemblick until a heavy ransom was paid. He subsequently became one of the most famous of Spanish generals, and was created marquis de Gelves.

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in which the enemy came to close quarters,* some of the ships of our Armada which were scattered had continued their voyage towards the north, followed and harassed by the enemy as usual.

Confirmation has also been received of the loss of Don Pedro de Valdés and his galleon; he and the principal men with him having been taken to London.

I immediately sent some of my vessels in search of the Armada to learn news of it, but, as none have returned, I can gain no further intelligence beyond the fact that the ships were sailing in a northerly direction, with the wind astern. As there are still (enemy's) boats off this coast for the purpose of preventing our coming out, I decided to disembark our men and send them into quarters, keeping them together and at convenient points; so that they may be ready to carry out the business, in case the Armada should return, and we are able to give it any assistance from here. I came hither to try to raise some money, and to see what I could do to console and tranquillise the country. It would be advantageous in your Majesty's interest, if the principal object cannot be effected, at least to do something. I am, with my usual earnestness, directing my attention to this, and as I am writing separately on the financial question, and the difficulties I have to encounter, I will not dwell upon these points here.

The intelligence so far received from the Armada by the boats that have returned, and other quarters, is contained in the enclosed statements. It will be obvious from these reports, and having in view the weather that has prevailed, that the Armada cannot return hither, but will probably either have arrived at or be approaching Spain. After considering in council the course that I had better adopt, I have decided that, as I have no money to maintain these troops, or even to dismiss a part of them, and have no means of knowing your Majesty's intentions now that the expedition is for the present frustrated, it will be advisable to put them in quarters somehow. I have therefore ordered them to be divided into three troops, one of which will go with Count Mansfeldt towards Bonn, to try and settle that important business; and if he have time, to endeavour to assure and improve matters there. Another troop will remain here, to hold this town and repress the incursions from Ostend. It will be impossible for us to prevent reinforcements from being sent thither, and under the present circumstances it does not appear advisable for us to risk our reputation by attacking a place which can be supplied at all times with everything that may be required.†

The third troop will accompany me to the province of Brabant, to endeavour to gain Berghes if we can find a way to prevent its relief. At the same time men will be sent to occupy the island.

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* In the King's hand:—"He does not say what was the result of this; whether they captured them or not."

The King has made marginal memoranda on the letter of how many of the ships (5) that are here stated to have been lost.

† In the King's hand:—"I think that this is the best determination he could have adopted under the circumstances."

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The want of money to meet the demands there (in Brabant?), which are no less urgent than those here, fills me with anxiety, as it threatens to cause some great disorder and disrespect amongst the soldiery. I fear that in whatever part it may commence, such a disorder would become general, to your Majesty's great injury.*—Bruges, 29th August 1588.

30 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

409. ADVICES from DUNKIRK viâ LILLE.

I have to report that three cutters left here to learn news of the Armada. They have ascertained that it has laid its course back to Spain, taking with it some English ships and four Dutch vessels. It was asserted in England as a positive fact that the English have lost 40 ships of their fleet—the flagship, the vice-flagship, the "Elizabeth," and the "Virgin" having been sunk. The great sailor, John Hawkins, has also gone to the bottom, not a soul having been saved from his ship. Drake escaped in a boat, wounded in the cheek. The Queen has entered the field with 30,000 men in great alarm.

The engagement referred to is stated to have taken place for the possession of the port of Newcastle.†

30 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

410. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 20th I wrote by special courier, and I now send by the usual Flanders post the reports I have from all parts, particularly respecting the Armada. I do not send them by special, as the news they give is not certain, but the moment I have trustworthy information I will forward it. I have received letters from your Majesty of 1st, 7th, and 18th, and have forwarded the despatches for the duke of Parma. I have no news from the latter since the 11th, but from merchants' and other letters from the Netherlands up to the 24th, I learn that the duke of Parma was dismissing his fleet, sending away the sailors, and withdrawing the troops from the coast.

This King told the delegate at Chartres, immediately after he had taken the sacrament from his hands on the 28th, that he had news from the coast that the Spanish Armada had entered a Scotch port. This news is current, but it is not certain. There are letters from an Italian merchant in England, dated 22nd instant, containing the following words: "Our English fleet has returned to the coast, and "we are here in our usual alarm of the Spanards;" ‡ but he does not say anything of the whereabouts of the Armada.

I am advised, by letters from London of the 20th, that in the various encounters the English have had with our fleet after passing the Straits they had lost 13 ships, most of which are named,

* In the King's hand:—"He would not have received yet the 600,000 ducats. I do not know whether any more has been sent since, besides what is now going."

† All of the above reports are in the handwriting of Mendoza's secretary. They were enclosed in Mendoza's letter to the King, dated 30th August. The news contained in the above is a tissue of falsehoods from first to last.

‡ In the King's hand:—"I do not understand how Don Bernardino could have attached so much credit to yesterday's advices after he had seen this."

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and many men. A letter from Calais reports that most of the English fleet had returned to the Downs, with the Lord Admiral and Drake, with many wounded and in bad case. The rumour is therefore current that the Lord Admiral and Drake had gone to Court, but this was not certain.

The galleon "San Mateo,' 'which ran aground at Flushing, kept up the fight for two days and nights.

Merchants' letters from London of 13th, 16th, and 20th, affirm that the Queen had not been able to gather in Kent and Sussex 12,000 men and 600 horse, even with the troops coming from London, and that at the most the force available to resist the Armada would not exceed 17,000 men if the Spaniards landed.

The new confidant has no news whatever from England up to the present. As S.W. and W. winds have been blowing continually, which are contrary for ships coming from the North to the coast of Flanders and France, and even to that of England, it is impossible to say for certain what has happened; but if the duke of Medina has decided to return to Spain, and the wind has allowed him to pass the straits between Scotland and the Orkneys, he ought by this time to have completed two-thirds of his voyage.

The galleon "Santa Ana," with the Maestre de Campo, Nicholas Isla, on board, had arrived at La Hogue Roads, on the coast of Normandy, but I have written that as this is not safe from the enemy, they are to return to Brest or St. Malo in Brittany, and I have sent the credits in case they should need anything. As the wind was against their return to Brittany they decided to come to Havre de Grâce, where they entered in a tempest, with much danger. They are now, thank God, out of peril; but I have complained to the King of the way that M. de Montpensier has behaved in the matter.

He sent word to the coast of England for them to come and capture the galleon at Havre de Grâce, and they (the Spaniards on board the galleon) have been treated in the harsh manner your Majesty will see by the accompanying statement.* I understand that the duke of Parma has sent Claude Chastelayn, who would arrive at Havre on the 27th, to take the necessary steps, and order what the ship and men are to do, as well as to dispose of the specie she carries, although the Duke himself has not written to me.—Paris, 30th August 1588.

30 Aug. **411.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The only object of this is to enclose a letter from Pedro de Zubiaur giving news from Dunkirk.†

From all parts they write that the duke of Parma is very sad and downhearted, and I doubt not that he feels confused. The well-disposed people here are very sorry that the Flemish fleet was not ready when the Armada arrived.—Paris, 30th August 1588.

* A note, in the handwriting of Idiaquez, says that the papers did not come. The first copy of the above letter was doubtless lost or captured.

† A note in the handwriting of Idiaquez says that this report did not come. The first copy of the above despatch also was doubtless lost or captured.

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31 Aug. Estado, 594. **412.** INTELLIGENCE from CALAIS by letter dated 31st August 1588.

The messenger I sent to England has returned hither. He brings no letters, as no one dares to write letters nor he to carry them. He reports that the Lord Admiral has arrived with part of the fleet, and went to Court on the 18th instant. Drake arrived with the rest on the 24th. Both of them were compelled to return in consequence of shortness of victuals, leaving the Spanish Armada beyond Newcastle in Scotland (*sic*). They say, however, that the principal reason for their return was lack of powder, as they had not enough for one day's fighting.

They do not say much about the losses of the Spanish Armada, except of the six ships that were lost on these coasts, nor do they boast much of their victory. They do not dwell yet upon their own losses. It is known that they have lost some vessels, one of which, belonging to the Queen, is ashore near Rochester for the purpose of overhaul and repair, but they fear she will be of no further use. The rest of the ships have arrived in very bad case.

They report that the horses had to be thrown overboard from the Spanish Armada near Newcastle, in consequence of lack of water. They are speaking rather ill of the Lord Admiral, who they say did not do his duty. All the credit is given to Drake, and there is a considerable amount of ill-feeling between the two. It is believed that the Lord Admiral will not again command at sea.

Intelligence has since reached them (the English) that the Armada is at a very fertile Norwegian island, where they will find an abundance of victuals without resistance. The opinion is that after the Armada has revictualled it will proceed on its voyage to Spain round Scotland. The messenger could not say the name of the island.

Great activity is being displayed in England to enable the fleet to return to sea. So great is the haste that all the beef in the London slaughter-houses and butchers' shops was taken and salted, leaving the town without beef.

A part of the fleet is at Harwich, part at Gorend, and part at Margate. Lord Henry Seymour is at the Downs. They still have an army of 8,000 men between Sandwich and Dover, under the command of a brother of Norris,* the camp-master being Thomas Scott†. Neither of them knows much. There is another army in Essex under the earl of Leicester. The Queen was at Dartford and crossed the river to visit that army. They have seven armies under arms but have no money, and if the affair lasts many of the men will desert. In the meanwhile there is much murmuring, and new musters are being called in all parts.

31 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1567. **413.** EXTRACT from LETTER from JUAN DE GAMARRA at Rouen.

You will have news of the fleets. They assure us positively that the English have lost over 40 ships in an encounter which

* Sir Edward Norris, brother of the more famous Sir John.

† Sir John Scott. The camp was at Northborne near Deal.

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they could not avoid, at Newcastle in Scotland. Ever since the Armada had left Calais the English fleet had followed it, in the belief that the Spaniards would enter port; and as the English had the wind, they were able to pass ahead of our ships, which, seeing the enemy near, did what they liked with them, as on this occasion they (the English) could not do as they had always done before, run for refuge into an English port. Our Armada, therefore, attacked them so stoutly that we sank 20 of their ships, and captured 26 in perfectly good condition. The rest of the English fleet, seeing only ruin before them, escaped with great damage, and their ships are now all in bits and without crews. The Spanish Armada afterwards entered a Scotch port, said to be Newcastle, where they are very well, as all affirm.

It was good news. God grant us the success we need! We learn all this by a courier from Calais, and also by letters received by many people, and particularly M. Cenami. Your Lordship (Mendoza) will doubtless have full details, but the truth of the news is beyond question. Orders have been given in England that, under pain of loss of life and property, no person is to write news to any part. This confirms the intelligence. The English here are very sulky.

1 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

414. COPY of LETTER from PEDRO DE ALAVA in Rouen.

I have not written news of the Armada, as the rumours have been so various and I like to send trustworthy intelligence. Statements, however, are now current from many quarters, Calais, Dieppe, Holland, etc., and it is considered certain that the Armada has fought the English, and dealt them a mortal blow—sending many of their ships to the bottom, and capturing others, whilst the rest of the English fleet, to the number, they say, of 27 sail, has returned much damaged to the port of London. These are all that could escape. A servant of George Seguin was with this courier, and says that the sailors from Zeeland confirm this to M. de Gourdan, governor of Calais. The Armada is said to be in a port or river which I believe is called Tirfle (the Firth?) or something sounding like that, and it is stated that it consists of about 200 ships; at least that is the common rumour.—Rouen, 1st September 1588.

3 Sept. Estado, 455.

415. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 21st ultimo by Don Baltasar de Zuñiga, giving a full account of all that had happened up to that time. Since then we have had, on four separate nights, heavy gales with strong head winds, thick fogs, and rain. This has caused 17 vessels to separate from the Armada, with Don Alonso de Leyva, Juan Martinez de Recalde, and other persons of importance; after this long-continued bad and contrary weather. By God's mercy, yesterday at noon, the wind shifted to the west, somewhat more in our favour. We were therefore able to sail in a southerly direction, and are now in 58 degrees north latitude, having counted 95 sail during the day. The wind has now veered to the W.N.W., with a more favourable appearance, but the winds on this coast are

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always more tempestuous than elsewhere; and are so prevalent from the south, that there is no certainty of a continuance of the present fair weather. I pray that God in His mercy will grant us fine weather, so that the Armada may soon enter port; for we are so short of provisions that if for our sins we be long delayed, all will be irretrievably lost. There are now a great number of sick, and many die. To-day on this galleon there expired Don Pedro de Zuñiga, eldest son of the marquis de Aguilafuerte; and four days ago we lost Don Lorenzo de Mendoza, son of the count de Orgaz. Pray consider the distress of this Armada after so terrible a voyage, and the urgent need for prompt measures of relief.—On the galleon "San Martin," 3rd September 1588.

3 Sept. Estado, 594.

416. STATEMENT of as much as can be learnt of the ROYAL ARMADA, from the date of last Advices, 29th August, until the 3rd September 1588.

An Irish lad named Patrick Catnihavil (?), a student and native of the city of Armagh, declares that desiring to come to these parts to pursue his studies, he passed through England on his way, and stayed some days with his compatriots at the University of Oxford. By their aid he obtained a passport on the 16th July, to come to France, and accordingly proceeded to London, and from there to Dover. He remained there some days awaiting a passage across, and one day he saw a vessel in the harbour loaded with munitions. This ship was hoisting sail, and he was told that she was about to sail for Calais; whereupon he shipped on board of her on the 6th August. The next day they fell in with the English fleet, and transferred the men and munitions she carried to the English flagship, he being obliged to accompany them. On Sunday, the 7th, the English fleet approached our Armada, and by the aid of wind and tide, sent seven fireships with the intention of destroying our vessels, or dislodging them from their anchorage in St. John's Roads, near Calais. They succeeded in the latter object, as our ships cut their cables and put to sea, followed by the English, who kept up an artillery fire upon them without daring to come to close quarters; confining themselves to sending 30 or 40 ships at a time against ours, to harass them. But they found our men full of valour and resistance. The skirmishing was kept up all day on the 8th without the loss of any ship on our side. He saw many English killed and wounded, but is ignorant of their number or quality. At night the English fleet retired, and followed in the wake of the Armada for the next six or seven days, but afar off, and without any firing on either side. In this way they arrived off the Scottish frontier, at which point the informant saw the English fleet return, leaving only a small ship to spy the route taken by the Armada, and to see whether it entered any port on that coast. The informant was four days arriving in the Thames, where the Lord Admiral landed with some captains and gentlemen, but none of the soldiers or sailors were allowed to go on shore; the intention being, it was said, to take fresh munitions and stores on board. As this Irishman was not a soldier, he was allowed to land, and on the 20th, seeing a ship about to sail for Flushing, he went on board of her. When he arrived at

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Flushing he entered another ship which brought him to Ostend on the 22nd. He remained there until the 26th, awaiting an opportunity of escaping. During this time the admiral of Flushing came to Ostend, and made a tour of inspection round the walls, guns, and guards; apparently entertaining some suspicion, as he was closeted secretly several times times with the governor. This youth says that it was commonly current amongst the English that Drake had lost a leg during the fighting with the flagship of our Armada, but that this did not happen whilst he (the informant) was with the fleet, though it might have occurred after he left.

He says that what the English fear more than anything is that a junction may be effected between the forces of these States (*i.e.*, Flanders) and those sent by his Majesty from Spain by sea for the purpose of attacking England. They think that, if for any reason, our fleet should be unable to return to this coast, it may make for the coast of Ireland and join the Irish, as our men could stay there at their ease, and await reinforcements from Spain, for the purpose of crossing to Scotland. The knowledge gained from this lad may be summarised as follows:—

That from the 6th August to the 20th none of our ships whatever have fallen into the hands of the English; as no reference is made to the galleons "San Felipe" and "San Mateo," which were taken by the Flushing men and sunk in the harbour. That the enemy's fleet retired from following our Armada on the 14th August, and was four days at sea subsequently before arriving in England. During this period our Armada had time to go whithersoever it wished, without any impediment. That the enemy fear above all things the return of our Armada to Flanders, and, if this be impossible, that it should go to Ireland.

That the English assert that Drake has lost a leg.

It is reported from Dunkirk, under date of 30th August, that three days previously some ships had arrived at Dieppe from the fishery, reporting that six days before they had been with our Armada in the Scottish Channel. The Armada was proceeding well on the voyage, and was already nearly out of the Channel. It is also reported from the same quarter that M. de Gourdan advises that Drake's death is confirmed from Holland. There were in Dover two couriers, with despatches for the king of France, who were not allowed to pass.

It is again asserted that the Lord Admiral has returned to England with 36 ships in very bad case, no person being allowed to land. The Catholics were disturbed.

3 Sept. **417.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Your letters of 20th ultimo received on 1st instant, with accounts respecting the Armada. I wish they were more detailed, and authenticated, but it was well to send them in any case. Continue to report everything you hear, but indicate the amount of dependence which may be placed upon each report.

The steps you took to recover the galleass at Calais, and the galley at Bayonne, were appropriate, and the order the King sent about them is everything that could be desired. Thank him from

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me at the next opportunity; but as you recently had experience of how imperfectly his orders were carried out in the ports, with regard to the reception of my ships, take care to get orders sent in such a form that they may not be disregarded.—San Lorenzo, 3rd September 1588.

Note.—In a paragraph of the above letter Mendoza is instructed to warn the duke of Guise of the danger he runs in placing himself in the power of the King. "Take care he is not deceived and that no trick is played upon him," and Philip adds, in his own hand, "*Let him remember his father.*" From this time until his murder, Guise was being constantly warned by the Spaniards and his own friends that the King intended to have him assassinated.

3 Sept. Estado, 165. **418.** The KING to the DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA.

In addition to what is contained in the letter of the 31st ultimo, it occurs to me to instruct you that if my nephew the duke of Parma should consider that the presence of the Armada would be of use to him in the matter he is to undertake (the main object of the expedition not having been carried out), and the Armada be strong enough, and in a position in which it may remain without danger, you will endeavour to follow his instructions. You will be guided by his opinion, even if it should be at variance with the memoranda contained in the other despatch. In a certain very important eventuality I have ordered the Duke to write to you to this effect, but not otherwise; and in such case you will zealously carry out his instructions.—San Lorenzo, 3rd September 1588.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1568. **419.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The wind having been contrary for the arrival of news from Scotland and England I have no direct confirmation of the Calais report of 20th, of the engagement between the Armada and the English after passing through the Straits. But it is confirmed by ships arriving at Dunkirk with advices from Lille, dated 30th ultimo, and also by letters from Calais viâ Rouen, from Hâvre de Grâce, etc.

I enclose advices received from London, dated 21 (?); and an original letter given to me by a merchant, which letter is written by a Genoese. They all confirm the great damage suffered by the English fleet, and it is no bad sign of this that the Queen should have issued orders that no one should write or speak of news of the fleet, and that a woman had been flogged for talking about it. The Admiral arrived at the Downs with only 12 ships; whilst Drake went to Harwich, which is not a port he would venture to enter with large ships.

I am informed by men who left London on the 29th ultimo that the Admiral and Drake were there, not on very good terms. The Queen had ordered them to join their ships again shortly, but the French ambassador writes to his wife here, on the 26th, that both they and the ships are so much knocked about, that, however much haste they may make, they cannot be ready to sail under three weeks. They are, he says, very short of stores, and particularly

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powder, and a gentleman had been sent by the Queen to Hamburg, and other maritime towns, to lay in a provision. She had also sent to request the kings of Denmark and Scotland not to shelter or provide food for any of the ships of your Majesty's Armada.

In the same letter the ambassador reports that the Armada had entered Moray Firth in Scotland; and I hear that a secretary of the English ambassador here affirms, in great secrecy to a friend of his, that his master has letters dated 28th ultimo, from a councillor, containing the following words:—"By fresh news from Scotland we "learn that the Spanish Armada has entered Moray Firth where it "has been supplied with all it required."

The Armada is thus in a place which is distinguished in the descriptions by the name of *Sinum Salutis;* which title, they claim, was given to it by Julius Cæsar because the port was so secure, and the Scottish ambassador, who has been there, assures me that it is extremely capacious, and can harbour any number of the largest ships. It is in the territory of the earl of Huntly, and, as most of the people are Catholics, it may be concluded that they will give all they have to your Majesty's Armada. A Fleming, who left London on the 24th, also asserts that the Armada was in a very safe port in Scotland, and that small boats were sent up the river for what stores were needed. A Scottish ship, which left Little Leith on the 27th, and has arrived at Dieppe, reports that she has sighted no ship, either Spanish or English, on the way; but that news was current that the Armada had passed towards the Orkneys with the intention of entering port. Although the English say they left the Armada on the 12th, 50 leagues past (the border of) Scotland, on the way to Norway, that cannot be true, as they raised anchor at Calais on the 8th, and however fast a ship might be, even alone and with a fair wind, she could not go from Calais to Scotland in that time, let alone an Armada. Besides, we know that it had combats with the English on the 9th, 10th, and 11th; and this proves their assertion to be a lie, invented to hide the fact that they were obliged to return for want of victuals and munitions, and in consequence of their being so badly damaged.

The power of the queen of England may be easily gauged by this: that her fleet was at Plymouth on the 30th July, and yet on the 12th August it was obliged to return to port to revictual. They excuse themselves for getting separated by saying they had been in a storm with very thick weather, which would also separate the Armada.

The Queen had asked the foreign merchants in London for a loan of 70,000 crowns, and the 12 London companies for one of 120,000. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge also have been asked to lend her money; and the Queen has written to private individuals, requesting them to do the same, in the measure of their means, all persons being obliged to maintain a certain number of foot and horse for the war. The Queen did not care to admit other foreigners into her country, except those who came from Holland. Amongst them there were a number of musketeers, and some Englishmen from the Dutch garrisons.

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The ship from Scotland reports that the earl of Bothwell had killed Alexander Stuart,* the man who had captured the earl of Morton, and affairs were consequently becoming somewhat strained.

The Huguenots have requested the English ambassador here to write to his mistress, begging her not to give up Don Pedro de Valdés, except in exchange for M. de Teligny, the son of La Noue.†

Although I am not so certain as I should like to be of the above news, I wish to send a special courier to report to your Majesty.

I have nothing from the duke of Parma since the 11th ultimo. I can only send your Majesty what I hear from all parts.

The queen of England had sent a patache to reconnoitre all the coast from Leith to the Orkneys, to discover traces of the Armada. Another patache was to go along the west coast from Milford to Kirkudbright and Dumbarton, and so to the Orkneys. — Paris, 4th September 1588.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

420. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I wrote to your Majesty, I have been putting off the new confidant by giving him 1,000 crowns by instalments; having kept back the other 1,000 your Majesty sent me, as I have noticed the last month that he has told me nothing of importance.‡ Besides this, I have caught him in a false trick, namely, telling me that Guadagni had written to Escobar, Don Antonio's agent here, telling him to go to Chartres to see the King and his mother; in order that, under the excuse of accompanying the wife of the French ambassador in England, who is going back to her husband, he might arrange with the queen of England to help Don Antonio to land in Portugal, in which case the King (of France) and his mother would do likewise.

Sampson had said nothing about this to me, and I asked him whether he had received any letters from Guadagni. He swore on his life that he had not, and I see that it is all a lying invention of the new confidant.§ I shall treat him according to his behavour; and shall not say anything about it until I learn whether his object in giving me the false news was to lead me astray, or to appear busy and so oblige me the more.

Whilst I was writing the above I learnt that the English ambassador here has letters dated 24th and 28th ultimo, and yet the new

* This was Sir William Stuart, brother of the notorious James Stuart, earl of Arran, who had arrested and brought about the downfall of Morton. The earl of Bothwell was Francis Stuart, illegitimate grandson of James V., who had recently been raised to the title with the dignity of Lord Admiral of Scotland. He professed, at this time, to be a Protestant, but as will be seen in the course of the correspondence, became a pensioner of the Spaniards, and the prime mover in the Catholic plans to subjugate Scotland and England in the interest of Spain.

† Odet de la Noue, Sieur de Teligny, the son of the heroic Huguenot, Bras de Fer. The father had been a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards since May 1580, and the son since November 1584, both being treated with great hardship and cruelty. The father was only released, after many years' captivity, on swearing never again to bear arms against Spain, and the son was eventually exchanged for Don Pedro de Valdés.

‡ In the King's hand :—"Perhaps he does not like to give us bad news. If they were favourable to us he would probably give them."

§ It is curious to note how, in this network of treachery, the spies are constantly tripping each other up. When Stafford told Mendoza this piece of news he was, of course, unaware that Escobar (Sampson) was, like himself, in the pay of Spain.

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confidant has not said a word to me but fictions. This makes me suspect his proceedings, as I point out in the general letter about England. As the English fleet is being refitted, and fresh preparations made,* my service to your Majesty forces me to urge the advisability of pushing forward the Armada which was fitting out at Corunna to reinforce the duke of Medina Sidonia. If this is not done, and Medina Sidonia does not very shortly effect a junction with the duke of Parma,† a large number of ships will be sent out from England towards the Indies and elsewhere, to prevent your Majesty from further disturbing them. It is certain that if this King and his mother could help them they would do so. Chateauneuf writes to the King that the English were astounded when they heard that your Majesty had ordered 50 more ships to be fitted out with stores and victuals and 10,000 men, which were shortly to put to sea.

Vega writes me the letter enclosed, asking credence for the bearer, the steward of the French Ambassador, whom he sent to the duke of Parma. His report is in substance contained in Vega's letter of 21st, which I send in the general despatch.

Andrada, whose feigned name is David, has sent me, from Rouen, the report I enclose.‡ His letters say that Don Antonio is well. There is nothing more about him in any of the English advices, except that he is still in the village (*i.e.*, Brentford), unless he has left in consequence of recent rumours.

Diego Botello writes to Sampson, saying that Don Antonio desires greatly that he should go thither (to England). Diego Botello wished to come to Rouen some months ago. If a good opportunity offers for Sampson to go to England I think it will be advisable for him to do so, as he will thus be able to get the full details of Don Antonio's plans, and how things are in England, which will be most important.—Paris, 4th September 1588.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

421. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ. (EXTRACT.)

The only ships of the Armada we know anything about up to this date are the following: Oquendo's ship, that of Don Pedro de Valdés, the galeass "Capitana," which went ashore at Calais, the galleon "San Felipe" at Nieuport, and the "San Mateo," which was sunk on a sand bank off Flushing, perfectly riddled with cannon shot.—Paris, 4th September 1588.

* In the King's hand:—"Notice.—If he knows this, I do not understand why he should "send reports from so many places. We must look after all things here, and that "speedily."

† In the King's hand:—"I do not see how they are to effect a junction if they have no port to do it in."

‡ Manuel de Andrada, who had adopted the cipher name of David, was the triple traitor who appears first to have planned the so-called Lopez plot to poison the Queen, and whose apprehension mainly frustrated it. Mendoza writes to the King, 24th July 1588, saying that Andrada had come to him to ask for the King's forgiveness. "He speaks "Flemish, and Don Antonio is sure to take him with him if he goes to Holland, as he is "the only man about him who speaks the language. I know this man very well, by "hearsay, as being closely intimate with the rebels of Holland and Zeeland. He promises "to use every effort to get Don Antonio captured, as he supposes your Majesty will not "like him to be killed. Don Antonio himself says this, and that he recognises that your "Majesty is a beneficent Prince, as you have not consented to order him to be murdered." —Paris Archives, K. 1568.

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5 Sept. Estado, 950.

422. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

On the 2nd instant his Holiness was disordered in the stomach, and he told me, when I had audience on the 3rd, that he had been troubled with it all night. He hoped that he should benefit from it, but it had distressed him a great deal, and he remained seated, instead of walking about as he always does. He was feverish, and went to bed in the afternoon, which is a very unusual thing for him to do. They attribute his doing so to the fatigue he underwent in the matter referred to below, rather than to the stress of his malady. He began to recover from both evils yesterday, at four, and he was present at a short consistory held to-day. I hear since that he is better.

The vexation to which I refer was his having missed the fisherman's ring with which he seals the briefs they present to him. He carries the ring about with him in a purse, and it was discovered that he had been robbed of it by the man that serves as his cupbearer, and is one of the two persons who aid him to dress and undress. Although the crime would be a great one in any case, it is greater when committed against his Holiness; but it is understood that, unless the publicity of the affair should oblige him to punish the man, he will not do so, nor even dismiss him from his place, such is his affection for those who have served him since he was a cardinal, as this man has done. He has said that he would do almost anything to avoid showing to the world that his confidence has been abused.—Rome, 5th September 1588.

7 Sept. (O.S. ?) Paris Archives, K. 1568. Italian.

423. LETTER from LONDON.*

(The first portion of the letter is occupied with a quantity of pretended commercial information. The writer complains bitterly of the injustice done to him in Lisbon, and deplores his unfortunate position in England. He was arrested for a debt on Saturday last, and only released on bail of two friends, to pay the amount within a week.) As I have nothing further to say, I need now only give you an account of the rumours of wars here, as I promised you in my last, and also a relation of the occurrences between the fleets. I have not hitherto had an opportunity of sending the latter, and have written in the margin of it anything I have heard since contradictory of the statements made in it. Since finishing the relation, I have only to add that, when people here had been satisfied that the Armada had gone into Scottish waters, and that the duke of Parma made no movement in Dunkirk, they disbanded the army, leaving only 6,000 men under arms, who have since been given leave to go. They have recently held reviews of the forces which had been raised by private persons for the Queen's service. The first was that of the Lord Chancellor's † force, which was mustered in the Queen's

* This letter is addressed to the "Magnificent Sir Alexander Ganavaro," and the signature has been carefully erased. There is, however, no doubt that the writer was the Genoese spy, Marco Antonio Messia, and that the letter and accompanying relation was sent for the information of the King, probably through Mendoza.

† Sir Christopher Hatton.

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presence on the 19th August. After her Majesty had been entertained at dinner at the Chancellor's house, he presented to her a company of 100 men-at-arms, very well accoutred, in uniforms of red and yellow. I myself was present at this review. The next day the Lord Treasurer held a similar review, and afterwards the earl of Leicester and other gentlemen, but as I did not see these musters I will not describe them in detail. I was, however, present at the last review, which was held by the earl of Essex on the 26th, and which I am assured was the best of them all. There was a company of 60 musketeers, 60 harquebussiers on horseback, and 200 light horse. The uniforms were of orange-coloured cloth, with facings of white silk, and several of the light-horsemen had surcoats of velvet of the same colour, trimmed with silver. The review was held in a field in front of the house, and her Majesty witnessed it from a window. A joust was then held in the open field (*i.e.*, without lists), and the earl of Essex ran two tilts against the earl of Cumberland. As they are two of the best horsemen in the country the spectators were much pleased at this. Several other gentlemen then joined, and they tilted first two against two, and then four against four; the earl of Essex always running against the earl of Cumberland. When they had finished with the lance they drew their swords, but when her Majesty saw this she made a sign with her hand that they were to cease, but they set to and she shut the window, in order not to see them. When they ceased, after being at it for some time, the whole of the cavalry were divided into two squadrons and ran several times one squadron against the other, lowering their swords as they approached, so as not to wound. The whole of the musketeers and harquebussiers fired off their pieces at the same time. It was a beautiful sight. Then they all returned in the same order as they had entered. The standard of the harquebussiers was white, with "Hazard" on it; that of the light horse was of red damask, with a veil worked with gold on the top, which, no doubt, was a lady's favour. The earl of Essex is General-in-Command of the cavalry in this war. He was made Grand Equerry (Master of the Horse) to the Queen a year ago, and honoured with the Order of the Garter, all of which he certainly deserves for his valour.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the Lords of the Council went to St. Paul's to give thanks to God for having rescued the realm from its recent danger; which they admit was very great, considering the strength of the duke of Parma, added to that of Spain. They estimate the Duke's forces to number 40,000 men, and the Armada force at 30,000—sufficient to conquer all Europe, let alone a single country. It was said that the Queen would go, but she did not. The Dean made an appropriate prayer. Three days afterwards another alarm was spread that the Spanish Armada was coming back, but it was soon discovered that it was only a flotilla of fishermen, which had been sighted off Scotland and England.

Of the Armada itself all we can learn is that it has gone round the islands and returned to Spain. It is asserted that it was still in some part of Scotland or Ireland; but I myself am of the opinion of many others, that it has gone back to Spain. They have again

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embargoed all merchant ships in port, which had been released, and other rumours of the sort are current, but I believe that it is for some other reason than the fear that the Armada is returning hither. I have witnessed three panics here, about the Armada. First, when the news came that it had appeared in the Channel, many people having thought that it would not come; the second time the alarm was still greater, when it was anchored before Calais; and the third when the rumour prevailed that it was coming back. Feeling is now more tranquil. God arrange matters as we desire! They say the duke of Parma has retired from Dunkirk, having dismissed the Governor and replaced him by M. de la Motte, who was governor of Gravelines. It was said, indeed, that the Spaniards had risen with the intention of expelling the duke of Parma and placing the duke of Pastrana in his place,* but this was afterwards known to be idle talk, and that there had only been some disturbance amongst the Walloons, which is believed to have been allayed. They are saying now that the English troops in Ostend have mutinied about their pay, but so many lies are afloat now-a-days that one can only believe what one sees.

On Sunday, the 25th, Mr. Controller,† one of the Peace Commissioners sent to Flanders was arrested, but the cause of this is not known. On the following day Lord Montague was ordered to remain under arrest in his own house, and the reason of this also I do not know, unless it be that he is a Catholic. On the same day several men were condemned for being traitors and Catholics, some of them Jesuit priests. I hear that one recanted, the others being executed last week, and also a lady who helped a priest to escape. I saw them being taken in a cart to be executed, followed by an enormous crowd of people, who were exhibiting every sign of rejoicing. A gentlewoman present said some words expressive of pity for the death of the poor creatures, and one of the two sheriffs who were going to hang them at once ordered two sergeants to arrest the lady and take her to prison. I have not heard what happened to her afterwards.

On the 27th the earl of Leicester started for the baths of Buxton, but on the way, in the house of a gentleman near Oxford,‡ it is said he supped heavily, and being troubled with distress in the stomach during the night he forced himself to vomit. This brought on a tertian fever, which increased to such an extent on the third day that on Wednesday, 4th instant, at ten o'clock in the morning, he expired. The last time I saw him was at the earl of Essex's review, at the window with the Queen. On the previous week I had seen him go all through the city, accompanied by as many gentlemen as if he were a king, and followed by his household and a troop of light horse. He was going from a country house of his (Wanstead) to St. James's, and was quite alone in his coach. He had gone through

* It is asserted by Strada that the English sent word to the duke of Parma that they had discovered in Don Pedro de Valdés' ship a packet of letters, proving that it was the intention of the King to replace Parma by the duke of Pastrana (the son of Ruy Gomez and the princess of Eboli) as soon as Parma had embarked for England.

† Sir James Crofts.

‡ Leicester died of fever at Cornbury, Oxfordshire, 4th September (O.S.).

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a few days before on horseback, even more splendidly accompanied, and showed every appearance of perfect health, as if he would have lived for years. For the last few months he has usually dined with the Queen, a thing, they say, such as has never been seen in this country before. He was a man of great authority and following, and his death will be much felt; but, on the other hand, the general opinion is that the conclusion of peace will be much easier than before, as he was usually in favour of war. God decree all for His greater glory!

You will have heard what happened to the English ships that went twice to Havre de Grâce to capture a Spanish vessel there. I hear the Admiral is greatly (offended ?)* at the behaviour of the governor of the town.

The 800 soldiers they had sent hither from the Netherlands were being sent back, I am informed, without their being paid a penny, although several payments were due to them. They thereupon mutinied, and killed the colonel and lieutenant-colonel. They are said to have fortified themselves in a castle near Sandwich, but I hear from another quarter that they have now been pacified and embarked. I hear of some disturbance in Scotland between Catholics and Protestants, but, as I have said above, there are many lies afloat.

It is publicly stated here that the Spanish prisoners confess they had orders, if they were victorious, to kill every Englishman over seven years old. They say they brought two kinds of whips (scoriati), one for men and the other for women. In order that you may not think it strange for me to write you this, I send you two printed legends that are current here, one respecting the capture of Don Pedro de Valdés's ship, and the other about the Queen's visit to the army. I could send you a multitude of such things treating of the affairs of the fleet, and of men judged, and yet to be judged. When you have read them, and the relation about the Armada, please send them to Stefano Lercaro, with his packet. This is the reason these people are so enraged with the Spaniards. Their anger would certainly be justified if the above and other similar things were true. Signor Horatio Pallavicini tells me that he dined the other day with Don Pedro de Valdés, who, he says, is very comfortably lodged in a country house.† There are many of them (*i.e.*, Spanish prisoners) in Bridewell, to whom Master Cipriano (*i.e.*, Valera), a Sevillian, goes and preaches, and I am told he has converted several of them to this religion. In the same house (Bridewell) is a certain Don Rodrigo de Mendoza,‡ and my comrades, G. B. Giustiniano and Scipione Borzoni, of Antwerp, have obtained permission to visit him. They have provided him with some money and clothes, of which he was in great need. He was captured on the galleass.

Six prisoners are kept in the house of an English merchant, and I see them sometimes. When I tell them some of the things I have

* The paper is mutilated here; the ship was the "Santa Ana."

† He was in the custody of Richard Drake.

‡ Don Rodrigo de Mendoza was the brother of the marquis de Cañete. He was on board of Oquendo's flagship, which had been burned in the Channel. Bavia, in the "Historia Pontifical" (1621), incorrectly states that he was killed on the "San Marcos." If, as this letter states, he was captured on the galleass "San Lorenzo," at the mouth of Calais harbour, he must have transhipped when Oquendo's flagship was burnt.

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written above, they laugh at them. Amongst them is a nephew of Pedro Castillo, of Cadiz, and for his sake, and out of friendship for Santi Fantoni, his and our Italian friend, who is also at Cadiz, I would do anything in my power to help him. I have provided some money for him and his companions, although greatly to my own inconvenience. I am told the earl of Pembroke has died and they say the same of Lord St. John, but as I have not the news from a trustworthy source I do not assert it. (In a postscript he confirms the intelligence.) (I have just heard from Croce, of Paris, that my bill of 500 crowns has not been honoured. I am therefore desperate and must go to prison. Complains bitterly of the ingratitude of his "friend," for whom he has done so much.*)

On Monday evening a house near the French embassy and the Flemish church caught fire, and at some alarm of treason the whole city was put under arms and the chains drawn across the streets. Two houses were destroyed and others damaged. Fortunately there was no wind and it was early, about nightfall, and with diligence the fire was allayed.—London, 7th September 1588.

S.D. (7 Sept. O.S. ?) Paris Archives, K. 1568. Italian.

424. RELATION of the VOYAGE of the SPANISH ARMADA which sailed from LISBON against ENGLAND.

The Spanish Armada left Lisbon on the 29th May (N.S.), consisting of 130 ships, large and small,† with four from Naples and four galleys from Portugal. It was commanded by the duke of Medina Sidonia, with 30,000 men, soldiers and sailors, and many nobles. The Armada sailed for Corunna, where it had to ship some men and stores, this being the nearest and best port from which to sail for England. On the way, however, it was dispersed by a storm, and only 80 ships arrived together at Corunna. The stay, therefore, was prolonged, and the other ships gradually came in, although several were missing, especially four galleys, three of which were wrecked off Bayonne, in France, and the fourth was only saved with great difficulty. Eight ships also become unseaworthy in the storm and had to return to Lisbon useless.

The rest of the Armada, having refreshed and collected at Corunna, and being constantly pressed by King Philip to sail, started on its voyage on the 11th July (O.S.), and after a fair voyage reached the point of Cornwall in this country on the 19th July. The Spaniards were first discovered by one of our pinnaces of war off this point and the keeper of Falmouth Castle was at once informed thereof. Thence the news was sent to the Lord Admiral, who was at Plymouth with our fleet.‡

The opinion in England was that the Armada would not come this year, owing to the lateness of the season and the recent storms, which had dispersed and delayed it. The Admiral had, therefore,

* During the month of July the writer had importuned Mendoza for 700 crowns to leave England, as he had been ordered to do by the Cardinal Archduke Albert (viceroy of Portugal), and another sum of 380 crowns. He cannot get away for want of money, and he will be imprisoned for debt if he stays.

† The writer, in a marginal note, has added that it has since been said that there were 151 sail left Lisbon.

‡ Marginal note by writer:—"If the Armada had gone straight to Plymouth they would have taken the port easily."

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hardly time to take some of his ships out of port and ship his men, the wind being favourable to the Spaniards, before the Armada hove in sight, not far from Plymouth; the intention, doubtless, being to enter and take possession of the port if our fleet had not appeared. This plan being frustrated, the Armada continued its voyage up the Channel, followed by our fleet, which skirmished and harassed it continually,* as it (the Armada) was sailed in close order. The next day the skirmishing was hotter, and one of our ships damaged a galleass. This threw some of the rest into disorder, and during the fighting the vice-flagship, a great galleon of Seville, broke her main-mast; whilst a storeship caught fire and became unmanageable, when she was captured by our men. The galleon also became useless and unable to proceed, and was taken by us, with 450 men, and Don Pedro de Valdés, accompanied by two gentlemen of rank.† A portion of the royal treasure was also on board and fell into our hands.

When the Armada had arrived off the Isle of Wight our men (captured ?)‡ daily many ships and men,§ and in a fight that then took place, which lasted a long time, the enemy lost a great Venetian ship and some small ones. During this fight our people saw better than before that the Spaniards wished to avoid an engagement, and kept strictly on the defensive, the only design being to reach the point agreed upon. The wind was still in their favour, so that notwithstanding the delay caused by their oars, and some calms, they arrived on the evening of the 27th July—by our style—off the port of Calais, where they cast anchor, turned towards Dunkirk, from whence they expected the duke of Parma's forces.

Our fleet anchored opposite theirs, and during the night was joined by 20 more of our ships which were guarding the mouth of the Thames, and our united force then amounted to 140 sail. On Sunday, the 28th, a consultation was held as to the best way of dislodging the enemy's fleet from its position, and it was decided to send some ships with artificial fire to try to burn their ships at their anchorage, or rather to force them to raise anchors and fight. Six fireships were therefore prepared—some say there were seven—a half hour after midnight, and at the turn of the tide, and with a favourable wind, were sent as near as possible to the enemy. As soon as they were seen the alarm on the Armada was so great that all the moorings were cut,¶ and in the confusion the flagship of the four galleasses got entangled with some ships, lost her rudder, and was driven on to the banks before the harbour, where she was followed by our pinnaces and small boats, attacked and conquered. Many Spaniards fell in fight, but far more were drowned by throwing themselves into the sea.** Some took refuge in Calais. Don Hugo

* Marginal note by writer:—"When they saw the fleet come out they formed order of battle, but the English kept away and avoided a general engagement."

† Marginal note by writer:—"Don Alonso de Zayas and Don —— de Silva. 55,000 crowns."

‡ The paper is mutilated here.

§ Marginal note by writer:—"It is true that men were sent off every hour, but I do not know whether it is true about the ships, large or small."

‖ Note by writer:—"When we learnt this here we thought it bad news."

¶ Marginal note by writer:—"Some persons are of opinion that if they had been towed away by their pataches they might have been saved."

** Marginal note by writer:—"I hear there were more English killed than Spaniards."

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Moncada, the captain, was killed, the ship was sacked, and part of the royal treasure captured. The ship was useless, and our people would have burnt her, but the governor of Calais prevented it, and claimed the privilege of his port.

The next morning early, our ships attacked the Spaniards who, as has been related, had fled in disorder in the night. But though they were in bad order they sustained some very hot assaults, and a severe artillery fire was kept up on both sides. Our ships still kept the wind and gave every opportunity for the enemy to come out to a close engagement, but they preferred to keep off Calais and Dunkirk, and to avoid a general battle. It would not have been prudent for ours to advance and attack them whilst they were in their close order, as our ships were smaller than theirs, and would have been at a disadvantage; but the constant assaults our men made upon them, without grappling, made them feel the effects of artillery, and directly any of their ships straggled they were surrounded by ours and taken.

This happened with two Portuguese galleons, the "San Felipe" and the "San Mateo," which were disabled and half full of water, and were captured and taken into Flushing. There were but few men on board, but they were taken with Don Diego Pimentel, Colonel of the Sicilian Regiment, and some other gentlemen of rank. Some of the royal treasure also fell into the hands of our soldiers.

A great Biscay ship, also, during this battle was separated from the rest and sunk, as were some others.* So that besides the galleass the enemy lost on that day five or six fine ships. In addition to this he allowed himself to be chased 10 or 12 leagues beyond Dunkirk, badly damaged by our artillery.

The next day he was chased still further. The same wind was blowing, but he never made the slightest attempt to turn back, although he was not attacked by the English.

The 31st July and 1st of August the same wind blew, but stronger, and at one o'clock the enemy hoisted all sail and fled. Although it was evident that he would not fight, our ships still followed him just out of gun-shot, fearing he might be going to Scotland. This lasted till Friday evening, 2nd August, when the fleets had arrived at the point between England and Scotland. Here the enemy's plan became evident, for he steered north, leaving the Scottish coast on his left hand, and exposing himself to the risk of a long voyage. As it was not prudent for our fleet to share these perils with him, it returned home † to Harwich. This proved to be a wise course, as on the 4th a great tempest arose which lasted 40 hours, the effect of which on the enemy's fleet we do not yet know, but it is probable that it has been scattered and has suffered severely.†

In conclusion, the enemy, without attempting anything, has, that we know of, lost 11 or 12 of his best ships, and 4,000 or 5,000 men, as well as a part of the King's treasure. The prisoners all declare that they were reduced to the greatest straits—without a drop of fresh water, or any victuals, and with great numbers of sick. It is

* In the margin the writer expresses his disbelief in this.
† In the margin:—"I understand they (the English) were quite without stores."
‡ In the margin:—"Nothing has been heard of it yet."

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highly probable that very few of the ships will ever find their way back to Spain.*

Note.—The above relation sent by Messia, the Genoese spy in London, was probably translated by him from an English account, the marginal notes being his own.

8 Sept. **425.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

The news I have of the Armada are as follows:—

Letters from Scotland, dated 18th and 19th (O.S.), and from London, 28th and 29th. The letter of the 18th says that preparations were being made in consequence of your Majesty's Armada having been sighted 15 days before, 20 miles from the Scottish coast. Scotland was in arms in consequence of the report that your Majesty's forces were to land in the direction of the Orkneys. The letter of the 19th says that a ship from St. Andrews had arrived at Little Leith, reporting that it had sighted the Armada—86 ships, all large—on the 10th or 11th (that is to say 20th or 21st August, according to our style), between Orkney and Shetland. The Armada was steering by the compass towards the North, tending rather towards Norway than to return to Spain. They were in need of nothing but water, which they thought they had obtained in the Orkneys. The weather has been such that, if the Armada has set its course for Spain, it must now be far on its way. Colonel Semple had again been imprisoned in the house of a burgess of Edinburgh. From London they again confirm that the Armada was in Moray Firth, as I advised in previous letters; but if these Scottish advices be true, as they appear to be, the Armada cannot be in Scotland, as they say nothing about it.—Paris, 8th September 1588.

11 Sept. **426.** PURSER IGUELDO, of the "Santa Ana," to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Gives an account of the landing of the specie, and its deposit in the hands of a Spanish merchant, with its subsequent embargo at the instance of certain French merchants.

On the afternoon of the 9th instant we were informed that three great English ships, one the "Mary Rose," of 500 tons, and the others of 200 tons each, with a patache, had appeared in sight, and it was feared they were coming to attack us. The Maestre de Campo and I went on board at once, and at dawn yesterday morning the three ships and the patache bore down upon us, and the patache opened fire. We replied, and in the meanwhile the Governor sent off a boat to them requesting that they would not break the peace in neutral waters, as otherwise he would resent it with all the means in his power. They replied that they came at the command of their Queen, and they would not retire for anybody until they had taken, sunk, or burnt the "Santa Ana." The artillery firing still continued on both sides, but the distance was too great for musketry, which was not employed. One of the first shots, unfortunately, hit our main yard-arm, which came down upon the Maestre de Campo, who was at the foot of the mast giving orders, and he was crushed. I was standing close to him at the time, and had him extricated, every care the ship afforded being given to him. The other two infantry

* In the margin the writer or translator demurs at these pessimistic statements.

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captains were not on board, one having gone to Dunkirk to see the duke of Parma, and the other being sick in this town. The whole of the duties therefore devolved upon me. We had two soldiers and two gunners killed, as well as a very brave slave of mine. A shot from the enemy then severed our mooring cables, and we went adrift. It was a signal mercy that, being so large a ship, we did not capsize, as we touched bottom two or three times. The tide carried us towards the town, and the townspeople helped us all they could, firing at the English from the fort, and bringing out two guns on to the shore, which inflicted much damage upon the enemy. The English also fired upon the people ashore. As all the townspeople said that when the tide went down our ship would capsize, and the enemy could not do us any harm where we were, I had lighters brought and discharged all the artillery and stores belonging to your Majesty, and then, against the opinion of many people, I had the ship moved by the port pilots, and taken to another place. This was the salvation of it all. In the afternoon I was informed that the armed ships had put to sea, and had been joined by four others, which were coming with the intention of burning us, no matter where we were. I had the Maestre de Campo put on shore, where he now is in grave danger, unable to speak, and his head and chest badly crushed. I then returned to the ship, where I kept good watch all night. The enemy was in sight, cruising near us, but though the night was clear they did not attack us.*

In accordance with the order of the Duke I will deliver the ordnance and other things belonging to your Majesty to the Governor of this town, or to the person appointed by him, taking full vouchers for the same. It is lamentable how the poor sailors will be left. I do not know what to do about them. And the poor owner of the ship, it would have been just the same to him if she had gone to the bottom of the sea, instead of being left here, for it will cost him a large sum to get her into port, and he will not keep her after all. I, for my part, will do my duty to your Majesty as best I can. The Duke orders me, when I have settled things here, to go to Spain, taking the papers with me (or otherwise to do what I think best). I have asked the opinion of the ambassador, and, if he agrees, I will take passage in a merchant ship for Spain.—Havre de Grâce, 11th September 1588.

12 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

427. SUMMARY of divers LETTERS to the DUKE OF PARMA from Scotland, written by COLONEL SEMPLE, ROBERT BRUCE, and the EARL OF HUNTLY, 31st July, 5th and 6th August, and 12th September, 1588.

31 July.—Semple and Bruce to the duke of Parma:—

They confirm their letters sent by a Scottish pilot (by Charles Bailly) who went to Scotland with Bruce, and by the bishop of

* The English statement with regard to this affair is as follows:—Her Majesty's ships that were sent to the coast of France, viz., the "Elizabeth Bonaventure," the "Foresight, the "Aid," and the "Charles," did come in sight. The "Charles" having spent her mainmast, and finding the wind to blow very high from the N.W., durst not adventure the Queen's ships upon that coast; and for that cause they returned, and do mean to pass over thither again with the next wind that will serve. (Sussex to the Council, 30th August 1588 (O.S.). R.O. Domestic State Papers, CCXV. 72.) They afterwards did return, and the engagement took place as described above.

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Dunblane, on behalf of Huntly, giving an account of matters, and of the state of the Catholic lords in Scotland. As things have changed for the worse, they send the present messenger. The English faction in Scotland, knowing of the understanding that the Catholics had with his Majesty, are greatly oppressing the Catholics with the King's authority; and heavily taxing their revenues and properties, especially for the purpose of bringing over the daughter of the king of Denmark when the King marries her.

They have appointed heretic magistrates to oust from authority those who do not belong to their faction. They are thus persecuting the Catholics in every way, and they execute all those whom they discover carrying on communications abroad.

The imprisonment of the earl of Morton was ordered by the Chancellor (who governs the King) in consequence of his being his enemy. The King had previously written Morton a letter in his own hand, giving his word that no proceedings should be taken against him, but telling him to withdraw for a few days. Before the few days had expired he broke his word, and had him arrested. He acted in the same way with Morton's followers, who surrendered in a fortress of his on condition that their lives should be spared. The earl of Huntly was coming with 5,000 men to Morton's aid, but the King did not know this yet. On the contrary, he is favouring Huntly greatly, and he has had him married to his cousin (the sister of) the duke of Lennox.

Lord Claude (Hamilton) is at court, and has taken the Protestant oath, protesting that he did not do so voluntarily, but to escape further persecution.

They expect by this means (*i.e.*, making them take the oath) to finish the Catholics, and preventing them from receiving foreign aid. The longer the aid is delayed the worse will the state of the Catholics become.

They endeavour to keep spies in all parts, making use of devilish arts to uncover the designs of the Catholics.

This was the condition of things, and the news of the coming of the Armada had increased the persecution, which the Catholics had not dared to resent by force, as they had always been urged not to move until they saw the succour sent to them.

They would have seized the King if they had means to resist the power of England, or had any assurance that aid would be sent to them. But no answer was sent to the last communication they sent, stating their intentions, although they had requested a reply many times. They wished the earl of Morton to return with forces, not without them; as it would certainly cause much difficulty for him to return alone out of exile without aid at his back.

The gathering of forces on the Border could only be effected after the succour had arrived.

Hopes were given to the earl of Morton that he should be reinforced shortly, and he had asserted this, when he landed in Scotland, to the other Catholic nobles. This is now more than three months since, and there is no appearance of aid being sent.

They had received a letter from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, dated 11th May, in which they were told that as soon as they saw

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England attacked by the Armada, the Scottish Catholics should cross the English border. He (the writer) had not ventured to convey this at the time to the Lords, as it was impossible for them to do it, unless they had special reinforcements; and they had never offered to do such a thing. They could not do it without leaving their retreat well guarded, and their homes, wives, and children protected. Besides which, their principal object was to re-establish the Catholic religion in their own country. After this was effected they could serve those who had helped them to do it.

In order not to increase the suspicion of the Lords by concealing the above letter from them, and making them think that the understanding with Spain was only to aid the latter in the English design, instead of first converting Scotland, the above letter was afterwards shown to them. They thereupon offered to assist in the invasion and conquest of England after Scotland was converted to the Catholic faith. Otherwise they will not do it, and they will be obliged to submit to the King and the English faction. They can do this without violating their conscience, as they are offered freedom in this respect if they will come to terms.

They have always written the truth hitherto, and they must now say that, if it is desired to make use of the Scottish Lords, it will be necessary that their advantage as well as that of his Majesty shall be regarded, having in view always the honour and glory of God, by which means all good ends are attained.

They press certain points which they say they cannot have made clearly understood previously; particularly that their country is not like other States, solid and stable, where no changes can be brought about except after great preparations. In Scotland any accident will bring about a change, as the realm is so divided and dismembered, and anyone attacking it with force is assured of victory, as there are no strong towns, and but few fortresses. Opportunity rather than strength is of use there. The country is in such a condition that it cannot wait for the slow Spanish resolutions; and if the Lords are to be utilised action must be accelerated, as affairs in Scotland change. In future it will be useless to write letters containing nothing but fair words, for these will never induce them to risk their homes and families. They wish to know first, for certain, whether the aid promised them is to be sent, and when.

If it be decided to send the aid to Little Leith, they (the Spaniards) will be masters of the port, no matter what may be the disposition of the King, and will hold the best town in the kingdom in six hours. In a month they will convert the country, if they govern mildly and wisely, with the advice of the Catholics. The latter will assist them by taking the most important towns and passes, which can be held by small garrisons, and the enemy will then be unable to raise head.

They assert that if 6,000 men come—or more if desired—and the money, most of the heretics who are offended at the death of the queen of Scotland will join them. They are only dissembling now to avoid further injury.

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Even failing the earl of Morton, his cousin, Lord Herries, who is as good a Catholic as he, has promised to declare himself if the aid comes before (the Spanish force) lands in England. By this means this postern of the island, which the Englishwoman fears to lose, would be assured to us, and an entrance could thence be gained into England, there being a great abundance of victuals in Scotland this year.

Although the Lords have maintained large forces since the arrival of the earl of Morton, they still keep in hand the money they have received from Bruce, except the sum paid to Morton, which was taken when he was captured.

They say that at little cost of men and money here, much can be saved elsewhere, this being in substance the advantage that your Majesty can obtain from Scotland, by sending the aid desired. If its coming be delayed, Bruce and Semple will be obliged to leave the country, as the heretics suspect them. They therefore earnestly pray for a prompt resolution.

They refer to the bearer to relate verbally other things which they do not write, to avoid prolixity. They beg that the bearer may have some money for his voyage, as they have only given him 50 crowns.

12 Sept. Estado, 495. **428.** POINTS of a LETTER from the EARL OF HUNTLY to the DUKE OF PARMA, from Dunfermline, 12th September 1588.

By Francisco Aguirre, who had left 15 days before, he sent a reply to the letter brought by Chisolme. As we shall learn from Chisolme and Colonel Semple of the condition of affairs, he (the Earl) will only say that Semple has behaved as a gentleman of his rank should, and has given much satisfaction to all Catholics. The choice of him was a good one, for he has shown great dexterity, both with the King and his Ministers, whose falsity he saw through; but anticipating violence he had escaped, though at considerable cost, as he had to spend much money in bribing guards and so on.

The return of Colonel Semple (to Flanders) was advisable, as his proceedings had aroused suspicion, and he will be able to report fully to the duke of Parma. If an attack is made upon England, and they (the Scots nobles) are provided with the assistance they request, they will within a fortnight invade England on their side.

He requests that Colonel Semple be sent back with the reinforcements, and considering his experience and good parts, he should command a portion of them, or the Scottish levies. These recommendations are made to promote the cause of God, and he need not press them further; but they (the Scots nobles) cannot refrain from pointing out the long time that has passed since they first began to look for the reinforcements, and the danger they are in, in consequence of their King having embraced the English faction whilst they have declared themselves on the other side rather than violate their consciences, for which they have risked their lives. It is therefore necessary, if they were not to abandon their country, that they should be furnished with support in men and money, or at least the latter, that they may hold out and be

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ready to receive the reinforcements when they come. If money be sent, Chisolme, in company with some other person, can bring it, whilst the Colonel (Semple) remains behind to come with the troops. He asks that full credence be given to Semple and Chisolme, as they have been thoroughly informed of the plans of the nobles.

Bruce writes under same date, also referring us to what Huntly will write, and to Semple and Chisolme for verbal information. He (Bruce) assures the Duke that he will strive his utmost to forward the cause of God, regardless of danger to himself. He had given 30 crowns to the soldiers and sailors from Flanders who had been captured, and had promised 100 crowns freight to the vessel in which they were to go over with Semple and Chisolme, as well as paying for their rations, if these were not paid for in Flanders.

15 Sept. **429.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Yours of 30th ultimo and 4th instant received on the 13th, with all reports and advices, for which thanks. Continue to send everything you can learn, but attach to each report your opinion as to the credit which it deserves.

You did well in attending to the ship of Colonel Nicholas Isla that put into Havre de Grâce,* and also in securing the money she had on board and placing it in the care of merchants, as ordered by the duke of Parma. If the officers kept any in hand for the needs of the ship you will not spend any of the credit of 15,000 crowns, which you did well not to cash, as you had no necessity for it. Seeing, however, what you say now as to the requirements for the embassy you may draw the said credit for your purposes.† Malvendas has been ordered to pay it although it is overdue.

You have been careful to advise about English armaments, their intentions, and designs; but you will henceforward have to be doubly vigilant if possible, and will try to engage new agents, both trustworthy and intelligent, so that by comparing several reports together we may the more certainly arrive at the truth.—San Lorenzo, 15th September 1588.

15 Sept. **430.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

I notice what you say about Julio in your letters of the 4th. Although it may be the case that he is not corresponding with you so straightforwardly as before, do not appear to take any notice of it, either to the new confidant or to Julio himself; but at the same time be careful not to depend upon his information, and be sparing of the money. David's advices and others received. Keep all your agents in hand, and make use of them as heretofore.

* In the King's hand:—"I think she put into some other place although she afterwards went to Havre de Grâce." This is true. The "Santa Ana" first put into the Bay of La Hogue.

† In the King's hand:—"In place of the remittance you now ask for." It will be seen by these two autograph notes that even when the news of his great disaster was reaching him hourly, the King weighed every unimportant word in his dispatches.

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It will be well for Sampson to go whither he is summoned,* but tell him to report most minutely. Give the same instructions to David in due time, but do not let either know of the other, and let them not go both at the same time, so that there may always be one near you to give you information. Consider, too, whether they may not be summoned in order to play some trick upon them if any suspicion be entertained of them.†—San Lorenzo, 15th September 1588.

17 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

431. PURSER PEDRO DE IGUELDO to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

On the 11th instant I informed you what had happened with the English in this port (Havre de Grâce), and that they had wounded the Maestre de Campo (Isla). God was pleased to take him on the 12th, and his Majesty has lost a good soldier. Our misfortunes have not ended here. After discharging the guns, powder, lead, etc., and lightening the ship all we could, with the intention of getting her into the harbour at the spring tides, due to-morrow, a great gale arose; and as these roads are unsheltered the cables broke at nightfall, and the ship drifted ashore near the castle of the town. Help was given to rescue the crew, and the ship remained high and dry next day. This morning, by daybreak, the Governor sent 50 sailors from shore, to help those from the ship and lighters to throw out the ballast, and everything, so as to save the hull. They have cut down her mainmast, and are trying their best to get her afloat and in harbour by to-night's tide. The issue is doubtful, but everything shall be done, although it costs a great deal of money.—Havre de Grâce, 17th September 1588.

17 Sept. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1568.

432. ADVICES from ENGLAND.

The earl of Leicester died almost suddenly on his way to the baths, and in the same house as that in which he had caused his wife to be killed, the master of it having invited him to dinner.

The Queen is sorry for his death, but no other person in the country. She was so grieved that for some days she shut herself in her chamber alone, and refused to speak to anyone until the Treasurer and other Councillors had the doors broken open and entered to see her.

The Lord Chancellor, now that Leicester is dead, has much more power than before, and is helped by Secretary Walsingham, with whom he is very friendly.

James Crofts, the Controller, who was one of the Peace, Commissioners to Flanders, is a prisoner in the Fleet, Leicester, who was his enemy, having tried to get him sent to the Tower of London. The charge against him is that during the negotiations in Flanders he refused to sign the letters written by the other Commissioners, and that by this means the negotiations with the duke of Parma were further delayed.

The Queen has disbanded her forces by land and sea, except six armed ships under Sir Henry Palmer to guard the Channel.

* That is to say to England, whither his master Don Antonio had summoned him.
† In the King's hand :—"Warn them of this possibility."

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It is understood that the Spanish Armada has returned, as there is no news of its having been seen in Ireland.

23 Sept. Estado, 455. **433.** DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty from the Gulf (*i.e.*, the Bay of Biscay), sending an account of events up to that time. Subsequently the weather became so bad that the ships were all scattered, only 60 standing by me. These followed me until the 18th instant, when a great storm overtook us in latitude 45 and we all expected to perish. I was then left with only 11 ships, and with these, when the weather abated, I continued on my course to Cape Finisterre with a westerly wind. We ran down to 43½ degrees, and on the 21st, at two o'clock, we sighted land, which was said to be the island of Cizarga, seven leagues from Corunna. The wind then fell calm, and one of the little caravels belonging to the Armada (which had ridden out the storm with her head to windward) came to us from towards the land, and cried out that we were lost, as we were off Santander, and told us to put to sea. There was no wind, and the strong currents were carrying us on to the land, so I fired some guns for boats to put off and help us, which they did. I then sailed to this port, and cast anchor at Point Enoja, as the tide was against us, with the intention of entering the harbour by the morning tide. As I was so ill, with five and twenty days of fever and flux, which have grievously weakened me, I landed, leaving Diego Flores on the galleon with shore pilots and pinnaces to tow her in. The south-wester, however, was so strong that she could not ride at anchor later than six o'clock in the day, and was obliged to run for Laredo, where she is now anchored with 21 great ships of Andalusia, your Majesty's galleys, and the galleass "Patrona" (*i.e.*, the "Napolitana"). Eight ships have entered this port, and five or six others, with Miguel de Oquendo, have run for the Biscay coast. There are also, it is said, six or seven more cruising off this port, so that I hope to God that they will all come in one after the other. The ships in Laredo will come hither with the first N.E. wind, as this port is so safe. I have sent them orders to that effect.

The troubles and miseries we have suffered cannot be described to your Majesty. They have been greater than have ever been seen in any voyage before, and on board some of the ships that had come in there was not one drop of water to drink for a fortnight. On the flagship 180 men died of sickness, three out of the four pilots on board having succumbed, and all the rest of the people on the ship are ill, many of typhus and other contagious maladies. All the men of my household, to the number of 60, have either died or fallen sick, and only two have remained able to serve me. God be praised for all He has ordained.

Great as have been these miseries and afflictions we are now more pressed than ever, for the men are all ill, and the little biscuit and wine we have left will be exhausted in a week. We are therefore in a wretched state, and I implore your Majesty to have some money provided speedily for the supply of necessaries,

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for not a single maravedi comes in the Armada. Oquendo takes with him the money which was in his ship—55,000 crowns.

Hernando de la Riva Herrera is attending to everything here splendidly. If he had not done so I do not know how we should have fared, for I have neither the health nor the head to see after anything; and your Majesty has no inspector, provedore, nor paymaster here. Everything is astray, and must at once be placed in competent hands to direct; for, as I say, I am in no condition to attend to business of any sort.

I am told that this country is very poor in supplies, so that your Majesty should order to be sent hither with great speed all the wheat that can be got, and the stores they may have at Corunna. I have written to Andres de Alva about it by special messenger, and have also sent to the neighbouring ports.

The sick shall have the best care that can be given to them. I have written to the archbishop of Burgos, asking him to send doctors and hospital staff.

I will continue to report the ships as they come in, and the number of men present at the muster which Hernando de la Riva Herrera has undertaken to call. He will also look to the accounts pending the recovery of Purser Vallejo, who is here. Everything is in such need and straits that I humbly beg your Majesty to look to it promptly.—Santander, 23rd September 1588.

23 Sept. Estado, 594.

434. DUKE OF MEDINA SIDONIA to the KING.

Don Francisco de Bobadilla* will give an account to your Majesty of everything you may desire to know of the events of the voyage, with its miseries and necessities. I pray your Majesty to give him entire credit in the matter of the expedition, for he was an eye witness and will tell the truth. He will also bear witness to my own lack of health to serve your Majesty here; for truly I have come back almost at my last gasp. I therefore remain in bed unable to attend to anything, however much I might wish to do so. I await in full confidence that your Majesty will in your clemency and magnanimity send me the license which I request.—Santander, 23rd September 1588.

24 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

435. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I try my very best to correct the advices I send your Majesty with relation to the events in connexion with the Armada, but as they are only brought by sailors whose ships put into French ports it is impossible for me to check them, and I am obliged to send them to your Majesty as I receive them.

They write from Hamburg, under date of 28th ultimo (O.S.), equal to our 6th September, that a ship had arrived at Lubeck from Lisbon, having run outside the coast of Ireland and Scotland. They report that they had met your Majesty's Armada, 115 to 120 sail, in the Northern Sea, sailing in good order and fine weather.

* He was one of the most experienced military officers in Philip's service, and in matters of tactics and military affairs the Duke had been entirely guided by him during the expedition.

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An ambassador has arrived here from the king of Denmark to inform the king of France of the death of his father. He is the vice-admiral of Denmark and a native of Scotland. He left Denmark by sea for Hamburg 20 days ago, whence he travelled by land to Holland, and there again embarked for Dieppe. He says that there was no news of the arrival of any ships of the Armada on the Norwegian, Danish, or Hamburg coasts; and he had been told in Holland that, although the English assert that the Armada was defeated it was a lie, as it had been sighted sailing well together, and had done much damage to the English.

A man who left Edinburgh on the 4th instant, and came overland, says that the Scottish fishing boats had returned home, reporting that they had passed the Spanish Armada between the Orkneys and the Shetlands whilst they were fishing. They say there were 120 great ships, such as they had never seen before, and many small ones. The Spaniards had taken what dried fish the fishing boats had, paying very well for it, and also some shipmasters and pilots. All the English and fishing boats which were at the fisheries with them had been captured by the Spaniards, and their crews put in irons; so that when the Armada left there it had nearly 300 sail, and the weather was so fine that it would very soon arrive in Spain.

Letters from England, dated 12th instant, report that the Admiral had arrived at Dover with 12,000*l.* to pay the troops there, as they were very discontented. It was said that Drake was going to put to sea with 50 sail, but the man who comes from Scotland left London on the 16th, and the Admiral had then returned thither, Drake also being there at that time. There was no talk then about ships putting to sea or preparations being made.

Colonel Semple had again been put in prison, in the house of a burgess of Edinburgh, but had escaped and retired with his friends; the earl of Huntly having been the cause of his having been set at liberty before. The earl of Morton had been carried to the castle of Blackness from Edinburgh. He was still kept a prisoner.

I hear from Catholics that the Queen is having 50 ships fitted out secretly which Drake is to take to sea.—Paris, 24th September 1588.

24 Sept. **436.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have your Majesty's despatches of 3rd instant, and duplicate of 31st ultimo. When I see this King I will give him your Majesty's thanks for his willingness in ordering the return of the men at Bayonne, and the galleass that ran ashore at Calais. He has been just as ready to do all I requested about the "Santa Ana" and the infantry in her. Although I endeavour to avoid the difficulties which may occur to your Majesty's ships in these ports, I cannot do so in consequence of the factions that exist in the country, and the confused way in which the King's orders are treated. They are, in fact, only obeyed in so far as the Governor they are sent to thinks fit. This is seen in the way the duke of Montpensier acted (he being on the side of Bearn) when the "Santa Ana" arrived at La Hogue. Although he had his instructions from the King, he refused the "Santa Ana" communication with the shore, and all supplies. I

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am assured even that Montpensier himself advised the English of the arrival of the ship, in order that they might attack her. There have arrived at Chartres and here, secretly, about 60 Turks from the galleys which put in at Bayonne and Calais.* Some people think I ought to request this King to give them up, but I have not thought that this would be beneficial to your Majesty's interests for the following reasons. 1st.—That it is a very old law in France that no slaves can exist in the realm; the moment they tread French soil they are free, and the King would be very reluctant to violate this law. Even if he did so in this case, the slaves are scattered in so many places that it would cost more to collect and transport them than they are worth, besides the difficulty of doing it. It is moreover not desirable that people here should think that 60 or 80 slaves were considered of any importance in an Armada so powerful as that of your Majesty. The Turks who have requested passports from this King, in virtue of the alliance between him and the Grand Turk, have received them, with two crowns each to help them on their way.

The "Santa Ana," which I informed your Majesty had arrived at Havre de Grâce, could not enter port, owing to its being too large; and whilst it was at the anchorage in the roads some English ships came and attacked it, as is related in enclosed extract from the statement sent to me by the purser, Igueldo. I am unable to do anything in the matter, as it is for this King to resent the action of the queen of England in sending ships to attack and capture vessels peacefully lying at anchor in his ports and roadsteads, enjoying the protection offered by them. I cannot address the King on the matter, but regard for his own prestige will compel him to chastise such insolence. The Maestre de Campo, Nicolas Isla, died in Havre de Grâce from a blow from a spar. Your Majesty has lost a good soldier in him.

As soon as the duke of Parma heard that the "Santa Ana" was on the coast of Normandy, he sent a commissary named Claude Chastelayn, a Frenchman, with orders for the ship and crew, and instructions to place the money she had on board in safety in the hands of a merchant to be chosen by Chastelayn. When the latter found that a stop had been placed upon the specie, he came hither with a letter of credence from the duke of Parma to me, asking me to give him aid, if he needed it, in the matter; just as if I were the correspondent of some merchant, rather than the ambassador of your Majesty. The duke of Parma subsequently wrote to Chastelayn and to me, that the infantry on board the ship was to go to the Netherlands. The Duke wrote to me at the same time, asking me to obtain a passport from the King, to enable the men to go. Chastelayn informed me that the "Santa Ana" and the money on board of her had been seized in virtue of letters of marque granted by this King, before my time here, in reprisal for some property taken from French merchants at the castle of the Mina (Elmina). I informed the King of this, and requested that the letters of marque should be cancelled, they having been illegally granted, as on many

* That is to say, Turkish galley slaves from the galleass "San Lorenzo" lost in Calais haven, and from the galleys wrecked near Bayonne.

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occasions I had repeated to his Council. The King ordered the seizure to be cancelled immediately, and gave me a passport for the troops to go overland to your Majesty's dominions, they paying a moderate price for the rations they needed. He also appointed a commissary to guide them. I therefore successfully completed my part of the business, although I would not have raised a finger in it, but that your Majesty's interest demanded it, which interest I will do my best to forward whilst I have life, even though I had to suffer a hundred waggons and cannons passing over my body. I have deferred until I got the business settled before saying how much I resent the fact that, after your Majesty had done me so much honour as to retain me here as your ambassador to this King, the duke of Parma should be so neglectful of the respect and decorum which is fitting to be employed in this country towards the person of your Majesty's ambassador. He sends private men to execute his orders here, and *tells me to assist them.**

The gift of 2,000 crowns your Majesty pays to the English seminary at Rheims is due on 1st October, and the English nuns of Sion, at Rouen,† presented to me a letter of your Majesty of December 1587, ordering me to give them 1,000 crowns on account of the pension owing to them, of that granted by your Majesty to them in Flanders, namely 100 florins a month. I gave them the 1,000 crowns, but although they are in need, and eight months' pension is still owing since the date of your letter, I have been unable to pay them the rest, as I have no money. I pray your Majesty to have credits sent me for both these purposes, and also to pay your Majesty's Scotch pensioners, and my extraordinary disbursements. I have exhausted the credit of 8,000 crowns.—24th September 1588.

P.S.—The purser, Igueldo, has again written, giving me an account of what had happened to the "Santa Ana," which your Majesty will see by enclosed extract from his letter.

24 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1567. Italian.

437. LETTER from LONDON (from Marco Antonio Messia ?).

I am deeply sorry that I have nothing to write about but trouble and misfortune. God in his wisdom and goodness bring a remedy for it all! Know, then, that I am in the last stage of despair, for it is desirable in all respects that I should leave here, but I cannot do so without paying what I owe. My creditors have hitherto supported me, but will do so no longer; so you may imagine my position, and from no fault of my own. God pardon him whose fault it is. I have done all I have been able in the service of our friends, and I have never been found wanting, as my record for years past will show, and often on occasions of the highest importance. It seems to me, therefore, that as so little account is made of me, surely I must be the most ill-rewarded of any man. Above all,

* This tone of indignation and resentment against Parma is noticeable in many letters written by Mendoza and other Spanish officers after the defeat of the Armada. It gradually moderated when the King had made it clear that he did not blame Parma for the catastrophe.

† These were the English nuns who had been deported from Sion House, Richmond, first to Flanders and then to their new convent at Rouen.

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I marvel that in the law-suit about my property in Portugal, where the injustice done to me is patent, my friends have not acted towards me as I would have done to them. I do not believe, if the Cardinal had been well informed, he would have allowed me to have been so unjustly treated. In addition to all this I am in great danger in these critical times, and am suspected; and I can only fervently pray to God to get me out of this country. Besides this, the information I possess will be of the utmost importance to a friend.

This letter will be accompanied by another written in Spanish by those who were taken from Don Pedro de Valdés's ship. I wish to serve one of these prisoners, as I know some of his relatives, and especially for the sake of Signor Santifantoni. Since the letter was written I have been negotiating for his ransom, and that of another ensign named Juan Bermudez, and two soldiers, his brothers; 500 crowns was the sum asked, and they offer 350, which they say they have means of obtaining, but nothing has yet been settled. The intermediary, however, hopes to arrange it for 400 crowns, which they will pay if they can do no better. Please send the letter to my correspondent, Esteban Lercaro, for him to forward it to Signor Santinfantoni at Cadiz. The other prisoners are in Bridewell, and it is said to be the intention to liberate them on ransom, and apply the money to those who were wounded on the fleet; but they wish to ascertain whether those who undertake to pay ransoms have really the means of paying it. Two ships arrived here three days ago from Barbary. Whilst the shippers were preparing their (homeward) cargo they (the ships) went out to pillage, and falling in with two ships from Brazil, loaded with sugar, they captured them and took them to Barbary. This sort of intelligence may be continually looked for now, as the corsairs are being fitted out with furious haste. I hear that the earl of Cumberland is going out in person to the Indies, with 14 ships, and I expect that he and others like him will be encouraged by the coming of a gentleman named Cavendish, who three years ago sold some property of his and fitted out three ships which he took to the Straits of Magellan. He has now returned, very wealthy with gems, gold, and silver, to the value of 3,000,000 crowns, though others say only one million, which I deem more likely. But if it be only half that amount, it is quite enough to encourage others to seek similar adventures. The only news of the Armada is brought by a Scotch ship which has arrived from Spain, reporting that she met a fleet off Cape Finisterre. If you have any news pray let me know. I have kept this letter until to-day, 26th, Saturday. The Venetian galleon "Patti" has arrived in the Bristol Channel with a cargo of wine, currants, and rice, which will sell well here. She reports that she fell in with 26 Spanish galleons in the Straits (of Gibraltar?) which she deceived as to her destination by false papers, saying she was going to Lisbon. They say now that Cavendish's booty is not worth more than 500,000 crowns, which is enough. Two other captured ships have been brought in. It is again stated that some of the ships of the Armada are in Ireland, forced there by weather. Others account for them in a different way, and I do not know whom to believe, for, look you, how vain has been all the talk lately. I know that several

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ships have left here for Ireland, amongst others seven belonging to the Queen, but I quite expect to be told to-morrow that they were fishing boats, or something of that sort.

I went to-day to see the Spanish prisoners in Bridewell. Two of them have become Protestants, one a Sardinian and the other an Andalucian, and they have been released, but I am told that those who refuse to listen to the preaching of a Sicilian they have there are not allowed any share in the alms. But they bear up with patience. Some of them are ill, and I think with a small sum of money they would be released; but very few of them have the means of paying a single penny, unless they are helped by their country. I have seen prisoners ransomed from the Turks by a general contribution being made by soldiers or sailors at home when their wages are paid to them. These poor creatures have no other hope than such as this. I am grieved to the heart to see them in such calamity, and I cannot but think that the course I have mentioned would be adopted wherever Spanish garrisons exist, if it were suggested to them.

A fortnight ago they placed in St. Paul's the banners they took from Valdés's ship and the galleass. There are also four infantry standards, and some other flags and banners. They say that on one of the flags is the cross of Burgundy, quartered with the arms of France and the rose of England. This gives rise to much talk here, the said banners having been kept on deck for everyone to see.

Note.—The King has appended the following autograph note to the above letter. "There are some things here that it would be "well to attend to. Let them be considered. It would be well "to do something for this man, who must be he who went from "Portugal." The King was correct; the writer of the letter was undoubtedly the Genoese, Messia, who had been sent to England by the marquis of Santa Cruz, and to whom many references are made in Mendoza's letters.

24 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

438. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Julio sent again to tell me the other day that an agent of Don Antonio had gone to England with letters from this King and his mother. This is a lie. He had told it to me before, as an excuse for asking me for 1,200 crowns for the journey to Blois. As for some time past he had told me nothing but fiction, I replied that I was short of money and could not accommodate him on this occasion. I beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to deal with him. I will humour him until I hear. (Relates an alleged plan of Don Antonio to go to Constantinople for help, with the permission of the queen of England, leaving his sons there as hostages. The writer has advised the duke of Parma of this, and that Don Antonio would land at Hamburg. Parma had replied that he had no communication with Hamburg, and Mendoza had better advise Don Guillen (de San Clemente, Spanish Ambassador to the Emperor). The writer expresses his dissatisfaction at this. He will write to Parma again as soon as he knows that Don Antonio is about to depart.)—Paris, 24th September 1588.

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Note.—The above letter is accompanied by another from a Portuguese spy (David) at Rouen, giving Mendoza the information about Don Antonio. He also reports the death of the earl of Leicester, and mentions the going and coming of several of the Portuguese Pretender's friends to England. He therefrom deduces the opinion that the Queen will not let Don Antonio go, but, encouraged by the destruction of the Spanish fleet, would aid him in attack upon Portugal. This, of course, she did in the following year.

24 Sept. Guerra, 221.

439. STATEMENT made by the Purser Pedro Coco Calderon, of the events which happened to the Royal Armada commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, from the time it left Corunna, where it had taken refuge from the gales it encountered after it sailed from Lisbon.

The Armada sailed from Corunna on the 22nd July, with 151 vessels, as follows:—

23 galleons,
43 ships,
26 hulks,
4 galleasses,
4 galleys,
20 pataches,
10 zabras,
11 caravels,
10 pinnaces;

the total tonnage being 62,278 tons, the soldiers and sailors on board numbering in all 30,000 men.

Sail was put on, and in light weather the Armada set its course for the Scilly Isles, nine leagues from the bay of St. Michael's and Mount's Bay in England.

On Monday, 25th July, a strong wind sprang up, and the Armada continued on its course. Tuesday, 26th, the day of St. Anne, the galleys and the ship "St. Ana," the flagship of Juan Martinez de Recalde, were missing. The captain of the latter was Juan Perez de Mucio, and she carried 98 sailors, the Maestre de Campo, Nicolas Isla, with 284 soldiers, the Purser Pedro de Igueldo, and it is said 50,000 ducats in gold belonging to the King.

On the 30th July the Lizard was sighted, and the Armada continued on her voyage until five o'clock, in the afternoon, at which time it was abreast of Cape Gudiman (?) four leagues from land.

An English pinnace approached to reconnoitre, and Captain Ojeda with his ship and some pinnaces gave chase until she ran inshore. At nightfall we discovered the enemy's fleet to leeward, but as it was already late, and the weather was thick, we could not reconnoitre it. The Duke ordered Captain Uceda to go through the Armada during the night, giving instructions for the ships to be put into order of battle, as the enemy would be upon us in the morning. The Duke then gave orders for sail to be shortened, and remained awaiting him. At about two o'clock in the morning, when the moon came out, the enemy set sail and gained the wind of us, leaving five ships cruising in sight of us to make us think that the rest of his fleet was there.

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On the morning of Sunday, 31st July, the enemy's fleet being then to windward of us, the Duke made an appearance of attacking the port. The wind was westerly and the bows of the Duke's flagship were luffed as close to the wind as possible, whilst the enemy's fleet, with the wind astern, bore down upon us. They had 20 great galleons, from 500 to 800 tons burden, and 50 of from 200 to 300 tons, extremely well armed, rigged, and handled. In order not to expose his rearguard the Duke was obliged to put about and form order of battle to await the enemy. They came towards us in very good order, and two of their vessels approached from the direction of their port for the purpose of reconnoitring us, after which they sailed towards their flagship. The latter then struck her foresail, and from the direction of the land sent four vessels, one of which was the vice-flagship, to skirmish with our vice-flagship and the rest of our rearguard. They bombarded her and the galleon "San Mateo," which, putting her head as close up to the wind as possible, did not reply to their fire, but waited for them in the hope of bringing them to close quarters. The "Rata," with Don Alonso de Leyva on board, endeavoured to approach the enemy's vice-flagship, which also allowed herself to fall off towards the "Rata." But they could not exchange cannon shots, because the enemy's ship, fearing that the "San Mateo" would bring her to close quarters, left the "Rata" and bombarded the "San Mateo." In the meanwhile the wind forced Don Alonso de Leyva away, and he was prevented from carrying out his intentions, but he exchanged cannon shots with others of the enemy's ships.

The Duke's flagship most distinguished herself this day, as she was engaged the greater part of the time, and resisted the fury of the whole of the enemy's fleet. Juan Martinez de Recalde, like the skilful seaman he was, collected all his ships whilst protecting his rearguard, and engaging at the same time eight of the enemy's best ships. The Duke, seeing that the enemy would not come to close quarters, proceeded on his voyage. Juan Martinez de Recalde's foremast was pierced by two shots, the mainstays destroyed, as was his main-top stay, and Captain Pedro de Ycaina and others were wounded. Miguel de Oquendo's flagship also distinguished herself this day and the ensign of Captain Priego had his leg carried away by a ball. During this morning certain ships basely took to flight, until they were peremptorily ordered by the flagship to luff and face the enemy. The skirmish finished at mid-day without further damage, the Duke recognising that the enemy's intention was not to come to close quarters, but only to bombard us, took advantage of the fresh westerly wind and continued on his voyage. At five o'clock on the same day Pedro de Valdés's flagship ran foul of the "Santa Catalina," a ship of the same squadron, and broke the bowsprit of the flagship, and snapped the stay of the foremast, which fell upon the mainmast Don Pedro fired a gun for aid, and the Duke put about in the direction of the injured flagship, and lay to in order to await her.

Don Pedro also lay to, and some ships and two galleasses shortened sail to help him. But in consequence of the heavy sea they could not venture to send a hawser on board of him. The Duke then sent two pataches to take off the crew, but when they came alongside

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Don Pedro refused to abandon his ship, as he said he could repair her. When the Duke learnt this, the Armada being so far advanced, he was obliged to proceed on his voyage, and two hours afterwards three or four shots were heard. Nothing further is known of Don Pedro, except that the enemy captured his ship. This flagship had the following persons on board:—General Don Pedro de Valdés, Captain Vicente Alvarez, owner of the ship, 128 sailors, 50,000 ducats belonging to his Majesty, Captain Don Alonso de Zayas, and 122 soldiers of the company of Don Antonio de Heria, with 20 of Don Juan de Ibarra's company.

On the same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, shortly after the disaster to Don Pedro de Valdés, the "San Salvador," the vice-flagship of Oquendo's squadron, blew up, by reason of the powder which had been brought on deck for the fighting. It is said that Captain Priego had beaten a German artilleryman, who went below, saying that one of the pieces had got wet, and would have to be discharged. He fired the piece and then threw the port fire into a barrel of powder. Both of the after decks were blown up, killing over 200 men, including Ensign Castañeda, who was on the watch; and the ship was rent both in the bows and the stern. Many of the men jumped into the sea and were drowned, but the principal persons were saved in four pataches, which were sent by the Duke. Paymaster Juan de Huerta, his staff papers, and some money in his charge, were saved. She (the "San Salvador") continued her voyage with great difficulty until Monday, 1st August, in the morning, when the Duke ordered the people to be taken out of her and the ship sunk. The captain, however, was badly wounded, and the men in a hurry to abandon the ship, so that there was no one to sink her; besides which, she had many wounded and burnt men on board, who could not be rescued as the enemy was approaching. It is believed that the enemy will have put a hawser on board and towed her to a port on the coast. Pedro Coco Calderon, chief purser on the Armada, received on the flag hulk Captain Villaviciosa and about 34 burnt men. On this day the Duke despatched, in a patache, Ensign Juan Gil to Dunkirk, with a letter to the duke of Parma, informing him of the whereabouts of the Armada, and asking where the two forces should join. On board the said ship (*i.e.*, the "San Salvador") there were 64 seamen; Captain Pedro de Priego, who was badly burnt, and had 94 soldiers; Captain Don Francisco de Chaves, who was unhurt, and had 133 soldiers; Captain Geronimo de Valderrama, with 92 soldiers, he was also unhurt; Captain Juan de Villaviciosa, Vice-Admiral of the squadron, was burnt.

On Tuesday, 2nd August, we were near the the Cape of Plymouth, when the day dawned with a easterly wind, the enemy's fleet being consequently to leeward of us. The Duke steered towards them with the intention of engaging them, but the enemy clapped on all sail and fled. The wind being light, and the enemy's ships swifter than ours we were unable to give them chase. On this day the Duke appointed to command Don Pedro de Valdés's squadron Don Diego Enriquez, son of the viceroy of Peru. The skirmishing on Tuesday was very severe, the Florentine galleon "San Medel" greatly distinguishing herself, as did also the hulks

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(two gunners on which were burnt in consequence of neglecting to sponge out their piece), and the galleasses, and especially the Duke's flagship, which for an hour and half engaged the enemy's fleet alone. She was afterwards reinforced by Oquendo's flagship, which managed to join her and help her gallantly in her brave fight. The Duke's flagship fired over 80 shots from one side only, and inflicted great damage on the enemy. The latter shot at the Duke at least 500 cannon balls, some of which struck his hull, and others his rigging, carrying away his flagstaff and one of the stays of his mainmast. The skirmish lasted from dawn until ten o'clock in the morning, during which time we were trying to come up with them. At that hour the wind shifted to the south, which enabled the enemy to gain the wind, and the renewed firing then lasted until three in the afternoon. The flagship of the squadron put about, and discharged a gun as a signal for the other ships to approach her, but as she was so far to windward of the rest of the Armada she could not be reinforced so speedily. Two of our artillerymen were killed during the skirmish, in consequence of their neglecting to sponge out their pieces. When the enemy saw the defiance offered to them by the squadron flagship, they left her, and attacked the rest of our boats. Don Alonso de Leyva made great efforts to come up with the enemy, but he was unable to do so, as he was too far to the leeward. The galleon "San Marcos" bravely engaged the enemy. This ship carries the marquis de Peñafiel, Don Felipe de Cordova, brother of the marquis de las Navas, Don Martin de Alanzon, Administrator-General of the Hospital Service, and other great personages. The Duke saw that the enemy continued to attack our rearguard, and selected 41 of the best ships and the four galleasses to form the rear, and then proceeded on his voyage.

On Wednesday, the 3rd, at dawn, our Armada was abreast of the Isle of Wight, and the enemy's fleet bombarded our rearguard for an hour, the galleasses "Capitana" and "Zuñiga" distinguishing themselves. The wind then fell light and the enemy, fearing the galleasses, remained two leagues from our Armada.

On Thursday, the 4th, the weather was calm, and the hulks "Santa Ana" and "Doncella" fell astern. The enemy attacked them with some of their ships, which they towed within range. They would certainly have captured the hulks if Don Alonso de Leyva, with his flagship and the two galleasses from the rearguard, had not gone to their assistance. The wind then freshened a little and the skirmishing began with the galleasses. The flagship with the vanguard, came to their assistance, and finding her alone, with the galleass "Patrona" to windward of the line of battle, the enemy selected some of the best ships in his fleet to deliver a combined attack on the flagship, the rest of his vessels being left to engage the rearguard. The plan would have succeeded if Oquendo had not kept so close a luff, and sailed towards the flagship with other vessels following him, thus covering her and receiving the chief brunt of the attack, which was very heavy. Two men were killed in the fore-castle of the flagship; and the enemy's flagship, with some other vessels, drifted far to leeward, in consequence of the rudder of the former being injured and useless. Ten longboats from the other

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ships took her in tow, and, the wind freshening, our flagship and other ships sailed towards her; but she got out so swiftly that the galleon "San Juan" and another quick sailing ship—the speediest vessels in the Armada—although they gave chase, seemed in comparison with her to be standing still. This being seen by the Duke, and the weather being fair, he proceeded on his voyage. The fighting on this day was as severe as that of Tuesday, and when it was ended the Duke despatched Captain Pedro de Leon to the duke of Parma to give him an account of events, and to request a fresh supply of shot.

On Friday, the 5th, the wind fell calm before dawn, the enemy always being on our rear, and we remained motionless all day. At four o'clock the Duke despatched the pilot Domingo Ochoa with letters to the duke of Parma. The enemy now appeared to have 160 sail, he having been joined by . . . . . * with two vice-flagships and two flagships.

On Saturday, the 6th, the wind was blowing from the south-west, the weather being heavy with showers. Our Armada was within sight of the coast of France, off Boulogne, the enemy being a league behind us. The intention of the Duke was to anchor abreast of Calais with the wind astern, and accordingly at low tide the Armada brought up at six o'clock in the evening at the place indicated; the enemy also anchoring about a league to windward of us, he having now been joined by John Hawkins,† with 38 sail, which, it was understood, came from Dover, three of them galleons and the rest small ships. This brought up his fleet to 160 sail. On this day the Duke sent a letter to the governor of Calais by Captain Pedro de Heredia, who found him on the shore in a coach with his wife, watching to see whether there would be a battle. At night the weather fell light, and at dusk the same evening the master and pilot of the hulk "San Pedro el Menor" deserted to the enemy's fleet. Their names were Simon Henriquez and Juan Isla. On Sunday, the 7th, the weather was calm until five in the morning, when it freshened, with showers. At dawn Captain Rodrigo Tello de Guzman arrived in a frigate (fragata) from the duke of Parma, bringing a letter for the Duke; and on this day was sent the Inspector-General Don Jorge Manrique to Dunkirk, for the purpose of discussing certain matters of the fleet with the Duke (of Parma). The steward, Pedroso, and Paymaster Juan de Huerta, were also sent to Calais with 6,000 ducats in gold to buy victuals and medicines for the Armada. The duke also despatched his Secretary, Geronimo de Arceo, to Dunkirk, to urge the duke of Parma to send with all speed the 30 or 40 flyboats which had been requested by the pilot Ochoa. At midnight on Sunday the enemy set adrift, with their sails set and the tide in their favour, eight ships with artificial machines on board, which came towards us all in flames, burning furiously in the bows, with the mainsails and foresails set, and the rudders lashed. They continued to burn towards the stern until the day was well advanced; but did no harm, except to dislodge our fleet. The galleass "Capitana," which was near the Duke's flagship, fired a shot warning our ships to avoid

* Blank in original.

† Lord Henry Seymour.

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them, and the Duke ordered our cables to be cut, the Armada then sailing in a northerly direction. When we slipped our anchors some of our ships ran foul of the galleass "Capitana," and she, being unmanageable, the tide carried her ashore. She had on board Don Hugo Moncada with 134 sailors, 312 oarsmen; Captain Luis Macian, with 130 soldiers of his company; and Captain Juan Perez de Loaisa, with 105 soldiers.

The same day the prince of Ascoli, with three servants and a chaplain, took a patache and (first picking up Major Juan Juarez Gallinato from his ship) went to Flanders.*

On Monday, the 8th, the galleass already mentioned grounded under the fort at Calais, to escape from the enemy's fleet, which shot many times at her. The Armada anchored two leagues from the port of Calais, with the intention, at daybreak, of recovering the position and picking up our anchors and cables. At dawn on Monday, accordingly, we set sail with that object. The flagship was alone with Oquendo's flagship and the "San Marcos," the galleon "San Juan," of Diego Flores' squadron, and the galleon "San Mateo" being at some little distance away; the Armada not having collected, although gun signal had been given to that effect. The enemy then opened a heavy artillery fire on our flagship at seven o'clock in the morning, which was continued for nine hours. So tremendous was the fire that over 200 balls struck the sails and hull of the flagship on the starboard side, killing and wounding many men, disabling and dismounting three guns, and destroying much rigging. The holes made in the hull between wind and water caused so great a leakage that two divers had as much as they could do to stop them up with tow and lead plates, working all day. The crew were much exhausted at nightfall with their heavy labours at the guns, without food.

The galleon "San Felipe," of Portugal, with the Maestre de Campo, Don Francisco de Toledo, on board, was on this day surrounded by 17 of the enemy's ships, which directed against her a heavy fire on both sides and on her stern. The enemy approached so close that the muskets and harquebusses of the galleon were brought into service, killing a large number of men on the enemy's ships. They did not dare, however, to come to close quarters, but kept up a hot artillery fire from a distance, disabling the rudder, breaking the foremast, and killing over 200 men on the galleon. This being noticed by Don Diego de Pimentel, he brought his galleon, "San Mateo," to the wind, and bravely went to the rescue. Then some of the enemy's ships attacked him, and inflicted much damage upon him with their artillery. One of the enemy's ships came alongside the galleon, and an Englishman jumped on board, but our men cut him to bits instantly. In the interim the Duke's flagship and the vice-flag hulk ("San Salvador"), with Purser Pedro Coco Calderon on board, luffed up as close as possible, and went to the aid of the galleon. The hulk in question, with the Duke's flagship, engaged an Admiral's and a commodore's flagships of the enemy, her bows, side, and half her poop, being exposed for four hours to the enemy's fire, during which time she received no aid. She had a number of men killed and wounded, and her hull,

* See the prince's own account of this, page 378.

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sails, and rigging so much damaged that she was obliged to change her mainsail. She leaked greatly through the shot holes, and finally the "Rata" came to her assistance, distinguishing herself greatly. On board the "Rata" there fell, killed by a shot, Don Pedro de Mendoza, son of the Commander of Castelnuovo, Naples, and other persons. They had to defend themselves against three flagships, a vice-flagship, and ten or twelve other war vessels. This engagement lasted from six o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon, the galleon "San Juan" suffering very severely, as also did the "San Marcos." Don Felipe de Cordoba, son of Don Diego, his Majesty's Master of the Horse, had his head shot off.

The Duke's flagship lost 40 soldiers, and Sergeant Juan Carrasco, Alonso de Orozco, and others. The "San Juan de Sicilia," which carried Diego Enriquez Tellez (marginal addition in orignal:—"and "Diego Enriquez, who succeeded to the command of Pedro de "Valdés's squadron, also fought bravely in this engagement"), suffered to such an extent that every one of her sails had to be replaced. Don Pedro Enriquez, who was also on board the "San Juan de Sicilia," had a hand shot away in this fight, and the ship's company generally behaved with great gallantry.

We sailed between Dover and Calais, in the direction of Norway, with a W.N.W. wind. The enemy inflicted great damage on the galleons "San Mateo" and "San Felipe," the latter having five of her starboard guns dismounted; and an Italian gunner, who was afterwards killed, spiked one of her great guns. In view of this, and that his upper deck was destroyed, both his pumps broken, his rigging in shreds, and his ship almost a wreck, Don Francisco de Toledo ordered the grappling hooks to be got out, and shouted to the enemy to come to close quarters. They replied, summoning him to surrender in fair fight; and one Englishman, standing in the maintop with his sword and buckler, called out "Good soldiers that "ye are, surrender to the fair terms we offer ye." But the only answer he got was a gunshot, which brought him down in sight of everyone, and the Maestre de Campo then ordered the muskets and harquebusses to be brought into action. The enemy thereupon retired, whilst our men shouted out to them that they were cowards, and with opprobrious words reproached them for their want of spirit, calling them Lutheran hens, and daring them to return to the fight. There were on board this "San Felipe" Captain Juan Gordon, who was killed, and 108 seamen; the aforementioned Maestre de Campo, with 111 soldiers of his own company; Captain Pedro Nuñez de Avila, with 72 soldiers; Captain Velasquez, with 113 soldiers; Captain Lorenzo Godoy (who remained sick at Corunna), had on board also 72 soldiers, and eight musketeers of the same regiment. The captains and ensigns were saved, but 60 soldiers were killed and 200 wounded. At seven o'clock in the evening of the said day the "San Felipe" fired shots for aid to be sent to her, and the hulk "Doncella" went to her. She found the galleon sinking, and took on board 300 of her men. Captain Juan Poza, who was with them, said that the hulk was going down. The Maestre de Campo replied that if that were the case they had better be drowned in the galleon than in the hulk, and they both went back to her. The galleon

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"San Mateo" had her hull so riddled that she was also in a sinking condition, the pumps being powerless to diminish the water. At six o'clock in the morning, therefore, she came alongside the flagship and asked for help. The Duke sent a diver who stopped some of the leaks, but in the end the galleon was obliged to drop astern with the "San Felipe," and their subsequent fate is unknown; but it is said they ran aground on the banks, there being no port near where they could take refuge. The "San Marcos" had on board the Maestre de Campo, Don Diego Pimentel, Juan Iñiguez de Medrano, her captain, 150 seamen, and 116 soldiers of the Maestre de Campo's company, 109 soldiers with Captain Francisco Marques, and 120 soldiers with Captain Martin de Avalos, with volunteers and others.

Admiral Juan Martinez (de Recalde), with the aid of two Levantine ships, skirmished with 10 of the enemy's great ships and made them retire, as they dared not come to close quarters. The Armada ran during that evening between England and Flanders, with the enemy still harassing our rearguard, we being in such great danger of running on the banks that it was only by a miracle we were not lost.

We learnt that the enemy had orders from the Queen, that, on pain of death, no ship of theirs was to come to close quarters with any of ours. At sunset a heavy sea rose, driving us towards the banks. At this time we observed that the ship "Maria Juan," of the squadron of Juan Martinez de Recalde—Captain Pedro de Ugarte—was signalling for assistance, as she was going down. Her crew had taken to the spars and rigging, and she had lost her mizenmast and rudder. The Duke sent the aid requested, but it was only possible to save one boatload of men, for she sank, to the great sorrow of everyone. She carried 92 seamen and 183 soldiers.

On Tuesday, the eve of St. Lorenzo, we still kept on the same course with the same wind, the enemy continuing a cannon shot in our rear. The flagship was sailing abaft of the rearguard, in consequence of having one of her anchors down, her lead having only marked seven fathoms, and she being near the banks, 12 leagues from the Channel. There therefore appeared to be no hope for her; either she must fall into the hands of the enemy or run on the banks. At this time the Duke noticed that Oquendo was sailing towards him and said to him "Señor Oquendo, what shall we do? We are lost!" to which Oquendo replied "Ask Diego Flores*. As for me, I am going to fight, and die like a man. Send me a supply of shot." But God succoured us in our distress, as He always does, and changed the wind in our favour, so that our flagship got free of the banks, and left the enemy behind. We sailed on all day under light sail, and the Duke summoned to his flagship Don Alonso de Leyva, Juan Martinez de Recalde, the chief Maestre de Campo, Don Francisco de Bobadilla, and several pilots and seamen. General Diego Flores

* Oquendo and the old mariners attributed the blame for the catastrophe to the bad advice of Diego Flores, who was the Duke's chief adviser. Diego Flores in any case was the only scapegoat, and was imprisoned on his return to Spain. In some of the unofficial reports printed by Fernandez Duro, Oquendo especially is represented as using the most insulting and offensive expressions towards the Duke on this and other occasions. Coco Calderon, who was evidently a creature of the Duke, takes care not to repeat these expressions.

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de Valdés suggested that the Armada might put about and return to Calais, but it was resolved that it should set its course for Spain. Captain Alonso de Benavides and Captain Vasco de Carbajal asked Purser Calderon what course that was; to which he replied that it would be a tremendously laborious one, for we should have to sail round England, Scotland, and Ireland, 750 leagues, through stormy seas almost unknown to us, before we could reach Corunna.

He (*i.e.*, the Purser Coco Calderon) then took careful stock of the bread and water on board—for everything else was lacking, especially on this hulk (*i.e.*, the vice-flag hulk "San Salvador").

On Wednesday, the 10th, San Lorenzo's day, we sailed on towards Norway with wind astern.

On Thursday, the 11th, the Armada put on sail, and beat up in the direction of Scotland, in latitude 54° N. The enemy's fleet now numbered only 90 vessels, which continued to follow us. It is to be concluded from this that their ships had suffered much, and had been obliged to put into port to refit. The Duke on this day ordered Don Cristobal de Avila, captain of the hulk "Santa Barbara," to be hanged; and condemned to the galleys other ship captains, as well as reducing some soldier-officers. It is said that this was because on the day of the battle they allowed themselves to drift out of the fight.

On Friday, the 12th, the Armada was in 55° N., off a shoal on the German coast, in nine fathoms of water. At ten o'clock that morning a despatch boat came to the enemy, and they slackened sail, putting about and sailing towards London at two o'clock that afternoon. On this day the Duke appointed to be Major of the Entre Douro e Minho Regiment Lope Gil, in the place of Juan Juarez Gallinato, absent.*

On Saturday, the 13th, the Armada continued on its voyage, the Duke ordering that only eight ounces of bread and half a pint of wine, with one pint of water, was to be served out to each soldier. He also offered 2,000 ducats to a French pilot if he would conduct him to a Spanish port.

On this day Purser Pedro Coco Calderon sent a paper of observations to the Duke, which was very welcome to him and his Council. The purser was thanked for his remarks with regard to the voyage of the Armada, etc.; and, with regard to the hospital delicacies and medicines, which he had so carefully preserved in the artillery-pharmacy, on board his hulk, with the intention of selling them, and he was begged to send some to the Duke's ship, as they were so urgently needed. The purser immediately did so, sending some rice for the sick, which present was greatly esteemed; and the Duke begged him to do the same for all the ships which had been engaged, and which would send to his hulk for the supply. At the same time the Duke gave orders for the future voyage of the Armada.

On the 13th, and until the 18th, we experienced squalls, rain, and fogs, with heavy sea, and it was impossible to distinguish one ship from another. It was therefore necessary to divide the fleet into separate groups. On the 19th the Armada again collected, and

* This was the officer who had gone with the prince of Ascoli to Flanders.

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we found ourselves near the galleon "San Marcos," the Duke's flagship, and thirteen other vessels. The purser (Calderon), then supplied Juan Martinez (de Recalde) with a quantity of delicacies, and tried to do the same for the galleon "San Marcos," but was prevented by the rough sea. We looked anxiously for the "San Juan de Sicilia," on board of which was Don Diego Enriquez Tellez, son of Don Fadrique Enriquez, Grand Commander of Alcantara, who had fought so bravely. She had been so much damaged that not a span of her sails was serviceable; and as we could not find her, it is feared she may be lost. The weather being very heavy that night, we lost sight of Juan Martinez (de Recalde) and all the ships that followed him; this hulk continuing her voyage alone, through squalls and fogs. On the 22nd we discovered the main body of the Armada. On the same date, we being to the windward of the Armada, we discovered three ships, which Vice-Admiral Villaviciosa chased with the vice-flag hulk ("San Salvador"). He overhauled them, and they shortened sail and were captured; but as they were German vessels, coming from Lisbon, we let them go again.

On the 24th Purser Calderon went on board the galleon "San Martin," and the Duke asked him what latitude we were in, to which he replied, in 58½° N. The Duke then summoned Diego Flores de Valdés and the pilot, to whom he had promised the 2,000 ducats—he being a friend of the purser—and by examining the chart it was found that the purser was right. The purser urged that, on all accounts, it was advisable to give a wide berth to the coast of Ireland, but Diego Flores opposed this, although the French pilot was of the same opinion as the purser. The Duke, however, adopted the advice and took leave of the purser, ordering him to distribute the sick amongst the other ships of the fleet, and duly supply victuals for them from the ships which had any to spare. There was extreme scarcity in the fleet, and when the weather served the purser agreed to send 50 lbs. of rice to every ship that had any wounded or sick on board.

The Duke asked the purser whether he had heard anything of Don Alonso de Luzon, as he had not seen him for 13 days, although he had sent the despatch boats to seek him. The purser replied that he had not, nor of the galleon "San Marcos" and the other 13 vessels from which he (the purser) had parted company two days before, under the command of Juan Martinez de Recalde. He, therefore suspected that he (Recalde) had allowed himself to drift towards Iceland or the Faroe Isles, which belong to Denmark; Iceland being in 65° N. and Faroe in 62° N. He was dreadfully in need of everything, and his (Recalde's) ship in a very injured state. These islands have good harbours, and there are German merchants there who have trade with Spain.

From the 24th to the 4th September we sailed without knowing whither, through constant storms, fogs, and squalls. As this hulk could not beat to windward it was necessary to keep out at sea, and we were unable to discover the main body of the Armada until the 4th September, when we joined it.

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A despatch boat came from Oquendo's flagship for delicacies, which were supplied to him. When we asked what ships were missing, we were told that 14, with Juan Martinez (de Recalde), had been lost sight of, but now this hulk had appeared there were 13 short. The Duke, we were informed, had gone on board the galleon "San Juan de Avendaño," under the command of Diego Flores, in consequence of the great number of sick on board the "San Martin." On this day, as we were sailing to leeward of the body of the Armada, we saw the ship "Villafranca" of Oquendo and another Levantine ship fall away towards the Faroes and Iceland. These ships were far to the leeward of us.

From the 5th to the 10th, when this hulk again sighted some ships (which, however, the heavy sea prevented us from joining), we continued to make for Cape Clear, always working to windward, breaking our tackle and making a great deal of water.

On the west coast of Ireland this hulk found herself near an island 10 leagues (in extent ?), the sea running strongly towards the land, to the great danger of the hulk. The purser ordered her to tack to the northwest, which took her 30 leagues distant, and it is believed that the rest of the Armada will have done the same. If not they will certainly have lost some of the ships, as the coast is rough, the sea heavy, and the winds strong from the seaward.

On the 14th this hulk was off Cape Clear, in 51° N., but did not sight it, and thence set her course for Corunna, running S.S.W.

On Wednesday, 21st, St. Matthew's Day, the weather being thick, we discovered the welcome sight of land, but could not recognise it until afternoon. We then saw four vessels, one of them a flagship. They passed on their way towards the Brittany coast, doubtless from Lisbon; but we wished to avoid them, and consequently did not inquire. The land turned out to be the rocks of San Cebrian, but the wind rising strongly in the S.W., we were unable to make it, although we made great efforts to do so for the rest of the day, and eight hours of the night. The S.W. wind blew so violently that we were obliged to fall away towards the Biscay coast. There was not one drop of (fresh) water in the hulk, and though both pumps had to be kept going, day and night, they were unable to gain upon the leaks.

On the 22nd, in the afternoon, we sighted a dismasted ship, which fired a gun. No reply being given she fired another, and at nightfall came to reconnoitre us. It was the "Nuestra Señora de Juncal" of Don Pedro de Valdés's squadron; one of the best ships in the Armada, with three captains of infantry on board. She reported that she was much damaged, with many sick, and entirely without food; and asked our whereabouts. We told them off the Asturian coast, and instructed them to follow us to Santander, but the pilot did not believe this, and said we were six leagues from Cizarga and 12 leagues from Corunna, whereas we were really more than 50. He had not reckoned on the furious currents on this coast, and on the strength of the wind. He therefore beat towards the land to reconnoitre it well.

On the morning of the 23rd, in calm weather, we sighted another hulk, which followed in our wake with the other ship. We entered

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the port of Santander that night, and there I found the Duke had already arrived, but was very ill, though delighted at my arrival, as he had quite given me up for lost, he having left me far to leeward in latitude 58° N.

PEDRO COCO CALDERON.

25 Sept. (O.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1568.

440. ADVICES from LONDON.

Reports come from Rouen that the Spanish Armada has arrived at Lisbon with various prizes, but here quite the opposite is asserted; namely, that after it had almost reached Spanish waters it was caught in a great storm and driven back to Ireland. Trustworthy news has been received from there, saying that 15 ships have been wrecked on the coast, amongst them the galleon "San Martin" with the duke of Medina Sidonia on board, the Duke himself having been taken. It has since been asserted, however, that he had left the galleon and gone on board the "Rata," of which ship nothing has been heard.*

It is said that many men were saved from the wrecks, some of whom were hanged by Captain Denny in consequence of the special grudge he bears against Spaniards. It is said, however, that the body of the prince of Ascoli has been found drowned,† and others are held prisoners, in order to discover whether they are persons of quality or not. For this purpose they have sent some men from here who take with them two of the men captured with Don Pedro de Valdés, one a Sardinian and the other an Andulucian, who have both adopted this religion. So many rumours are current that it is impossible to know how much to believe. Walter Raleigh was under orders to take some ships to Spain, but it is now reported that he has been detained, and that the preparations being made are for the purpose of restoring Don Antonio to his throne. The accident to the Armada convinces many people that it will be impossible for another Armada to be fitted out next year against this country. In the meanwhile these people will further prepare themselves. I understand great quantities of provisions have been ordered, and that since Monday last they have begun to build eight new ships of large tonnage for the Queen. God grant that they may not be for war purposes.‡

Last week there died one of the Spaniards in Bridewell, Alonso de la Serna, and there are many of them ill. They suffer much, especially as winter is coming on and they have not enough clothes to cover their nakedness. My heart aches for them, but I have not the power to help them.

Postscript, 27 September. I can add nothing to the above, except to say that the news from Ireland is now confirmed, and indeed aggravated, as the Treasurer himself asserts. Others assert that only eight ships were wrecked; and that the Spaniards have fought and killed

* As will have been seen by Medina Sidonia's diary, the "San Martin" arrived at Santander with the Duke still on board. The "Rata coronada" was lost on the coast of Ireland.

† This was for a long time believed to have been the case. It will have been seen, however, that the prince of Ascoli remained in Flanders, and lived for many years afterwards.

‡ In the King's hand:—They must be quicker there" (*i.e.*, in England) "than we are."

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700 Englishmen, after which they were joined by some natives, and have fortified themselves, but cannot hold out. Captain Drake is shortly to sail with a squadron of ships, I believe in search of stragglers from the Armada. Others say he is to take Don Antonio to Portugal. Drake and Don Antonio were together for over two hours recently. He and his people are preparing to embark in the West Country, and I recollect the invitation he gave me last Christmas to meet him in Portugal next Christmas.

Since I wrote the above I was told on Change this morning, by a person who was with the Secretary for an hour last night, that he related the news from Ireland in the following manner. He says that two squadrons were seen off the Irish coast, one of 40 sail and the other of 25, the latter being that of the duke of Medina. He had sailed away with his squadron, and no more had been heard of him. The other squadron of 40 sail was caught in a storm on the coast, and 18 ships were lost. They say that what with those drowned, killed by steel, and taken prisoners, 6,000 men have been lost. It is also reported that the bodies of the prince of Ascoli and Juan Martinez de Recalde* have been found drowned. Amongst the ships (lost) are said to be three Venetians and some Aragonese.

26 Sept. Estado, 950.

441. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

The news I received of the Armada from the duke of Parma, under date of 12th August, together with impossibility of inducing the Pope by any means to give any money—as I have informed Don Juan de Idiaquez—afflicts me deeply as your Majesty may suppose, and keeps me in suspense in writing to your Majesty, until I receive certain intelligence of the whereabouts of the Armada, which will enable me to write something to the purpose. As soon as I received the duke of Parma's letter, I took on my own initiative the steps ordered by your Majesty in the despatch of the 5th instant. I have now repeated the action in your Majesty's name, urging the arguments which prove that the million has been worthily deserved; and expressing your Majesty's hope that his Holiness had looked upon the matter in the same light, knowing as he does, the need for money in Flanders, and also hoping that his Holiness had not only provided the first 500,000 ducats, but had anticipated the payment of the remainder of the million. I said that in case the latter had not been done, your Majesty had instructed me to beg him in your name that it should be done; and I therefore besought his Holiness for payment of the whole amount.

He replied in his usual way, that he did not understand me. When the terms of the agreement were fulfilled he would give all he had promised, and more. I answered that this was not what your Majesty had ordered me to request. Your Majesty, I said, did not take your stand upon the letter of the agreement, but upon its spirit, and I then set forth all your Majesty had instructed me

* This was also untrue; the gallant old sailor died on his return to Spain in October, worn out with hardship and trouble. The prince of Ascoli was not with the Armada at this time. The English may perhaps have confused him with Don Alonso de Leyva, whose surname was the same as that of the Prince.

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to say. I ended by saying that, even if he had promised nothing at all, he ought to accede to the request, as a reward to your Majesty and a high example to others, seeing how much your Majesty had done and spent for the cause of God. He heard me without interruption, although he writhed about a good deal with inward impatience; but when I finished his anger leapt out, and he replied that he told me now, as he had told me before, that he would more than fulfil all he had promised, and I was not to worry him any more on the matter, until positive news of the Armada was received.

I answered that I would write to your Majesty the reply he gave, and although, in the face of his Holiness's decision, I would not press the matter further, yet I was sure that your Majesty would be grieved that his Holiness should fail you. He retorted that without all the Sacred College he was unable to dispose of the funds of the Apostolic See, and other feeble things of that sort. I reminded him of the answers I had given him on previous occasions to all this. His only reply was that I was to change the subject.

The last resource is, that your Majesty should write him a letter with your own hand, setting forth that he had persuaded your Majesty to undertake the enterprise, and to refuse the favourable proposals made to you which would have enabled you to recover your own. The letter might also state how badly he had co-operated with your Majesty, and especially in the matter of money; the reasons might be set forth why the million was justly due, and why he should pay, even if he had promised your Majesty nothing, seeing how much your Majesty had done on this and other occasions. He might also be prayed not to desert your Majesty, or to fail to aid you as his predecessors had done, to the extent of their abilities; and that your Majesty cannot believe that he, with incomparably greater resources, will fail to follow their example at such a time of need as this. The ample reasons which your Majesty would have for resentment, if he followed an opposite course, might be laid before him; and also that the result might be to cause a permanent estrangement with your Majesty.

The recent behaviour of his Holiness exhibits no signs of that fervent zeal for the extirpation of heresy and the salvation of souls which is due from one in his position. When good news comes he shows no signs of pleasure, but rather the contrary, whilst evil reports do not appear to concern him so much as is fitting. This is the general opinion; and that his sympathy on the good side has been counterbalanced on the other by his love of money, and the fear and jealousy of your Majesty's greatness on the part of Venetians and Florentines. He declares himself extremely sympathetic verbally to some persons, but, to judge from the effects, he renounces in his heart the benefits that may be expected to result. It becomes daily more evident that when he promised the million he did so in the belief (as I recollect writing to your Majesty at the time) that the undertaking would never be carried through; and that it would serve him as an excuse for the collection and hoarding of money in all sorts of oppressive ways, particularly

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from subjects of your Majesty.* Although he has never wavered on the point of refusing to pay the money, he has shifted a good deal on other questions. When the good news came he greatly modified his tone, and was very easy and yielding on the various matters brought before him; but the moment contrary reports were received he suddenly became as haughty and arrogant as if he had been a captive exalted to empire. In some small matters of frontiers, which he was discussing with count de Miranda, he retracted all he had previously said, and treated the Count and myself as if we had our necks in a noose. But we treated him firmly as we had done previously, and when he saw he was making a mistake his evil nature came out.

The Sacred College, which professes to be neutral, also exhibited no signs of the rejoicing at the good news which might have been expected from its position and interests; but when the contrary reports arrived the members soon showed their bad wishes, and many of them seemed to have freshly gained their liberty, such is the strength of envy, which in this case may be called heretical.

Of the common people of the country in general, it may be said that they rejoiced at the good news, and are grieved at the result. The foreigners who depend upon the Cardinals and the Papal Court, followed their lead in the most barefaced way possible.—Rome, 26th September 1588.

29 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

442. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty five letters, by a special courier on the 24th, and I have since received your Majesty's orders of 3rd and 15th, which I will answer in my next, the present being sent by the ordinary Flanders post, mainly to inform your Majesty of the reports I have from England (which reports are enclosed), and also those brought by fishing boats to the French coast and to Holland. They confirm the news I sent in my last, that your Majesty's Armada had left Shetland and Orkney with a great number of ships which had been captured from the English and Dutch, who were fishing at that place.†

I am also informed, from a trustworthy source, that a Flemish heretic complained of the little courage displayed by the queen of England, whereupon the Queen said that your Majesty had undertaken an enterprise which she and others believed you never would undertake. As you had sent your fleet to Flanders, it might be concluded that it would be stronger than hers, and if she had been apprehensive of it now she would naturally be as apprehensive of it if it came a second time, as her crown would hang in the balance. Although some persons advise her to send and take revenge for the coming of the Armada, she did not consider it was good advice to send her forces so far away, after they had been so much injured by your Majesty's Armada, even under the shelter of England. She had lost

* In the King's hand:—"I am not sure whether it would not be best to press him on "this point; not so much for the sake of getting the million as to prevent such bad "things from being done."

† The King has written against this passage:—"Nothing of the sort, and it will be well to tell him so."

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4,000 men, and over 12 ships, two of them the finest ships she possessed, in the encounters with the Armada, and she hoped to God she should now have peace with the king of Spain, with whom she was sorry she had gone to war.

The complaints that I speak of were made by a heretic of influence with the principal Councillors of the Queen, and he writes thus to a confidant of his:—

"A courier from England, who was at Rye on the 20th, repeats, verbally, that Sir Harry Cavendish, the son of the countess of Shrewsbury, had arrived at Plymouth with only two ships; he having, as I advised your Majesty over a year ago, left with six vessels to pillage on the Indian route. They say he brings great riches in these two ships. I cannot be positive of this news, as I only have it from the source stated."

David* sends me the enclosed, and I cannot help feeling some suspicion that the hopes that the Queen may help Don Antonio with some men and ships are mainly raised for the purpose of preventing him from going to Constantinople. It is true that it was said that she was discussing the sending of 40 or 50 sail, but no preparations to that effect were visible to any extent. Only the six ships referred to in advices of 17th were at sea.—Paris, 29th September 1588.

29 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1568. **443.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

In a private holograph letter, as above, the following passage occurs relative to the loss of the Armada:—

The novice's vision has turned out true; as you will see by the numerous advices sent, that the men have not behaved in such a way as to banish the fear of a great catastrophe, unless with such a safeguard. This instance proves to me, more than ever, that God himself desires to conduct the affairs of his Majesty.

The novice repeated his performance, and has related other visions that, although they prove him to be a very godly person, show that he is extremely simple in the ways of the world.—Paris, 29th September 1588.

1 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1567. Italian. **444.** LETTER from LONDON (from MARCO ANTONIO MESSIA?). (Complains of his own sad position, in similar terms to those contained in his letter of 24th September. Again records his services and earnestly prays for aid.)

They say that there are several ships of the Armada in Ireland, but they tell the story so variously that I know not what to believe. Some say that, after the ships had reached Spain, contrary winds forced them back to Ireland, where they were wrecked. Some men from them were said to have been saved and they were captured and hanged by a Captain Denny,† on account of some special hatred he bore against Spaniards,‡ in consequence of his once having had a colonel for a prisoner of his in Ireland,‡ who was assisted to escape

* Manuel de Andrada.

† Sir Edward Denny.

‡ Colonel Sebastiano di San Guiseppe, who had commanded the Spanish Papal forces at Smerwick in 1580, and was captured, escaped by the contrivance of Mendoza. *See* Vol. III. of this Calendar. This is the person referred to.

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by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, then Spanish ambassador in England. Others say that the Spaniards have joined the savages of the island, and have fortified themselves inland. In any case they are fitting out some ships here to go thither, which will be commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, of whom you have, no doubt, heard. On the Exchange, last evening, it was publicly asserted that the duke of Medina Sidonia had been made prisoner in Ireland They made the same assertion before, and I believe it will be as vain this time as the last. These people are in the habit, directly they hear anything, either of exaggerating it, or minimising, as best suits them.

On Thursday last a Spaniard died in Bridewell, called something de la Cerda, who, they say, was a brother-in-law of Don William,* an Englishman, who was saved from the ship in consequence of his having been sent, shortly before she was taken, on an errand from Don Pedro de Valdés to the Duke. I expect more of them will die unless something be done for them, as there are many sick and they get no care. The Italians have given them alms freely, but there are so many of them that a very small sum falls to each one. From my heart I recommend their case.

Note.—The King has docketed the above letter "From the same man as the other" (*i.e.*, 24th September).

This was the Genoese, Marco Antonio Messia, the friend of Horatio Pallavicini.

2 Oct. **445.** ADVICES from ROUEN (2nd October, mid-day).

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Since writing the enclosed I have seen a letter from Hamburg of 17th instant, saying that six ships had arrived there from Lisbon which had met the Spanish Armada, calculated to consisted of 160 sail. It had passed the Orkneys, and had entered the Spanish sea. Having in view the weather which had prevailed, they expect the Armada will have arrived in Spain on the 20th or 25th ultimo. They report that all was well, and no more damage had been done that what we already know. They spoke with many of the ships, which gave them an account of their having left Dunkirk in consequence of the duke of Parma's fleet not having come out. They had not returned (to Spain), they said, out of fear of the English, and they asked the sailors to tell the English that they would soon pay them another visit. If his Majesty had allowed them to fight them (the English) without the fleet from Dunkirk they would have done so with pleasure, as the English would have found to their cost. They were very willing to return to England, please God. Two Venetian ships from Barbary have arrived in London, and report that they fell in with 50 ships off Cape Finisterre, which no doubt belonged to the Armada. We shall soon hear of their arrival.

4 Oct. **446.** DUKE OF PARMA to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have received the same news from Scotland about our Armada as you have, and probably at about the same time, both by Bruce's

* The Spaniard referred to was, doubtless, Captain Don Alonso de la Serna, and the Englishman, William Stacy.

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and the earl of Huntly's letters, and by the verbal relation of the Spaniard who has gone thither several times. This leads me to hope that our Lord may now have carried it safely to Spain, considering the weather we have had, and the course followed.

I send you enclosed the letters he* brought me, in order that you may understand thoroughly the position, and, as you have taken so leading a part in these negotiations and correspondence, that you might forward the letters with your opinion thereon to his Majesty.

Since the receipt of the letters, Colonel Semple and the gentleman, nephew of the earl of Huntly, have arrived, in order to inform me of the position, a relation of which is enclosed. They are more pressed and insecure than is pleasant, or desirable, in consequence of the delay in sending them the assistance, and the talk of our Armada, which they were awaiting with great devotion, with 2,000 men, an excellent port, and abundance of provisions. They say they sent out to meet it with this report, as soon as they heard of its approach, but did not meet it, and are now more discouraged than before, whilst their difficulty in maintaining themselves has increased. Although Colonel Semple says that if a sum of money is furnished to them, they can keep afoot for a few months longer, I did not agree to provide what they request, or I could at present afford, because, as for the troops, there is now no possibility of sending them, and a more opportune time must be awaited, for success to be attained. The nephew will return at once with this message and letters, in which I promise to send them more money on a future occasion. In order not to risk Colonel Semple unnecessarily, he will remain here for the present, until we see how the King takes his escape from prison. I am glad to hear that the earl of Morton is in no fear for his life.

4 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

447. JUAN DE SAAVEDRA to the KING.

After having embarked with my company on this galeass "Zuñiga," I received two orders from the Duke, first to take command of all the troops on board, and the second, after we had passed the English Channel, was to put the soldiers on short rations, as it was to your Majesty's interests that the Armada should return to Spain by way of the Scottish islands and Ireland. This was accompanied by an intimation that we were to make such arrangements as to avoid our needing further help, as none could be sent to us. This intimation was sent to us on the 11th August, and on the following day we broke the rudder pivot, without which it was impossible for our craft to keep up with the rest of the Armada. We addressed ourselves to the Admiral's and Commodore's flagships, intimating to them the trouble we were in, but they replied that they could not help us. For this reason, and for that of the weather, we arrived off the Irish coast almost despairing of relief, and in fear of running aground. But by God's grace, although we were ignorant of the coast, we entered a port called Tue (Tralee ?), 12 leagues from Cape Clear. It was extremely good, of fine size, and with a firm anchorage. The inhabitants are rustic savages, devoted to England, with a few

* Aguirre, the Spanish pilot who went backwards and forwards to Scotland.

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officials amongst them. We remained here seven days, the last day being the 22nd September, during which time we were able to some extent to remedy the accident to the rudder, and other necessary things. We were at this time in such dire need of food that nearly 80 of our soldiers and convicts died of hunger and thirst, the inhabitants refusing to allow us to obtain water; nor would they sell us food. We were therefore forced by our necessity to take up arms and obtain by force the supplies, which have lasted us until this 4th October We left Ireland, and in latitude 50 we were caught by a gale, which drove us out of our course and forced us into the English Channel again. When we were seen from the French coast some sailors came out to us in a boat, and told us that they had orders from their governor to intimate to any of your Majesty's ships in need that they could enter their ports, where they would be well treated, as France was at peace with your Majesty. Being powerless to do otherwise we entered this port, where the governor has received us kindly, and we now await your Majesty's further orders.—Havre de Grâce, 4th October 1588.

Note.—The writer was a captain in the Neapolitan Regiment. In the duke of Medina Sidonia's list he is stated to be on board the "San Nicolas," but seems to have been sent on board the "Zuñiga" subsequently. He sided with his discontented men in Havre when they clamoured for food and pay, and was superseded in his command.

4 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

448. PEDRO DE IGUELDO to the KING.

On the 11th ultimo I sent your Majesty a long report of all that had happened to us up to that time, and your Majesty will since have heard from Don Bernardino de Mendoza (whom I have kept informed daily of events) of the death of the Maestre de Campo, Nicholas Isla, on the 12th. On the 19th the "Santa Ana" was lost at the entrance of this port, after the artillery, stores, &c. belonging to your Majesty had been discharged from her, all of which, by orders of the Duke, had been delivered to M. de Villiers, governor of this town, to hold to your Majesty's order, this being the form of voucher I received for the property.* The money shipped on board at Lisbon was 50,000 crowns of 10 reals each, in 42,500 bags. Of this sum 800 crowns were spent in the voyage from Santander, and the paymaster took out at Corunna 10,318, which left 38,882 crowns. We have had to spend here a certain portion of this.† The Duke sent me orders to hand the money to a merchant at Rouen, but he said nothing as to what I was to do about paying the soldiers, or helping them on their journey to Flanders. The sailors also had eleven weeks' pay owing to them. I wrote several times to the Duke about this by special messenger, but obtained no orders. Seeing the great cost incurred here, and that the commissary had arrived with

* The King has added a marginal note saying that "if the galleass 'Zuniga' is to come, all this property may be sent in her. Instruct Don Bernardino."

† A detailed account of the disposal of the 50,000 crowns is enclosed in the packet. The items of expenditure in addition to the pay of soldiers, sailors, &c., include considerable sums paid to the townspeople of Havre for provisions, and for the salvage of the guns.

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the passport to convey the money (to Rouen) I gave each of the soldiers six crowns, and paid the officers two months' salary for their present needs, and the expense of their voyage. The soldiers were discontented and mutinied, attempting to murder me, but the revolt was pacified by dissimulation, and I then went with the papers to the governor, and gave him the names of the culprits. He sent for them at once, and the next day I mustered them and paid them, and they went on their way on the 30th ultimo. I gave the sailors two weeks' pay to take them to Spain, and they needed it badly, for when the ship went aground the sailors belonging to the town sacked her, and did not leave us a nail for ourselves. By God's grace, I was able to conceal your Majesty's royal standard, so these Frenchmen did not find it; and I will, please God, bring it with my papers to Spain. The rest of the money, 25,000 gold crowns, I carried with a good escort furnished by the governor, and handed it to Diego Hernandez of Rouen. I send balanced account in draft. I arrived here in Havre this morning on my return from Rouen. I found that the galleass "Zuñiga," storm beaten, with the rudder and spars broken, and the ship in a sinking state, had brought up at the anchorage before the town. As she was in great danger, by the favour of the governor we got her into port, not without much trouble and risk, as she grounded at the entrance of the harbour and was within an ace of being lost. The governor ordered the men in the town to haul on her from the sea in boats, whilst others on shore did likewise, and she was got off and brought into harbour safely, where she now is. To lighten her, her ammunition is being discharged, and to-morrow she will take out her ordnance in a launch she has on board. Three companies of infantry come in her under Don Juan de Saavedra and Andrés Verdugo; the other company belonged to Don Diego Laynez, who was killed in the combat with the English in the Channel. There are 220 soldiers in all, and they have been landed and lodged in the suburbs of the town. With the money I had kept in hand for my voyage to Spain I will succour them as well as I can, buying some supplies for the convicts, &c., as they have arrived without a bit of food, or a drop of water. If they had been a day later they would all have perished of famine. They say that on the 16th August, off Ireland, 150 leagues at sea, they parted company with the "San Martin." They told the Duke the great need they were in, and he replied that each one must do the best he could, as he himself was in the same case. Five or six days later the galleass fell in with the galleon "San Juan," with only two pataches accompanying her. They spoke with Admiral Juan Martinez de Recalde, who gave them the same reply as the Duke had done. Fifteen more ships joined them at this time, and the galleass "Zuñiga" left them. From then until the 27th ultimo she sailed in company with three other vessels, running before the wind the whole time in a furious gale. They were told by one of your Majesty's galleons called "Nuestra Señora de Begoña," belonging to Diego Flores' squadron, that the "Rata," with Don Alonso de Leyva on board, had been wrecked on the coast of Ireland, but they have no details. The Zuñiga arrived within 50 leagues of Cape Finisterre, but was assailed with so furious a tempest that she was

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driven back to this place, where she arrived without any knowledge of her whereabouts. She was very fortunate, any other ship would have been lost. During the storm she threw overboard two culverins. When she has been sufficiently lightened, I shall have her surveyed by good master carpenters of the town, and see what can be done with her. It would be a pity to lose so stout a piece as she is, whatever it may cost to repair her. I am writing to the ambassador for instructions about this, and as to what I am to do with the soldiers. If the galleass is to be repaired and to go to Spain, the soldiers will be wanted on board of her, and cannot be sent to Flanders. The convicts tried to escape at the entrance to the town, and those who were Frenchmen succeeded, with some others. The rest were detained with great trouble, and they are under strong guard. This trouble will delay my departure for some days. I was to have started to-morrow, with Major Melchior de Avendaño. God grant that the rest of the Armada has fared well.*—Havre de Grâce, 4th October 1588.

4 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

449. RELATION of as much as can be ascertained of the Occurrences on the Spanish Armada up to the 4th October, when the Neapolitan galeass "Zuñiga" entered this port of Havre de Grâce in a gale.

On the 27th July we discovered the English coast at Cape Longaneos (Land's End). On Sunday, the 29th, we sighted the enemy's fleet, and on the same day some of our ships exchanged shots with them. These were the galleon "San Juan," the flagship "Rata," the "Great Venetian," and the galleon "San Felipe," the rest of the ships of the Armada being unable to reach the enemy, in consequence of being to leeward. In this combat the enemy had 70 craft engaged, 30 large, and the rest small.

* A letter of the same date as above, from Major Melchior de Avendaño to the King, gives substantially the same information. He was an officer on the "Santa Ana," and was about to set forth on the following day to join his regiment. Two days later Avendaño again writes to the King, saying that Purser Igueldo had decided to bring the "Zuñiga" into the port, as she was in great danger in the roadstead. The three companies in her had been landed. He, Avendaño, was now about to set forth for Spain to join his regiment, where he knew he would be wanted. It will be seen in the course of the correspondence that he was punished for afterwards persisting in this resolution, against the instructions of the ambassador. At the end of February 1589, Captain Nuñez reported to Mendoza that Avendaño, Verdugo, and Saavedra were insubordinate. Mendoza had appointed Nuñez to command the men on the galleass. When the order arrived at Havre the captains scoffed at it and were very disorderly. Nuñez then made a demand to Mendoza that they should be punished. They had been very disorderly during the voyage, and had taken excessive rations by force whilst the men starved. The galleass sailed from Havre on the 2nd March, and as soon as she was at sea the captains insulted Igueldo and Nuñez and again raised their men to mutiny. The galleass was once more driven back to Havre by bad weather, and Mendoza then wrote to the King (20th March) asking that Avendaño and Saavedra, whom he had suspended from their command, should be severely punished on their arrival in Spain, where they insisted upon going. Avendaño was put into prison as soon as he arrived home, and the King then asked Mendoza to say what punishment he wished inflicted upon him. In the meanwhile Avendaño was very penitent, and he and his frends begged Mendoza to be clement. Mendoza therefore replied to the King (21st April) that although he had asked that the captain might be punished for disobedience, in refusing to take charge of his men on the galleass on her second arrival in port, the disturbed state of France no doubt prevented him from receiving his (Mendoza's) orders. He is a brave old soldier, and Mendoza begs that he may be forgiven.

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On Monday, the 30th, shots were exchanged, the enemy attacking us as we sailed up Channel, on our way to Calais. On this afternoon Don Pedro de Valdés's ship broke her bowsprit, and foremast, in consequence of having run foul of another ship of the squadron, in a fresh wind. She fell off, and was unable to follow the Armada. It was afterwards reported that she fought with the enemy the same night, and was captured. Still on the same day Admiral Oquendo's flagship caught fire, in consequence of a gunpowder explosion, which killed some men. She followed the vice-flagship all that night, but the next afternoon, after the Duke had been appealed to for aid, and some of the men had been taken out of her, she fell off, and in sight of the Armada was captured by the enemy.

On the same night the Duke sent orders to the four galleasses, that two of them were to follow the "Rata," and the other two the "Great Venetian" (*i.e.* the Valencera).

That night the "Rata" acted as flagship, and the wind falling calm, the Armada got separated in all directions. A land breeze then sprang up, the flagship (Capitana) bore down towards the enemy s fleet, which continued to follow her. In the night, orders came for the galleasses to approach the enemy, and they went about for that purpose. At daybreak of 31st July they were half a league from the enemy's fleet, accompanied by the galleon "San Martin," and other ships. At eight o'clock the four galleasses and the ship "Regazona" opened fire on the enemy, in company with Oquendo's vice-flagship. The enemy at once broke and fled. The weather fell calm again that day, and orders came to the galleasses to capture or sink a great ship of the enemy, which had been engaged in the combat, and was said to be one of the Portuguese Indiamen. Whilst they were attacking her and two other ships, five of the enemy's galleons bore down upon the galleasses; the wind at this time having suddenly shifted, so that the enemy had it astern whilst we had it against us, and consequently none of our ships could come to our aid. The galleasses therefore had to run and join the rest of the Armada.

During the same day the enemy's fleet attacked the Armada with artillery fire. The flagship "San Juan" was very hotly engaged, together with other galleons under Don Diego Flores, the combat lasting until night separated the ships.

This night the galleasses followed the course of the flagship (*i.e.* the San Martin), towards Calais, always in sight of the English coast. Until the day of St. Dominic, 4th August, the Armada continued its voyage up Channel, the enemy always keeping the wind, at about a league distant. On that day a hulk, called the "Santa Ana," dropped behind, and was attacked by the enemy. They would have captured her if the three galleasses "Capitana," (*i.e.* the San Lorenzo) "Zuñiga," and "Girona" had not at once gone to her rescue. In order to save her they had to engage over 30 of the enemy's ships, and at last she was safely brought to the Armada. On the same day some of our ships got mixed with the enemy's fleet, and there was a great deal of fighting on all sides, as the English ships had assumed the half-moon formation. It was asserted that during the day the enemy suffered much damage, especially their flagship. They had at this time

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90 vessels all told. A fresh wind sprang up, and our Armada set its course for Calais.

On the 6th, the day of the Transfiguration, at five o'clock p.m., we arrived in sight of Calais, and the Armada dropped anchor, the enemy's fleet doing the same, at a distance of a league.

At seven o'clock a frigate (fragata), came to the Duke from the duke of Parma, but it was not known what message she brought.

During the night the wind and tide were favourable for the enemy, and in the second watch they let loose against the Armada eight small vessels loaded with artificial fire. As soon as we saw this stratagem the ships of the Armada slipped their cables, the tide drifting them towards the Flemish coast, a league below Calais. During the night the galleass "Capitana" ("San Lorenzo"), came to grief in consequence of having run foul of the galleass "Girona" and the ship "Rata."

The Armada hoisted sail and beat to windward, keeping always in the current, until two hours before daybreak, when we again dropped anchor, three leagues from Calais and a league from the Flemish coast. When day broke the enemy took up the position we had occupied the night before, and opened fire on the "Capitana" ("San Lorenzo") galleass, which had run aground. It then bore down upon our Armada with 122 ships, all told. Our Armada at once run out the guns and opened fire upon the enemy, who this time approached so near that it was believed he would come to close quarters with us, as he was within musket-shot. Our ships in front of the enemy were the "San Martin," the "Rata," the duke of Florence's galleon, "San Felipe," the "Regazona," the "San Juan of Sicily," the flagship "San Juan," the "San Mateo," the "Great Venetian," the galleon "San Juan" of Seville, the flagship of the hulks, other galleys from Seville, and some Levantine ships.

The skirmishing was so hot that it lasted from dawn until four in the afternoon, and many of our ships were quite hidden from view by the smoke. The combat was a very terrible one. At the hour mentioned the wind freshened, greatly to the enemy's advantage, and the fleets separated, although the enemy never ceased to follow us up at a distance of two leagues. He observed that the "San Felipe" galleon was much disabled, and hoisted all sail to reach her, but the galleass "Zuñiga," with one of the Seville galleons, stood by her, as they did also by the "San Mateo," which two ships they accompanied during the night, but lost sight of them in the morning.

The Armada sailed in a northerly direction until eleven o'clock a.m., when orders came from the Duke to shorten the rations, as so few stores remained, and the voyage back to Spain was a long one round Ireland.

On the 13th August we sighted the coast of Norway on our right, and on the 15th the Scotch coast on our left. On the 19th we sighted the island called Shetland, and passed between it and Scotland. On the 21st we saw the extreme point of Ireland. The wind then freshened from the south, and the Armada stood out to sea for the next 15 days, reaching as high as 63½ degrees (N.) latitude on the 8th September. On the 2nd September the galleass "Zuñiga" separated from the flagship "San Martin" as she (the Zuñiga) had

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broken her rudder. They informed the Duke of this, and that they had no stores, but he replied that they must do the best they could.

On the 7th the "Zuñiga" fell in with the flagship "San Juan," with 12 vessels which had strayed from the Armada, and gave an account of their condition and need in which they were; and by permission of the officers (*i.e.*, of the "San Juan"), the "Zuñiga" set her course for Spain the next day, 8th September, with the intention of making for Corunna, or any other port she could reach. For the next five days we sailed with variable weather, and on the 14th, at daybreak, we discovered the point of Ireland. We could not double it for want of a rudder. That night we drifted at the mercy of the wind and sea in a northerly direction for four hours, and on the morning of the 15th the wind changed to the west, and we again resumed our voyage. In the evening the wind blew heavily from the south again, and we found ourselves between two points on the Irish coast, neither of which we could get round on any tack for want of a rudder. We saw we were in great danger, and in order not to be driven ashore in the strong wind we followed the creek and, by God's grace, found shelter in an uninhabited place. Here we cast anchor, not far from a tower held for the enemy where we remained eight days, until the 23rd, when we went out with a wind astern. On the 28th we were driven by a furious gale in the direction of the English Channel. On the 29th two guns were thrown overboard. During this time the "Zuñiga" ran, according to the pilot, 112 leagues, and was now inside the Channel, in great trouble for want of food of any sort. The ship also was leaking very badly, both fore and aft. On the 2nd October, with the same wind, she arrived in the roadstead of Havre de Grâce, and on the 4th she entered the harbour.

6 Oct. **450.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have again reported to the duke of Parma that I have news from England that great activity is being shown in the proposal to help Don Antonio with 30 ships, ostensibly for the Indies, and also that he was sending his younger son to Barbary. News came from Ireland, on the 30th ultimo, that three of our ships had been wrecked there. There arrived here yesterday from Ireland one of the Queen's pensioners, and he reports that 15 ships of the Armada had been lost there, and nearly all the men drowned, as per list enclosed herewith, which is copied from the statement brought to the Queen. This statement reports that the Duke had separated from the rest with 25 ships, in great want of provisions and men, as so many had died. I know the whole, or greater part of the Armada, is in those seas. God in His mercy guard it in such weather as we have had lately—the most extraordinary ever known. They (the English?) have captured 40 gentlemen and have sent thither (to Ireland?) persons to identify them. I reported to the duke of Parma that they were not going to relieve Berghen, but one of Walsingham's people having come over from Flushing, they have decided to do so, and have ordered Norris to go thither with 2,000 men. He asks for 4,000 as he wishes to relieve the place by land, in union with the rest of the troops they have there. He will leave (such is their hurry) in

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five days. Pray advise the duke of Parma of this, to prevent him from being misled by my former report. The ships for Guinea will leave in 10 days. They are three in number, and take Francisco da Costa and other Portuguese. Those for Barbary (two) will sail at same time with the son* (*i.e.*, of Don Antonio). Cumberland will sail in 20 days with six ships (two belonging to the Queen) and two pinnaces. Cavendish's missing ship has arrived.

Sept. **451.** COPY of STATEMENT sent to the QUEEN† (from Ireland).

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

On the 7th September (O.S.) in the Bay of Tralee (?) 25 men surrendered, amongst them some servants of the Duke. On the 10th another vessel was lost on the coast of Desmond. On the same day another great ship of 1,000 tons, called "Our Lady of the Rosary," was lost, only one man escaping.‡ His name is Don Antonio Meneses, who declared that there had been drowned in the same ship the prince of Ascoli, the son of Don Garcia Sarmiento de Sotomayor, Señor de Savatierra, Don Pedro de Andrada, son of the Count de Lemos, Don Francisco, son of Don Enrique Sarmiento de Sotomayor, Señor de las Achas, and seven other gentlemen.§

On the same day Miguel de Oquendo, commanding the Biscayners, the captain of the ship "Villafranca" of San Sebastian, captain Acuares, a Portuguese, Colonel Pedro Montenegro de la Vega, Francisco de Castellanos, Juan Roche, and Francisco Roche, Irish captains, and others to the number of 500, were drowned. On the same day, at two in the afternoon, two ships of 700 tons were lost, 700 or 800 men being drowned from them, 50 being captured, according to the advices of the president of Munster.

On the 11th seven ships tried to get out of . . . . . ‖ one of which was burnt by the Spaniards.

On the 12th at . . . . . ¶ a ship of 700 tons was lost, from which 400 men landed and fortified themselves.

Another ship was lost off Cape Clear, from which 60 men were drowned or killed. Another large ship was lost off Tralee, in which there were 30 gentlemen, with a bishop, a friar, and 69 men who, surrendered to William Bourke; the rest of them were drowned or killed. Of those who got ashore a single Irish gallowglass killed 80.**

Juan Martinez de Recalde, the Admiral, is at Sunda (Blasket Sound ?), in great danger with his ship. He is wounded and much maltreated, and has 60 sailors, of whom many are dying daily.

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* The King calls attention to this, and says "*Advise at once.*"

† In the King's hand:—"He does not say who sent the statement."

‡ The real name of this ship was "Our Lady of the Rose." She sank in Blasket Sound.

§ In the King's hand:—"He is wrong about most of these, perhaps he is so about the rest." The prince of Ascoli remained in Flanders, as will be seen by his letter to the King in this Calendar. Oquendo returned to Spain.

‖ The name is so disfigured as to be quite unintelligible, but the place referred to is the mouth of the Shannon.

¶ The name as written is quite unintelligible, but the ship was no doubt the "Valencera" with Don Alonso de Luzon on board, which was wrecked on Sir John O'Dogherty's country, near Lough Foyle. An account of the adventures of the crew will be found in this Calendar.

** The name of the gallowglass is said in "Advertisements out of Ireland" (1588) to have been McLaughlan MacCabe. The ship was probably the galleon "San Juan."

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S.D. **452.** STATEMENT from IRELAND.*

Paris Archives. 1567. French.

Tuesday, 12th September, there was cast upon the shore at Bally (croy ?) a ship of 900 tons. Thirteen gentlemen from the ship were taken and the rest, to the number of 400, got ashore.†

On the same day another ship was lost on the Isle of Clare, 78 men from which were drowned or killed. Apparently about the same time another large ship‡ was lost, from which three persons of rank were taken, with a bishop or monk§ and 69 men, by William Burke of Ardnerie. All the rest were drowned or killed.

On the 12th September, in the Bay of Shannon, a ship of the Armada was set on fire by her own crew. It was a ship of 1,000 tons.

On the 14th September two great ships of the Armada were cast upon the coast of Connaught.

On the 16th September Admiral Juan Martinez de Recalde entered an Irish port with another ship of 900 tons and a barque, and remained in the said port.‖ Recalde's ship was in a very bad state, having had 14 or 15 cannon-shot through her, and her main-mast damaged so much that she could not carry sail.¶ He had but few sailors, mostly very ill. They were dying daily in great numbers and being thrown into the sea.

7 Oct. **453.** PURSER PEDRO IGUELDO to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I reported by special courier the arrival of the galleass here, and I am awaiting instructions as to how I am to proceed. The ordnance and ammunition have been put on board of two lighters. Please say whether they are to be landed. The stores on board were all damaged and rotten; and being useless, have been thrown into the sea. The French convicts on board, and some others, escaped as soon as the ship entered port, they being loose. The best of guard is insufficient to keep them, for so many people come on board to see the galleass that they cannot all be watched, and they give files to the convicts. The governor himself is beating them off with a stick every day; and if it were not for this, not a galley slave would be left.

I have bought bread, cider, and other necessaries, and am distributing the ordinary rations. They need it badly enough, so emaciated are they; but they seem to be picking up. The soldiers are being paid a real a day. It is pitiable to see how broken and miserable they are. They will need much relief whithersoever they are to go. I will not, without your Lordship's orders, give them

* The document is written in French, but in an English hand, the marginal notes being written by the King.

† In the King's hand:—"This may be Don Alonso de Leyva." The King was probably correct in this surmise.

‡ This ship appears to have been the "San Juan," of Diego Flores' squadron. In M.S. Ireland, CXXXIX. 2, Bingham sends a list of the principal persons put to death from this ship and the "Falcon Blanco Mediano," also wrecked on the coast of Connaught, perhaps on Clear Island.

§ In the King's hand:—"Perhaps they call Don Martin de Carrion a bishop. No bishop went."

‖ The port appears to have been Dingle Couche, or Blasket Sound.

¶ Recalde's ship was the "San Juan" and the ship that accompanied her was probably the "San Juan Bautista" of Diego Flores.

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anything beyond the real a day for their keep.—Havre de Grâce, 7th October 1588.

8 Oct. 454. PURSER PEDRO DE IGUELDO to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

(Gives an account of the extensive repairs necessary to the "Zuñiga"—to be remasted, careened, caulked, &c. All the stores useless and destroyed. The shipwrights on board have no tools, and will not work unless new ones are bought for them. He gives the men on board 1½ lb. of ration bread a day (the usual ration being 2 lbs.) with salt cod, but he will have to serve out a little fresh meat occasionally.) The convicts are receiving their ordinary rations, although some of those who are sick must have some fresh food. The sailors and officers are crying out that they are naked, which is quite true. If they might receive something on account of their pay, it would be a great help in their dreadful need. If this be not done, we cannot keep them, or if they stay, they will die of cold. The soldiers will suffer the same if they be sent to Flanders, and in any case they must be succoured. The captains and officers have not a plack, and they cannot live on the daily dole. I had a muster to-day, and find that of Don Juan de Saavedra's company there are 71 men, of the late Don Diego de Laynez's 58, and of Andres Verdugo's 75; total, 204. There are 29 officers in the galleass, 28 gunners, 8 steersmen, 21 sailors, 12 forecastle hands, convicts 175, or 273 in all. Since the galleass came into harbour, there have escaped or been liberated by the Governor 16 Frenchmen, and some 12 Italians and Spaniards. It is the greatest trouble in the world to guard them on board; and no one is allowed on shore. The Governor has a pair of sentries night and day to prevent any Frenchman from going on the ship. Two convicts escaped this morning, and I reported to the Governor that the guard at the town gate had aided them to get away. He at once went in person and gave the corporal of the guard 20 blows with his crutch, and would have put him into chains in the convict's place if I had not begged for mercy for him. He then sent the corporal to seek the convicts; and he was so smart about it that he brought them both back this afternoon, finely tricked out in French clothes. The Governor then issued an order, that no person was to enter the galleass without his permission, and any person who sheltered or aided a convict should be chained in the place of the man who escaped. God grant that this may be effectual. I have had new fetters made, and put them on double, and I understand this will keep them safer. Enclosed is sent a statement of the voyage of the Armada since Cape Longnose (Land's End) was sighted, which I have compiled from the reports of certain of the men who have kept diaries. But there is nothing very particular in it. God send us a remedy for it all. (Diego Hernandez (of Rouen) has given him a credit for 500 crowns, which he has not yet used, with permission to draw for what he needs.) — Havre de Grâce, 8th October 1588.

Note.—In a letter from Mendoza to the King, dated 13th October, he repeats the information contained in Igueldo's letters about the galleass "Zuñiga," and suggests that gold chains should be given to

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the governor of Havre and his lieutenant for their aid in the matter of the "Santa Ana" and the "Zuñiga." He has sent money to Igueldo, and ordered the ship to be sent with all speed to Corunna, where instructions will await them; as he had done in the case of the hulk that had put into Morvien in Brittany. There is an unimportant annotation in the King's hand on the letter.

9 Oct. Estado, 950. **455.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

On the reception of the news that the duke of Parma had moved his position, in the certainty that the duke of Medina had started on his return voyage to Spain, his Holiness assumed the same attitude as I described to your Majesty in my letter of 26th September. I have again taken the opportunity of pressing him to aid your Majesty, but neither my own efforts nor those of my intermediaries have succeeded in obtaining any more satisfactory result than before. I am greatly afraid that, even when your Majesty's letter arrives, as I proposed, we shall get nothing from the Pope. It is impossible to imagine how openly he has shown his selfishness and bad disposition on this occasion.

Allen has shown me a passage from a letter written from Bruges by one of the Jesuits sent from here, whom he praises as a very prudent man. He says that the going of the Armada, and the knowledge thus gained, have produced results that could not have been attained otherwise; and that means have now been found by which the enterprise may be effected with great ease and safety.

The Duke (of Parma), he says, is satisfied of this, and that as soon as news is received of the Armada and your Majesty's reply comes, the execution would be commenced. This has very greatly consoled me, and again confirms me in my opinion as to the expediency of Allen's going. I am therefore urging his despatch, without giving intimation of this to the Pope.

With Allen will go the Jesuit Father, Robert Persons, whom I have found, so far as my intercourse with him here enables me to judge, a person of much tact and good sense. The Cardinal also is very judicious, although he could not well cope with the lies and trickery here, his own methods being so very different. I keep well before him how much he owes to your Majesty, and he appears to recognise his obligation thoroughly. I took the opportunity of saying to him recently that my principal regret that the enterprise has not turned out well was that it should not be made publicly evident that your Majesty was moved to undertake it, not by greed for more empires (as the worldly-minded give out) but solely for the glory of God. This I said would be seen when by God's will it came to pass, for your Majesty would place them (the English) in a position which would leave them nothing to desire. — Rome, 9th October 1588.

10 Oct. Guerra, 236. **436.** GARCIA DE VILLEJO to ANDRES DE PRADA (Secretary of the Council of War).

When I received his Majesty's orders to occupy myself in the affairs of the Armada, the Duke had already left, and he wrote to me on the road, saying that he had no instructions to give me.

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It is extremely necessary that there should be some person here to command, and money to enable us to do something. The money to be brought from San Sebastian will be useless, as at most it will not reach 50,000 ducats, and they are already spent, as follows.

The Duke wants 33,000 ducats, 20,000 being a special grant given to him by his Majesty, 7,000 due to him as salary, and 6,000 he lent here for the hospital expenditure; besides which he wants 1,000 ducats for a grant to Don Francisco de Bobadilla, and other expenses. There will be as much more required for other purposes.

The Duke arrived here on the 21st ultimo, and he left to-day. He leaves affairs in such a condition that I feel it my duty to say what I think about it.

There are over a thousand sick, and if the men be all disembarked at once, the hospital would be so overcrowded that, although there has been nothing contagious yet, I greatly fear that something of the sort will appear. It is impossible to attend to so many sick, and the men are bound to fall ill if they sleep in the ships full of stench and wretchedness.

The captains are so many and the soldiers so few, companies having been bestowed so freely, that it is meet that some man of authority should come hither with all speed to inquire and arrange about this, because the amount of the wages is so large for the higher ranks that some saving must be effected.

If the ships missing from the Armada do not appear, I understand that it will be necessary to obtain many new ships, as otherwise it will be impossible to gather so large a fleet as will be necessary. Even if the missing ships should appear it will be necessary to refit all of them, as well as to seek new ones. For this purpose a person of the necessary authority and experience in maritime affairs will be required, and I fear that, if we are to succeed, your worship yourself will have to come. If you cannot come at once I shall look upon the Armada as in abeyance until the year '90. I am bound to think that the year of the eights, so ardently looked forward to, will turn out to be 1800.

I believe that, with sailors and soldiers together, we have 7,000 mouths to feed—2,000 seamen and 5,000 men-at-arms—and it is pitiable to see them. No one can believe that the arrival of this letter will cause matters to be remedied; but I write it, even if it is to be put into the fire.

There is no intelligence of any steward, inspector, or paymaster, nor of the purser, Pedro de Igueldo, or any of the private pursers; the only one who is here being Pedro Coco Calderon, who is very assiduous. The Duke appointed G. de la Riva, Provedore-General, and Miguel de Ugarte, Chief Storekeeper, and they are doing their best. Pray do not think I am saying this to urge my own claims to anything of this sort. I know all about Armadas and the expenses and wages attached to them; and until something serious is to be done I would rather serve in the accountant's department, where, if they do no favours, at least they deceive nobody with promises. I have given the best information and advice I could, and still will continue to do so, but I do not wish to oust anyone from his place on any account.

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I understand that this port is not capable of sheltering the ships already here, and at all events can take no more large ships, as they have to be anchored far apart. I have no doubt that those whose duty it is will see to this; but they have not done so yet. It cannot be said, however, that any time has been wasted. If any of the ships have to winter here, the redoubt, and the seven or eight pieces of artillery in it, will have to be manned. Fifty soldiers and six gunners from the fleet will suffice for this, and the port will then be in good order.

I understand that there is a great deal of rotten foodstuff in the ships, and I beg you to order it to be thrown overboard. If this be not done someone will be sure to buy it to grind up and mix it with the new biscuit, which will be enough to poison all the Armadas afloat.

The most expensive things, perhaps, are the victuals. By the accounts of the shipmasters, shipping, and unshipping, &c., I see that it would be very advisable to have a secret investigation of the notaries' books, taking them by surprise before they have time to ascertain what they have on board the ships, and what they have given out, and before they close their accounts with the troops, and the masters buy the rest of rations of them. It will be very much more just that they should be sold to his Majesty. I think there has been a good deal of laxity in this matter, in consequence of the many deaths that have taken place. There is not a captain who does not talk about having a pipe or two of wine. All this should be looked into and remedied.

So much has been said about the slackness of some of the ships in fighting, that, having regard to the future, and to enable justice to be effected by the authorities, it would be advisable for an Alcalde of the Court, or of the criminal tribunal of Valladolid, to be sent hither with sufficient authority. This would avoid all the machinery of auditors, audiences, &c.; and the mere presence of the Alcalde to look after people here and help them to the prompt execution of their duties, would make them all walk with their chins over their shoulders (*i.e.*, on the alert). Pray pardon me for giving you the trouble of reading this. Though it may be unworthy of notice, I have trusted no one about it, and if I learn that it has been well received I will continue to send reports. In the meanwhile I will always serve you; and if Diego Flores asks me anything I will advise him to the best of my knowledge.—Santander, 10th October 1588.

13 Oct. **457.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I will arrange with Julio as your Majesty instructs me in your despatch of 15th. Although I communicate with the new confidant he tells me nothing of any profit. I therefore give him fair words but no money.

David sends me the enclosed advices. People attached to Don Antonio, and others, assert that he will sail in the ships ostensibly for Portugal, but if he sails with 50 ships before Christmas he will probably go to the islands, rather to Madeira and the Canaries

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than to Terceira*, where the sea in winter would prevent him from landing men, which he could do in Madeira or Canary. I expect Sampson will come soon with full information about the expedition, as I have told him how important it is that I should know early.

I have also informed Sampson of what your Majesty says about discovering whether Don Antonio was suspicious of him† or not. I have sent a new person to England, besides those I have there, thus doubling my intelligence as your Majesty orders. No one of my agents knows any other. Marco Antonio Messia, who was sent by the marquis of Santa Cruz, and whose letters are enclosed herewith, is a seaman of intelligence, and when it is your Majesty's pleasure to disembargo the property he has in Lisbon, about which he complains so bitterly, and he is in a position to maintain himself in England, he will be able to give full reports of the armaments there, as he has an acquaintance with Horatio Pallavicini, and has means of sending his despatches with those of the French ambassador, with whom he is also very intimate. He pretends that his letters are about cargoes. I am simply acknowledging his letters, as I have no instructions from your Majesty about him. The letters written in Italian are his.‡—Paris, 13th October 1588.

13 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

458. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have continued to send all the news I have received of the Armada; and I now enclose the reports I have from Hamburg, which are confirmed from many quarters, and it may therefore confidently be believed that before the 25th September all the ships will have arrived in Spanish ports, except those which have put into the French coast.

On the 29th ultimo I reported the courier's statement that Sir Harry Cavendish had arrived at Plymouth. My subsequent advices, of 20th and 24th ultimo and 1st instant, confirm this, saying that he has come from the Straits of Magellan. The rumour runs that he brings 3,000,000, but Cavendish himself says 500,000 crowns' worth of prizes were taken. This cannot be cleared up until the ships are discharged, and it is seen whether he brings much silver and gold. The English ships from Barbary had also arrived which captured the two sugar ships on the coast of Brazil, and sold them in Barbary. They report that on their way home they fell in with a great number of ships off Cape Finisterre, which they believe were your Majesty's Armada. It was said in London that some of them had put into Ireland in consequence of heavy contrary weather.

Two other English pirate ships had arrived, with a vessel belonging to some of your Majesty's subjects, and another from Biscay loaded with whale oil.

The 50 ships I said were being fitted out in England are now being hurried forward furiously. They will include seven of the Queen's ships, and it is said that the earl of Cumberland would go

* In the King's hand:—"It will be well to ascertain how these islands are, if anything more be required let me know."

† In the King's hand:—"If there was any fear of this he did wrong in going. God send him safe back."

‡ In the King's hand:—"It will be well to keep this man there, and many others as well; see what can be done to enable him to stay there."

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with them. A great number of bullocks have been slaughtered to provision them. Most of them are being fitted out by private persons, in the hope of gain, as they see that the many ships that go out to pillage come back laden with booty. It was not known how many men would go in the ships, nor whether the Queen was sending any of them to Ireland in consequence of the news that some ships of the Armada were on that coast.

This King, in conversation with some of his favourites, greatly praised the valour, spirit, and prudence of the queen of England, aided, as she was, by marvellous good fortune. He said that what she had done lately would compare with the greatest feats of the most illustrious men of past times, for she had ventured, alone and unaided, to await the attack of so puissant a force as Spain, and to fight it whilst preventing the passage of the duke of Parma's fleet, which was as powerful as the Spanish. He said that it had taken your Majesty four years to gather these great fleets, which had been the wonder of the world, and yet it might be said that the queen of England had triumphed over them. M. d'Andragues remarked, that perhaps the queen of England was not much afraid of the duke of Parma, to which the King replied "I do not know, but time will discover everything."

I learn from Plymouth that they are fitting out six ships there in great haste.—Paris, 13th October 1588.

13 Oct. **459.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I send enclosed particulars of two ships which have arrived, or will shortly arrive, in Spain. The intelligence was obtained by a man who has supplied it to me, and it was he who caused the ships to go to Spain instead of to Italy, as had been intended, on the assurance that would guarantee him the third of the value of the seizure as the law provides. He says that, although the third of the value would amount to much more, he will be contented with 10,000 crowns, from which will have to be deducted 1,800 to be paid to Patrick Morris and Philip Shenston. Patrick Morris will depose that the merchandise belongs to Englishmen, and his Majesty can then confiscate it. Patrick Morris will have to be arrested with the other officers of the ship, and they will have to be made to declare on oath to whom the cargo belongs. It is agreed that Patrick Morris will at once confess that it is the property of Englishmen, and I therefore beg your Majesty to release him at once, and have him and Shenston well treated in prison, as the affair has been managed through them.

Morris must also be asked if he has ever taken letters from Spain to the queen of England or any of her Ministers; and if so, who gave them to him. He will confess that a packet was handed to him on behalf of the Scotsman, William Hunter, who called himself the king of Scotland's merchant when he was in Madrid, and brought letters to his Majesty from the king of Scotland certifying such to be the case. These letters were obtained for him by English merchants through Walsingham. William Hunter gave a packet of letters to Morris for Walsingham, reporting to him that the

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Armada was ready to sail, and Walsingham thanked him warmly for bringing the news, giving him also 200 crowns.

All this will be confessed by Patrick Morris, and he wishes that the device of arresting him should be resorted to, in order that he may declare, apparently under compulsion, the owners of the merchandise they carry, and they may not blame him when he returns to Scotland.

I have lost no time in advising this, in order that the opportunity may not be missed, and that the Treasury people may not say that they will give nothing to the informer. You will have to lay the statement before the King, without giving particulars of the ships, or their destination, but simply the bare proposal. When his Majesty has authorised the third to be paid to the informer, on particulars being given of the English goods, you can have the stop order sent to arrest the ships, and the particulars will then be forthcoming.

You may communicate it to Don Juan de Idiaquez, and say that as it is a more profitable business than that of Alexis Droscot, I have promoted it and passed it into your hands.* . . . . . .

The man who gave me the information asked me not to supply details until the 10,000 were formally promised. I replied that the law gave the informer a third. The ships are also forfeit, and he (the informer) hopes that his Majesty will confiscate them, as the principal owner deserves it, being a great pirate. Please let me know what is done in the matter, and treat Patrick Morris and Shenston well.—Paris, 15th October 1588.

17 Oct. Estado, 950.

460. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

After the going of Allen had been decided upon, as I wrote to your Majesty, to the apparent complete satisfaction of his Holiness, the poor man went to speak to him (the Pope) about certain matters concerning his voyage. The Pope treated him like a blackamoor, and exhibited great annoyance at his going, which he signified was not with his good will until decisive intelligence of the result (of the Armada) was received, and the certainty of the convenience of his (Allen's) stay there. He used the hardest possible terms towards him; and the next day, when Carrafa was with the Pope, the latter introduced the subject again in almost similar terms. I have therefore come to the conclusion that, after Allen had gone, he would talk to everybody publicly to the same effect, which would discredit both Allen and his mission, and I thought best, in the absence of instructions from your Majesty, not to press the matter, or take any further steps.

In my last audience, on the 15th instant, I accordingly said to the Pope, that, as he judged differently with regard to Allen's voyage, and for all reasons, I was not desirous that the Cardinal should go in disgrace with his Holiness, in which case the journey would

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produce an opposite effect to that desired. I had written to your Majesty my opinion that he had better not go. He replied that although he himself felt in the matter as I had said, if I insisted he would give way. His expressions were more moderate than those he had used to the Cardinals, and when he requested me to state my opinion, I laid before him all the reasons I recently wrote to your Majesty which had induced me to press for Allen to be allowed to go, and also those which had existed for his promotion; which latter reasons I thought it would be undesirable to make public, unless Allen's voyage were persisted in.

The Pope agreed with this, and the next day he sent for Allen, and told him that I and Carrafa had importuned him so much about the voyage, and gave him so many reasons for its advisability, that he (the Pope) could oppose it no longer. He had according decided that he should go, and directed Allen to come at once and inform me of his decision, and ask for a draft of the despatches he would require from him (*i.e.*, the Pope), Allen himself being directed to make ready for the voyage. I had asked Cardinal Deza to give his Holiness an account of the intelligence I had received by way of Irun, to the effect that the Armada had returned to Spain, and Deza assures me that the Pope detained him for an hour, whilst his dinner was getting cold, in order to tell him all that had passed during the last few days, with his customary additional embellishments. He dwelt at length on the undesirability of Allen's voyage, and how much he (the Pope) had opposed it; but said that as he had ordered Allen to make ready, and I was so pressing, he would let him go. He told Deza to repeat this to me, which he did yesterday.

I replied to his Holiness this morning by the same Cardinal, who was on his way to the Consistory, that if his Holiness was convinced by my arguments that the voyage was desirable, I prayed he would let Allen go with God's blessing; but if the Pope had been moved against his will to send him by any importunities of mine, or any other similar reason, I hoped he would not let him go on any account.

He replied that he had already said what he had to say about it, and he left me to choose the course I thought best.

If nothing fresh occurs, therefore, the matter shall be postponed until your Majesty replies to this letter, or to the previous ones I have written on the same subject, as I will not venture to swim against the current and offend the Pope until I receive further instructions.

In case Allen's voyage should be deferred, Robert (Persons) will go, in accordance with Allen's wish, as he is possessed of more authority and tact than those now there.

I send by sea to Don Juan de Idiaquez copy of the cipher which they will have with me, so that he may write to them in it, and arrange for carrying on correspondence.

I will write to the duke of Parma informing him of the postponement of Allen's voyage, but I will explain it by an excuse that will enable him to go consistently if your Majesty so decides. I will send your Majesty a copy of what I write to the Duke on the subject.—Rome, 17th October 1588.

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20 Oct. **461.** DON JUAN DE MONSALVE,* Captain of a Hulk, to DON JORGE MANRIQUE.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Our persistent evil fortune has just decreed that the cruel weather we have experienced should break our cables and drift the hulk ashore between ten and eleven o'clock this morning. She is now half full of water, and I am taking out the powder and other things I can rescue. As God has deigned to bring you to so good a port, I pray you to send someone to take charge of the property saved, and provide us with a craft. Pray do this quickly.—Morvien, 20th October 1588.

24 Oct. **462.** ADVICES from LONDON (Antonio de Vega).

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

One Cavendish, who two years ago went with three ships to the Spanish Indies, has arrived here. He brought back only one of his own ships to Plymouth, in which it is said he has over 2,000,000 (crowns) in gold and silver. Another of his ships which separated from him in the South sea seven months ago has as much more. This treasure was captured from two ships which they found loaded. He also brings in two ships which were bound for Barbary, and three other prizes, namely two ships loaded for New Spain, and a ship from Brazil with 500 boxes of sugar. Besides these they captured a ship from Santo Domingo, and a caravel loaded with wine and oil.

Don Antonio's affair is being discussed, and it is generally asserted that they are going to land him in Portugal. I am quite certain of it myself.

The earl of Cumberland is being urged to sail with 14 ships, some say to the Azores, some to the Indies. He is to take with him an English convict, who was in one of the galleys which were lost on the coast of France and is said to be the leader who caused the convicts to mutiny. The Queen has given him (the convict) 400 crowns pension.

It is said that 50 or 60 sail will go with Drake to the Indies, but nothing is decided yet, as the death of the earl of Leicester has thrown everything into confusion. I will report what is resolved upon.

It is now considered certain that our Armada has returned to Spain.

Since writing the above, Rodriguez de Santos, who went with J. Diaz Varela to Barbary, has returned, and I am assured that Don Antonio is about to send one of his sons to Barbary as the Sheriff promises him a sum of money on condition that the Queen writes him a letter, which she will not write.† I am assured that he (Don Antonio) intends to go to Portugal, as Drake, the earl of Cumberland, Norris and others, offer to undertake the enterprise on their own account. In order that the affair may be kept secret they

* Don Juan de Monsalve Solis was a captain of Nicholas Isla's regiment, in command of a company of 105 soldiers on board the hulk "San Pedro el Menor." The captain of the vessel seems to have been Juan Gregorio de la Peña.

† The Queen's letter to the Sheriff in favour of Don Antonio, dated 4th September 1588, will be found in Harl. MSS. 296, fol. 203.

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give out that they are going to the Indies, and the merchants will then let their ships go the more willingly.

I have received news from Ireland that certain of our ships have put in there, some say the whole Armada. The Queen is sending Raleigh with all haste to learn about it.

Cavendish does not bring a third of what I say above.

Note.—The King in marginal notes gives directions that the information contained in this letter should be sent to the various officers interested.

29 Oct. Estado, 950. **463.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

His Holiness told a cardinal who was advising him to write to your Majesty consoling you for the past, and encouraging you for the future, that he refrained from doing so, in order that your Majesty might not make it a pretext for asking him for money and further aid. This proves that the opinion I wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez on the 10th instant was correct. They are beginning to recognise here that your Majesty's power is great enough to withstand worse misfortunes than this, and are consequently moderating their tone somewhat. The conversation now is about "the good King having done his best in the enterprise, but having been badly served." They cast much of the blame upon the duke of Parma, and they say that the duke of Medina ought to lose his head. They evidently fear here that your Majesty may at last get angry in earnest. His Holiness's attitude remains the same, and he makes a show of complaining that he was not fully taken into your Majesty's confidence in the matter. Your Majesty will see by this how completely he ignores my frequent urgent requests that he would send the Legate, and openly avow the share he had in the enterprise. In one of the last discussions I had with him on the money question, I reminded him how he would have repented of not sending the Legate if the affair had turned out as might reasonably be hoped. He replied that if the enterprise was ordained to succeed, the Legate would have been sent. He said this with great profundity, and although I replied that it would have required a very prophetic soul to guess it, he only cast up his eyes to heaven and said no more.—Rome, 29th October 1588.

2 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1568. **464.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The hulk from the Armada which I advised in my last had entered the port of Morvien Brittany, revictualled with the money I sent, and, as the weather was very heavy, could not stay in that port with safety and so ran ashore, as your Majesty will see by enclosed advices from Don Jorge Manrique. The latter very prudently, seeing the inconvenience of sending the men overland to join the galleass, decided to send to certain Spanish merchants at Nantes, who had on my order provided the money necessary for the revictualling of the hulk, asking them to send sufficient money immediately for the needs of the men, and to freight a ship to take them, with the guns and stores, to Spain. He also tells them to send instant advice to me, in order that I may obtain the necessary authorities from this King. This I have done, and he has granted all I requested, very willingly. I have instructed the merchants to

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expedite everything as much as possible. Nothing shall be wanting on my part.

The "Zuñiga" is re-fitting. Her captain, Centellas, has only 130 convicts. I have asked the duke of Parma to let the salvage from the ship that was lost at Calais (the galleass "San Lorenzo"), which salvage is now on board some pataches at Dunkirk, be sent to Havre de Grâce to be used in the repair of the ship there.* I have provided 3,000 crowns to the purser Igueldo to pay a month's wages to the men, and to buy necessaries, pay debts, workmen on the ship, etc. He writes saying this is spent, and asks me to send him more, in consideration of the money landed by the duke of Parma's orders and deposited at Rouen having been applied by the Duke to other purposes.

The governor of Havre de Grâce is doing his utmost for the prompt dispatch of the galleass, and the retention of the slaves. I took the liberty of suggesting that two gold chains worth 600 crowns should be given to him and his lieutenant, which I am sure they would have received with great pleasure. But people here have already begun to whisper in his ears what a great service he (the Governor) has done to your Majesty, by saving you so many convicts that were in the galleass, who when once they touched France should have been free, as they would have been in any other port. The consequence of this is, I am told, that he is saying that the least he expects of your Majesty is a chain of 2,000 crowns, and he asks me to write to your Majesty to this effect, in consideration of the services he has rendered, and will render, if your Majesty continues the English enterprise. He will, he says, supply from that port what ships and sailors may be necessary, with victuals if needed.

The soldiers in the galleass are not very many, and as on the way to Spain she will have to pass along the English coast, a sufficient number should be on board of her to ensure her safety.—St. Dié, 2nd November 1588.

Note.—In another letter of the same date as above the writer (Mendoza) gives an account of his interviews with the king of France relative to the assistance to be given to the ships of the Armada which had taken refuge in French ports. The King readily acceded to all the requests made in this respect, and immediately despatched the necessary orders to the ports.

2 Nov. **465.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568. [EXTRACT.]

Although I already had news of the arrival of the duke of Medina Sidonia with the greater part of the Armada at Santander, I humbly thank your Majesty for informing me of it. With regard to the failure to achieve the object aimed at, I can only repeat to your Majesty what St. Gregory says in one of his epistles: "Adversitas qui bonis votis obsicitur probatio est virtutis, non juditium reprobationis."† and as an example of this he instances the terrible

* In the King's hand :—"This is very good. The duke of Parma might be written to about it."

† The King has underlined this quotation.

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torment suffered by St. Paul when he landed at Malta, on his way to preach the faith of Christ in Italy; and the King St. Louis, whom God had chosen as one of His own, suffered no slight adversity in his expedition to the Holy Sepulchre, notwithstanding his own saintliness. A single sin—much less the multitude of sins we men commit every day—forms, so to speak, a bulwark between ourselves and God. And even when what we pray for is good and just, He does not grant it easily, in order to try our constancy or test our zeal in His service, and to lead us to correct our faults. We therefore may hope from His infinite goodness and clemency, that He will accord to your Majesty success in the enterprise in proportion to your holy zeal in undertaking it, and that He has delayed success, in order that when it comes, it may be evidently the gift of His hand, and redound to His greater glory. For it will be seen that our Lord always precedes the greatest successes and victories by drawbacks and difficulties, and leads His chosen ones in His own way.

The English ambassador has had an audience of this King, during which he represented to him that in the speech I had made asking the King that no aid should be given to the queen of England, I had said that he (the King) had sworn in the re-union (*i.e.*, with the League) to abandon all alliances with heretics; and that in his answer the King had not cleared up this point, of which his mistress would be glad of an explanation. The King replied that it was he who had cause to complain of her, for having violated the neutrality of his ports. As for the rest, Kings were not called upon to open their hearts to ambassadors. Before the audience he had sent word to the English ambassador that he had given letters of marque to two of his subjects against the English, in consequence of their having been robbed by the English, and their inability to get justice from the Queen. The loss of the hulk at Morvien and the galleass has exhausted my means, please send credits.—St. Dié, 2nd November 1588.

2 Nov. **466.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The duke of Parma wrote to me, under date of 4th ultimo, the information with regard to Scotland which I enclose. I also send an abbreviated summary of his numerous long memoranda. If it was important before to hold the Catholic nobles to their good resolve it is doubly so now, and also to show the queen of England that your Majesty intends to assail her on all sides,* which will cause her not to divest herself of her ships suddenly, which otherwise will go out to pillage and trouble your Majesty's forces. Your Majesty should keep up the talk of war and great armaments, even if you do not carry them out; publicity is as important now as secrecy was before. As the duke of Parma has so many troops, it would be well to relieve the country and provide winter quarters for them, which would prevent troublesome mutinies, by sending to the Scottish Catholic nobles the number of troops they request.† Besides which, it would bring about the conversion of the country and the other plans they propose. They could, moreover, run over in small

* In the King's hand :—"He says well."

† In the King's hand :—"Notice! But I do not know how."

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vessels on one tack from Dunkirk or Nieuport, without molestation from the English, and would compel the Queen to keep a standing army in the north, which would quite exhaust her, even if it lasted only two months. This is proved by what happened with the army raised in the neighbourhood of London this summer, which did not reach 15,000 men, who deserted so fast that the Queen was obliged to go in person and beg them to stay. She was so weak that her fleet, which left port at the end of July, was obliged to return on the 12th August for want of victuals and stores. They had not even powder to fire after the combat off the Isle of Wight, until they took that which was on board Don Pedro de Valdés's ship. All this shows that the difficulty of reaching the place of combat in fit condition is much greater than that of fighting the enemy. I hear from a good source that the Treasurer said all sailors admitted that 50 of your Majesty's ships were impregnable, and all the vessels in England would not dare to bear the brunt of them.

The force sent to Scotland, moreover, would run no risk of losing prestige, as the very men who request it are those who will lodge and maintain it for their own safety. To this it may be opposed that we should be admitting the rights of the king of Scotland, but even supposing he were not excluded by his heresy, or were to embrace Catholicism, this would not militate against your Majesty's right to take possession of the property of those who have so unjustly pillaged you. The right of the king of Scotland, therefore, does not prevent that of your Majesty being greater, and the justice of your conquest of England being paramount for the reason that I have indicated. However your Majesty may regard it, it would be well for your Majesty to have the matter considered as M. de la Motte has staked his existence on entering and holding an English port for six months if he is given 2,000 men, half Spanish and half Walloons, and he is a soldier of experience who speaks with full knowledge. If it had no other effect than to disturb the Queen at home, and prevent her from sending ships to trouble your Majesty elsewhere, it would be worth doing, particularly if the force sent to Scotland could join hands with M. de la Motte, who would presumably take a port near the border, which would make it all the more difficult for the English to assail them.

My reason for writing thus is that the duke of Parma orders me to send your Majesty my opinion on the matter, and I humbly beg your Majesty to pardon my presumption in doing so. I am still trying to keep up my communication with Julio, though it is easy to see that he is cooling, as I hold back the money. He gives me very poor news, and seeing the few letters he has received in the last few months, he is probably not well informed. He cannot discover that the King is carrying on any negotiations with the English ambassador, as the King tries to avoid suspicion on the part of the League and the States, who keep him so tied up.

Julio tells me that Drake will not sail so soon as was said, as Colonel Norris is going in command of the troops who are to accompany the expedition,* and he will first go and relieve Berghen.—St. Dié, 2nd November 1588.

* In the King's hand:—"According to this, then, they are going to send troops."

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2 Nov. **467.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1567.

In addition to the advices from England I send your Majesty, I also enclose a copy in French of a letter from Sir Harry Cavendish to one of the Queen's Council, giving him an account of his voyage. He does not state the value of his booty or other particulars, but writes in general terms. (This paper is now absent.)

Up to the present the destination of the ships fitting out for Drake cannot be ascertained, as no details can be gathered as to their number, the provisions they take, etc., but the common voice says that Don Antonio will go with them, and his Portuguese are writing to his friends everywhere summoning them to join.* The other ships that sail separately are sent to pillage, notwithstanding the reports sent dated 8th October.

A Scotsman who recently left London asserts that the earl of Cumberland had dropped down the Thames to put to sea, although the reports of 8th October say he would not leave within 20 days. It is agreed that he is going to rob on the Indian route and in the South Seas.† He takes a great quantity of victuals, but no men but the ships' companies. He had been joined by other pirates, and now musters 11 sail, all small except the two belonging to the Queen. Up to the present the wind is against him.—St. Dié, 2nd November 1588.

4 Nov. **468.** COPY of LETTER from ROBERT BRUCE to the DUKE OF PARMA.
Paris Archives, K. 1568.

The enclosed letter from the Catholic lords being so ample, and as I wrote fully recently upon the same subject by their orders, I will limit myself in this letter to saying that his Catholic Majesty and his successors have now the best opportunity that has ever presented itself of making themselves rulers of this island, if it be not neglected. It has been discussed and resolved by most of the principal Catholics here that it is expedient for the public weal that we should submit to the crown of Spain, and the earl of Huntly therefore, who is the first subject in this country in point of strength and influence, has authorised me, in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses, to write and assert in his name that if our King will not consent to act well, he (Huntly) and several others of his party wish to submit to the rule of his Catholic Majesty and his forces, and to render him the peaceful possessor of the whole country, if he will consent to direct his forces to be employed to this end.

Copy of the duke of Parma's letter to Mendoza relative to the above:—

The bearer has arrived here with the note and papers from Scotland, which I enclose herewith in order that you may be fully informed of all that concerns the matter. In order to continue the correspondence as it has begun, I leave the answer entirely to you, besides which this is no time to undertake to forward the execution

* In the King's hand:—"This must be attended to. See whether it would not be well to move nearer there (*i.e.*, Lisbon) the troops we have about Santander."

† In the King's hand:—"And even to look how the Armada is getting on."

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with the forces from here they request. I need only remark, however, that in the answer you send it will be well to signify this to them with your accustomed dexterity, taking care to keep them favourably disposed towards us until such time as we may all be able to fulfil what we desire, in the service of God and his Majesty, as well as for the advantage of the country (Scotland) itself and the afflicted Catholics. With regard to the money Bruce has in his hands, he had better hold it until a favourable opportunity arises, and not employ it in the four or five boats he mentions, because they alone would not be of much use to carry over the number of men they request when the time comes. You will be able with your usual prudence and experience to put this and the rest in a favourable form, and above all to persuade them to stand firm in their devotion to us.

5 Nov. **469.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.
Paris Archives, K. 1448. (EXTRACT.)

The provision of money you made to the ships of the Armada that put into French ports is approved of, and your efforts in aiding them were in conformity with the demands of my service and your accustomed care. Thank the King for his action in the matter. As the governor of Havre de Grâce has behaved so well, it will be advisable, as you suggest, to give him and his lieutenant two chains of the value of 600 crowns each. You may, therefore, do this. I feel confident that if the fitting out of the 50 ships in England to send to sea had been persevered in, you would soon have heard of it. I have constantly enjoined you to exercise great care and energy in discovering what is done in this respect in England, and I know how greatly you have striven to this effect; but since the English are so careful to hide their preparations, I cannot refrain from again urging the point upon you. See whether you cannot get some Italian or Frenchman whom you can trust to send thither, in addition to the men you have there, without any of them knowing of the rest.—El Pardo, 5th November 1588.

Note.—In another letter of the same date as the above, from the same to the same, the following passages occur: "The less Julio "helps you, the greater the need of getting news from England "through other channels. As some of your reports indicate an "intention of disturbing Portugal, please send advices by special "courier. Preparations have been made on this side for any "eventuality, and we will try to catch those whom you suspect are "sent in future with letters to Portugal. Provide Marco Antonio "Messia with some money. Tell him that if his property were "disembargoed in Lisbon it would make him suspected in England "but it shall be inquired into and justice done him."

5 Nov. **470.** ADVICES from ENGLAND, translated from the English.*
Paris Archives, K. 1568. It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the progress of the Spanish Armada, its bad management, and the heavy loss of ships

* In the King's hand:—"He does not say who they are from. They are not bad if true." A maginal note in answer to this says the advices are from the Genoese, Marco Antonio Micea (Messia), which is also evident from the context.

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and men.* I will only say that if the Armada had been conducted as it should have been, and its commanders had taken advantage of the opportunities offered to them, the king of Spain would now be as much king of England as he is king of Spain. But it is past now; the opportunities were missed, and I have no desire to discourse upon them, but will confine myself to the present and future.

The whole of the English fleets did not contain 8,000 seamen, and some gentlemen and volunteers who were of but little use. The fleets were so short of provisions and stores that, had it not been for the capture of Don Pedro de Valdés's ship, in which they found 200 barrels of powder, they could not have followed up the Armada for so long; but would have been obliged to leave it for want of victuals and stores.

The armies which they said in France and Flanders the Queen had raised, of so many thousand men, were the very reverse of what was stated. In the first place the Queen had no force to speak of near her person, except the household and some gentlemen who joined her.

The army that the earl of Leicester commanded opposite Gravesend did not consist of so many men as was said in France, because on one occasion when the Queen reviewed them, and another when the Lord Treasurer did so, they could not muster 10,000 foot and 1,800 horse, although they strained every nerve to do so. This is the real truth.

For this reason, and being in great alarm, they made the people believe that the Spaniards were bringing a shipload of halters in the Armada to hang all the Englishmen, and another shipload of scourges to whip women, with 3,000 or 4,000 wet nurses to suckle the infants. It was said that all children between the ages of 7 and 12 would be branded in the face, so that they might always be known. These and other things of the same sort greatly irritated the people.

During the time that the Armada was in the Channel all foreigners in London were forbidden to leave their houses, and the shops were to remain closed.

When the Admiral found that it was necessary for him to follow the Armada, and that he had no stores, fearing that the winds might shift in favour of the Spaniards he shut himself in his cabin, and throwing himself on his bed wept like a child.

There was a great deal of disorder in the English fleet, and at no time were there 30 ships together ready to fight.

Parliament was to have met on the 12th November, but as it was seen that both people and nobles were weary of so much trouble, it has been prorogued until the 4th February, which is the 14th by our count. They also thought that during the interval they might learn more of the king of Spain's intentions and capabilities. The merchants and citizens are sick of the duration of the war, but they (the Government) are beguiling them as well as they can.

The Queen intended to go to St. Paul's to give public thanks to God for the victory, but she was dissuaded by her Council, for fear

* In the King's hand:— "Although this first is certainly lamentable."

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that a harquebuss might be fired at her, and she abandoned her intention.

In short, we are in such alarm and terror here that there is no sign of rejoicing amongst the Councillors at the victories they have gained. They look rather like men who have a heavy burden to bear.

Still they think that the king of Spain cannot send another Armada to sea under two or three years. They are very confident of this, especially the Treasurer.

They have deceived the king of Scotland. In order to attract him and prevent him from sheltering the Spaniards they sent an ambassador to tell him that he should be proclaimed heir of England, and should at once be invested with the dukedom of Lancaster. When he sent an ambassador hither to effect this, the Queen told him she knew nothing about such a thing, and repudiated her ambassador's promise. They say the king of Scotland is greatly scandalised.

The Queen is much aged and spent, and is very melancholy. Her intimates say that this is caused by the death of the earl of Leicester; but it is very evident that it is rather the fear she underwent and the burden she has upon her. In order to send 1,500 men to Berghen she had to bleed at every pore, and even then she could not get them together. Those that went had to be driven on board with cudgels.

Wade, the Secretary of the queen of England, asserted that 2,500 or 3,000 Spaniards had landed in Ireland from six ships which had been there before and had victualled. There were with them four savage Earls, two of them powerful men, Tyrconnel (O'Donnell) and O'Neil, and two smaller men. They had fortified themselves.*

The Queen had sent Sir Thomas Perrot to raise 2,000 men in Wales, and take them over with all speed.† Besides this she had sent overland many arms and stores of which they stood in need.

This news (*i.e.*, of the landing of Spaniards in Ireland) has caused the Queen and Council much anxiety, as they greatly fear such a war, which they look upon as the most ruinous of any that could happen to them. If there were any means of succouring them (*i.e.*, the Spaniards) it would harass the English very much.‡

Above all, be very vigilant with the ships in Spanish ports, especially Corunna, as they (the English) are determined to send and burn them.‡ This is one of the first things the earl of Cumberland intends to do. The earl of Cumberland was ready with four ships. The Queen's largest ship also, carrying provisions for two months, was ready to sail with him; it was said only as far as Cape St. Vincent, to try to capture some prizes, with the proceeds of which he would fit out an expedition like that of Cavendish. It is now said that he has orders not to go. In any case his victuals will be exhausted.

Cavendish fell in with a ship coming from the Philippines to Mexico, with much merchandise from China, and some gold. He

* In the King's hand :—"I think we got this in the other advices."
† In the King's hand :—"He must mean to Ireland."
‡ The King has drawn special attention to this passage.

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filled his three ships with raw silks and Chinese damasks, and burnt the rest. A Portuguese who comes back with him says, if he (Cavendish) had not met this ship he would have been starved for want of food and water. The Council are spreading the rumour that he brings back 24 quintals of gold and the rest of the aforementioned merchandise. The Portuguese confesses that they bring some gold, but not so much. They have taken the island of St. Helena, and have fixed its position.*

The Portuguese above-mentioned went to see Don Antonio, and gave him a great present of damasks and brocades, and other fine things from China, where he has been established for 30 years. He was on his way to Portugal, and when he was captured he begged to be brought hither in the hope of saving his property, as indeed he has done to some extent. He wishes to go to Portugal, but Don Antonio prevents him by alarming him.

Don Antonio only knows what Drake and Norris tell him. They say they have orders to fit out a great fleet with 15,000 men to take him to Portugal, and Drake has shown him a warrant from the Queen for 20,000*l.*, and an undertaking from London merchants to find 10,000*l.*, in order that he may have the necessary provisions prepared. The Queen contributes six ships of her own and two pataches, which he has already selected. The rest will be merchant ships, but it is not known how many. Don Antonio does not believe in the truth of it, as neither the Queen nor any of the Council have said a word to him about it, and they have deceived him so often. He thinks that the fleet will be fitted out, as there is no doubt that Drake really is making preparations, and Norris has authority to levy troops, and, if the siege of Berghen is raised, to put his new men into garrison there, and bring the old troops hither, but he (Don Antonio) thinks that the real destination of the expedition will be the Indies. Drake is very vexed that he did not leave 2,000 men there, and so prevent the king of Spain from getting any flotillas or money from there.† Drake's fleet will be ready during January.

Don Antonio sent his younger son to Barbary, as the sheriff had promised him a large sum of money on him. He is not very confident, as Moors often break their word, although his (Don Antonio's) friends there assure him that the matter is quite settled. He (the son) embarked two weeks ago, but with this weather must still be in the Channel. If this money is forthcoming there is no doubt that the Queen and Don Antonio will make an attempt against Portugal, although many principal people when they speak of it say it is impossible, as they have no port there to disembark in.

Now, if the king of Spain wishes to see the queen of England dead, with the Treasurer, Walsingham, and all the Council, who are the cause of the war with Spain, and this at the hand of the English themselves; if he wants to stop them from molesting them in the Indies or Portugal, let him send 3,000 or 4,000 men to Ireland, and

* The King has apparently not understood the nautical expression used, and says, "They came by it."

† The King draws attention to this by his usual ejaculation, "Ojo!". For a full account of the expedition to Portugal from private sources, *see* "The Year after the Armada," by the editor of this Calendar.

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let them fortify themselves there and take the island. He will soon see the effect. This is the only thing that the English fear, and the real true way to take this country with little risk and trouble; and if a part of the Armada were to effect this, they would find it a very different matter to attacking this country.*

They made Don Pedro de Valdés and other prisoners of rank confess, or at least it is stated that they have declared, that the duke of Guise was only awaiting the success of the Armada to proclaim himself king of France, which is a great piece of roguery.†

Valdés is disliked by the English, as they say he was the cause of the coming of the Armada from Corunna, and because he speaks haughtily and arrogantly. The Queen was resolved to put him in the Tower, but Drake prevented it, as he was his prisoner. Mr. Davison is out of the Tower in consequence of his illness. This was managed by Walsingham, who is his friend.‡

6 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

471. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In addition to the advices from England I sent on the 22nd, I have received a report, dated 25th ultimo, from the man I recently sent thither. He says that when the Queen was told that your Majesty had ordered your fleet to be reinforced and increased, she replied that she would give your Majesty plenty to do before you could repair damages or turn round. In the west, at Plymouth, 50 sail were being fitted out, which would be ready for sea within a month, whilst at Norwich and in the Thames the earl of Norfolk (*sic.*) was embarking with 4,000 or 5,000 men to go to the relief of Berghen.§

The booty brought back by Cavendish consisted of raw silks and spices, the value of which the English estimated at 1,000,000, but as these goods are bulky, and the ships small, it is impossible that the value can nearly reach a half of it.—St. Dié, 6th November 1588.

9 Nov. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1567.

472. ADVICES from LONDON of 9th November (N.S.), translated from the English.

On the 11th ultimo, I reported to the duke of Parma, and on the 21st and 28th to the Cardinal (Archduke Albert of Austria, governor of Portugal), by ship from Calais,‖ and I therefore write briefly now. As I have reported before, the whole business here is to devise fresh

* In the King's hand:—"Ojo! This would be very important."

† This does not appear to be true. Don Pedro de Valdés' examination is printed in Laughton's "Defeat of the Armada," from the State Papers at the Record Office, CCXIV. The only mention of the duke of Guise in the document is that "it was reported the duke "of Guise should have an understanding with the king of Spain in favour of the king of "Scotland." This also we know to be untrue.

‡ A full account of Davison's case will be found in Sir Harris Nicolas' biography of Secretary Davison.

§ In the King's hand:—"According to this, it is evident that they will hurry every-"thing forward, and we must see what is necessary here, although it cannot be ready in "time.' The commander of the expedition for the relief of Berghen was Sir John Norris. The "Conde de Norfolk" was doubtless a blunder of the decipherer for "earl of Northumberland."

‖ Marginal note on the original decipher:—"They have partly turned white and "cannot be read, as the lemon has got wet." The dispatches to which this reference is made were apparently written in lemon juice.

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means of disturbing his Majesty, and so to prevent him from sending to these parts again. One day they decide one thing, and the next day another. They are now full of assisting Don Antonio, and then of sending ships to the Biscay and Galician coast, to burn the ships of the Armada. At another time they are for sending ships to the Spanish Indies; and I believe this latter course is the one they will follow, as they always choose the most profitable one for themselves. They appear entirely in favour of Don Antonio, and he is very confident that they will help him in time, although the Queen says that at present it would do no good to either of them, until they know more about the result of the Armada, and the decision the King may adopt. When this is known, she says, she will be able to resolve more confidently. They are discussing in Parliament the means of doing it (*i.e.*, helping Don Antonio); and in the meanwhile Don Antonio has decided to send his younger son, Don Cristobal, to Barbary, in the hope that the Sheriff will give him something on account of the 250,000 ducats he promised, by means of which, with the 200,000 ducats' worth of provisions promised him from Holland, and the aid of private persons here, he hopes to undertake the enterprise, which, he asserts, will be an extremely easy one. Don Cristobal left here on the 25th, and is yet at Margate. His father provided him with a household as if he were in his prosperity. It would be good if his Majesty could divert the Sheriff from providing the money, as it is certain that if he (Don Antonio) gets it, and the other sums I have mentioned, he will trouble his Majesty when least expected, even if the Queen do not contribute a penny.

On the 26th instant (*sic*) it was agreed that Drake should, with all secresy, make ready to sail with 40 ships, which were put in hand next day, and most of them are being fitted as for a long voyage. It cannot be doubted that they are going to stay in the Spanish Indies, and fortify some place there. I will discover the intention and advise in time. I am quite certain, however, that the intention is either to attack Portugal or the Indies, and would advise that Havana be strongly defended, as they greatly desire to establish themselves there.*

Every day a multitude of new stories are current about losses of the Armada. If they were all true, not a single ship would be left. Those which were reported lost on the coast of Ireland I set forth in a memorandum I sent to your lordship. The list was afterwards printed at the end of a little tract in French, which they, in their usual cunning way, pretended had been written by a Catholic to your lordship (Mendoza).† It was done by the Lord Treasurer, and they sent a great number of copies to France. Since then they report some more ships lost, but there is no certainty about it,

* In the King's hand:—"Notice! Let this be considered in the Puerto Rico Board "and let them attend to it most carefully."

† This is the well-known "Copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin de "Mendoza, ambassador in France for the king of Spain, declaring the state of England "contrary to the opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his partizans, Spaniardes and others, "etc., by R. Leigh. Whereunto are adjoined advertisements concerning the losses and "distresses happened to the Spanish Navie. London, 1588." This was printed in nearly all European languages, and had a great circulation, having been usually accepted as genuine until comparatively recently. The letter is published entire in the Harl. Miscellany.

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although it is confidently stated that the governor of one of the Orkney Isles was persuaded by some of the people on shore to take the men from a great ship, which he had captured, hanging some of the people on board. They had gone there the first time in search of victuals, and the second time through stress of weather.

The Queen said, two days ago, that she had certain information that 15 of the ships had gone to the Irish coast in consequence of the weather. God preserve them from the great tempest that usually reigns there.

The earl of Cumberland left here to embark at Plymouth. As I have already reported, orders have been given to him to wait and sail with Drake.* I have given notice of all other ships that have left. A few days ago a certain Juan Vaz disappeared from here. I think he has gone to Portugal. His father lives in a villa near Alanquer, and he is attached to Don Antonio.†

I say nothing of events in Scotland, in order not to cause more distress than necessary about past occurrences; but your Lordship will hear from Courcelles,‡ who has gone from here, what they write to him, although we have no further confirmation of it. After I had written this, I decided not to give it to the messenger, Juan Topete, as I suspected him, and so kept it back until the present bearer presented himself.

On the 2nd instant news came that nine more ships had been lost on the coast of Ireland, but that the men had been saved, and had fortified themselves inland, at a place called Mac Morris,§ in the province of Connaught, to the number of 2,000, who had been joined by many Irish, especially by the earl of Clanricarde. Orders have, therefore, been given for men and warlike stores to be sent to Ireland, as they fear that if there were 4,000 or 5,000 foreigners in (Connaught?) all would rise in rebellion.

On the following day I sent full advice of this to the duke of Parma, for his information and consideration as to what could be done; but I have not yet received any reply.

The news has since been confirmed, and that great numbers of Irishmen had joined. Great activity is shown here in preparation for sending troops thither, although it is now asserted that they (the Spaniards) have re-embarked || and returned to Spain, which I do not believe, for these people (the English) always say what suits them best. They likewise assert that three ships were lost on the island of Guernsey. Don Cristobal left the Downs yesterday with fine weather.

10 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

473. PURSER PEDRO DE IGUELDO to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Reports the desertion of the ensign, two sergeants, and twenty soldiers of the galleass "Zuñiga," at Havre de Grâce, as soon as they

* The King calls special notice to this passage by his usual exclamation, "Ojo!"

† The King orders that notice of this should at once be sent to Portugal.

‡ He was the French envoy in Scotland, passing through London on his way home.

§ In the King's hand:—"This seems a different name to that mentioned by Don Bernardino." The place where Don Alonso de Leyva had fortified himself with 2,000 men from the "Rata Coronada," the galleass "Girona," and other ships was near Killibegs Harbour. He was afterwards lost, with all his followers, off the Giant's Causeway.

|| They had re-embarked for the second time (the first being in the "Duquesa Santa Ana") in the "Girona," which was soon after dashed to pieces at a place on the coast of Ulster, near the Giant's Causeway, still called Spaniard Rock.

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had received their month's pay; asks that they may be punished when they arrive in Spain for deserting from a ship of the Armada at such a juncture. He blames the captains, to whom he had given notice of the intention of some of the men to desert; 80 more soldiers will be wanted. Work on the galleass delayed by weather. It is being caulked inside and out. Gunpowder will have to be dried in the sun, "when God sends us any sun." Has begun to buy stores. Biscuit is being made. It will be much better than the Spanish. What troubles him is the drink, for if he has to lay in a stock of wine it will cost 1,600 crowns. Cider will cost 250 crowns, and new cider at that, which is no good, as it makes the men ill. He could get perry, but does not think the men would drink it.—Havre de Grâce, 10th November 1588.

10 Nov. **474.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Don Cristobal, the son of Don Antonio, sailed for Barbary with four ships of war and six merchantmen and a large household of Portuguese and English—over 40 persons. He takes several musical instruments, and rich household appointments, Don Antonio having spent 30,000 crowns in his embarkation. The officers of his household are splendidly fitted, and the rest of the men very decently (a list of the Prince's household here follows, but no Englishman is mentioned). Edward Perrin commands the four men-of-war.

*Antonio de Escobar tells me that he hopes to God that Don Antonio will, before the end of the year, be ready to go to Portugal. He says I am not to tell anyone this, nor am I to leave here, as I shall soon be summoned.** The writer suggests that he should be sent to Barbary to spy out the intentions of Don Antonio.

With Sir Harry Cavendish there arrived a Portuguese from China, a very rich man, who has made Don Antonio some presents, and tells him that if he sends to India and China he will obtain help.

Don Pedro de Valdés has hitherto been away from London in a pleasure house, very well treated, but it is said that for having spoken ill of Don Antonio he is to be brought to London and put in chains.

21 Nov. (N.S.) **475.** "ADVICES from LONDON, translated from English."†

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The news spread hourly here keeps one in suspense. Five days ago they reported that all the Spaniards fortified in Ireland had surrendered, and a list of prisoners and dead was sent. Then came intelligence that the Viceroy had his force ready to march on the 7th instant, 800 foot and 100 horse, to meet the Spaniards. They are now saying that those prisoners had secretly left the rest, and had embarked, but being driven back by tempest they were all lost but five; whereas the list sent here of prisoners and dead gives

* This passage is in a separate cipher and in Portuguese. The writer of the letter was Manuel de Andrada or some other of the spies attached to Don Antonio (Mendoza calls him David), but whoever he was he seems to have had no idea that Escobar, the Pretender's principal man in France (at that time on a visit to England) was, under the pseudonym of Sampson, the arch-spy for Philip.

† Notwithstanding this heading the wording of the letter is certainly that of Antonio de Vega.

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the number as 42. This makes me think it is false, like the assertion here that a number of Spaniards had been hanged at Mull, one of the Orkney Isles (*sic*). This was untrue, so I hope the rest is that every hour and minute they are reporting here. God prosper the Spaniards that are left there (*i.e.*, in Ireland) for it would be a good opportunity for disturbing these people.

A ship which they say is the hospital of the Armada put into Plymouth in a great storm and surrendered. The Council has sent orders for everyone on board to be hanged, except a few of the principal officers. It is said that the same order has been sent to Ireland, as they do not want to have to feed them, and Spain will not ransom them. I cannot believe they will do it. They also assert that 12 ships of the Armada had appeared on the west coast of England. If so, God help them!

Don Cristobal has returned to Margate owing to bad weather, at which Don Antonio is much displeased, as he is extremely impatient in the matter. Here many ships are being secretly fitted out for Drake's expedition. Drake constantly sees Don Antonio at night and in secresy. He is using his utmost efforts to obtain aid for him, as also is Colonel Norris, who writes from Zeeland that the States there are very ready to assist. I hope to be able to obtain trustworthy information about it, and the plans they have in view.

Bernaldo Luis has sent a man to me here, to ask me to write in his favour, as nothing against your Majesty's interests had been proved against him, and he had only been arrested in the matter of a ship consigned to Geronimo Pardo, which it was alleged had English property on board. I swear to God that neither Bernaldo Luiz, nor his brother, had any interest in her. His imprisonment is protracted, although they had been promised prompt release, and he was advised to obtain a letter from me, when they should both be liberated at once. I excused myself from writing such a letter, but I promised to use influence in another way in their favour, and as I know no better way than to appeal to your lordship I pray you kindly to write to Don Cristobal de Mora, or other person, begging for favourable consideration. They do not deserve to be so ill-requited for their services.—London, 21st November 1588 (N.S.).

21 Nov. (N.S.)
Paris Archives, K. 1568.

476. ADVICES from LONDON.

A fresh report has just come from Ireland, saying that many ships of the Spanish Armada have been lost on that coast, and that many persons have been beheaded and others taken prisoners. I send a list of them, furnished to me by a friend. This makes me begin to believe what I have hitherto doubted.

The ships lost there, they say, amount to 16 or more. I have believed little or nothing of this, but, in view of this relation, I am afraid there has been great misfortune, especially as there is a certainty here that only 42 of the ships of the Armada, mostly small, have arrived in Spain.

On Friday last, although it rained heavily all day, Cavendish's ship was taken up to Greenwich before the Queen's house. It is said that her sails were of damask. She fired off a great quantity of artillery, and was a most beautiful sight. I understand that the

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treasure he brings does not approach in value what they said, but it is asserted that more value is attached to a new invention, or easier mode of navigating, which he has devised.

On Thursday the wife of the earl of Pembroke made a superb entrance into this city. She has been for more than a year on her estates in the country. Before her went 40 gentlemen on horseback, two by two, all very finely dressed with gold chains. Then came a coach in which was the Countess* and a lady, then another coach with more ladies, and after that a litter containing the children, and four ladies on horseback. After them came 40 or 50 servants in her livery with blue cassocks. A few days previously the Earl had entered London, and it is said that he had in his train at least 150 horsemen. He has recently been appointed governor of Wales.

Great preparations are being made for a fine joust on the 27th, the Queen's coronation day; and I am told that her Majesty will go to St. Paul's on that day, in pontificial state, accompanied by all the nobility, to render thanks to God for the victory He has sent her. They are therefore in a very different position here now from what was expected from the threats that, a few months ago, came upon them from all sides. They are above all resolved to make war sturdily, and are furiously fitting out a fleet of, they say, 30 ships or more, for which purpose her Majesty, I am told, recently signed a warrant for 20,000*l.* in favour of Drake, to pay for stores. The London merchants are subscribing 15,000*l.* for the same purpose. There are different opinions as to the destination of this fleet; some say it is going to Terceira, but the merchants' subscription makes me think otherwise. Many think it is for Portugal, and that Don Antonio will go in it, and that these Englishmen, under cover of Don Antonio, pretend to have great designs, but really will confine themselves to seizing ships and merchants. Don Antonio came from Gravesend on Saturday. He had been there for 10 days, at the house of Lady Rich.

I am told for certain that the expedition is to go to Portugal, and that the Queen and Council have resolved to provide all that is necessary for it.

On Saturday her Majesty went to see a 300-ton ship from Dantzig which, they say, is very beautiful, and has been bought by Drake for 4,600 ducats. I understand that the expedition will be ready in January, and that Cavendish will accompany Don Antonio, Colonel Norris commanding the troops which are being raised in Flanders for the purpose.

26 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

477. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The duke of Mercœur, with eight French King's ships, had sacked and taken what was left of the hulk that went ashore at Morvien,† and had claimed a tithe of all that had been landed. I have sent a servant of mine with letters from the King for the duke of Mercœur.

* This was Mary Sidney, daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Mary Sidney, Leicester's sister. The Countess, of whom a fine portrait exists at Penshurst, was the mother of Shakspeare's friend. Her brother, Sir Philip, dedicated to her his Arcadia.

† The "San Pedro el Menor."

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A ship of 70 tons has been freighted to ship the troops and guns from the hulk, on condition that your Majesty will not embargo the ship in Spain. I was obliged to promise this, or I should not have been able to obtain a ship at all.

I am asking the duke of Parma to send the salvage of the galleass wrecked at Calais to repair that which is at Havre de Grâce. Letter from Pedro Igueldo about the galleass, "Zuñiga," at Havre enclosed. Pray instruct me how I am to manage about the soldiers necessary to guard this ship on her way back to Spain. More will be required than Igueldo says, seeing how they desert. I had ordered Captain Avendaño, who came on the "Santa Ana," to take charge of the two companies of his regiment now on the galleass. He said he had nothing to do with them, as they were under the command of an officer of another regiment, and he has now gone back to Spain.

(Greatly deplores the disobedience and desertion of the troops of all ranks in the various ships of the Armada on the French coast, and commends the services of Purser Igueldo, whom he has ordered not to go back to Spain yet on any account, although he says he is the only purser left of the Armada.)—Paris, 26th November 1588.

26 Nov. **478.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives. K. 1567.

Cavendish's booty shrinks in value daily, but the English still estimate it at 500,000 crowns.

The son of the earl of Northumberland, who died in the Tower of London, was to go over with Colonel Norris and 4,000 men to raise the siege of Berghen.

The differences between Drake and Frobisher still continue; and as to the 50 sail which I said were fitting out at Plymouth, ostensibly to sail under Drake, it was impossible to say when they would be ready, as the victuals and men were not yet collected. Although private owners were fitting out ships for pillage, up to the 5th instant only five ships, three large and two small, had actually sailed. They were under Captain Raymond,* a servant of the Admiral, their object being plunder. If the ships that sail with this object from various English ports effect a junction they may burn some of your Majesty's ships, or land men and sack some Spanish village or town; so that it would be prudent for your Majesty to have a good look-out kept on the coast. The wind has hitherto been against them for leaving England.

The Queen had ordered 2,000 men to be sent to Ireland, as it was reported that there were 1,500 Spanish soldiers there, out of the 4,000 who were in the 18 ships which went ashore on the island, the rest of the men having died of sickness, contracted in the Armada or of over-eating on land. This confirms, to some extent, the news I sent in my last, that some Spaniards had fortified themselves on land, and were helped by the savages. As they were so few, it was reported that they (the Spanish soldiers) would embark on four ships which had remained whole out of the 18, but if so many Spaniards as 1,500 had been able to hold out so long, and had ships

* Captain George Raymond commanded the "Elizabeth Bonaventure." It was he who led the expedition against Recalde's flagship "Santa Ana," in Havre Roads.

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at their disposal, they would certainly have reported to your Majesty, unless, indeed, the weather prevented them.

If the Queen sends 2,000 men to Ireland, and 4,000 to relieve Berghen (and a man who saw some of them shipped, assures me that they had to be beaten out of the houses of Gravesend with cudgels and driven on board by force), she can hardly send Drake out soon with a numerous fleet and a strong force. Recently there was a report that Don Antonio would go with Drake, but the sending of his son (to Barbary) does not look as if it were true.

The Queen had delayed summoning Parliament until the middle of January, and was trying to get a sum of money together to send to the Huguenots to aid them in raising levies.—St. Dié, 26th November 1588.

26 Nov. **479.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

I have continued to keep on as good terms as possible with the new confidant, as your Majesty orders. As soon as I arrived he sent to ask me for 200 crowns, as he was very much pressed. As the sum was a small one I sent it, thinking that my prompt good-will to help him would compel him to give me some valuable news. Julio writes to me, under date of 29th ultimo, a letter, which has been delayed by weather, asking me to inform your Majesty instantly that the ships that took the son of Don Antonio carried orders to try to enter Corunna and other ports, and burn the ships belonging to your Majesty therein. I had already some suspicion of this, and mentioned it in my general despatch about England. Secret orders had been given, he (Julio) says, for the 10 ships that accompanied Don Antonio's son to be joined by 17 others, and amongst them those of the earl of Cumberland. It may be suspected that those that go under the great pirate, Captain Raymond, will do the same.

Julio also reports that amongst the ships being fitted out at Plymouth will be nine of the Queen's and 11 pataches, and that Colonel Norris will not take more than 1,500 men to Berghen, as it is reported that the prince of Parma could not keep up the siege. Norris will go thence to Holland, to bring 25 ships that the Dutch have promised to Don Antonio. These will be brought to Plymouth, where they will join the rest and will take on board 14,000 men from the coast. They would then sail with Don Antonio, Drake being in command at sea and Norris on land, but Julio thinks that, even if the Dutch give 25 ships, they cannot be ready to sail nor the men collected so soon. I can well believe this from the reports he sent me, dated the 5th, given in my general letter, namely, that the preparations at Plymouth were not very forward.

Sampson has arrived, but he is in no hurry to seek me, which also makes me think that the armaments there (*i.e.*, in England) are not very pressing. I will keep your Majesty well informed of the progress made, and am sending this by special courier, in consequence of Julio's news, as it is quite feasible for the English to attempt such a thing.

I am advising the duke of Parma of it, and of Norris going, in order that he may have a good watch kept on the preparations in Holland, and we may thus form an idea of what the Plymouth

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force may undertake. I am, through my correspondents at Calais and elsewhere, trying to obtain similar intelligence.

The advices from London, dated the 10th instant, are from David, who is at Rouen. He has received them from Antonio de Escobar Don Antonio's agent, who has returned from England*. Please instruct me how to act about David's suggestion that he should get himself sent to Barbary to learn what Don Antonio's son does there. —St. Dié, 26th November 1588.

26 Nov. **480.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

After closing my despatch about England to-day I received reports of 11th and 14th instant. The latter came by a person who reports verbally that the statement that a number of Spaniards had fortified themselves in Ireland was still current, but none of those who were alleged to have been taken prisoners had arrived (in London) and this gave rise to some suspicion that the news was not true, though the Queen had ordered it to be printed in the form of letters addressed to me. She had ordered a general embargo to be placed on all the large ships in the country, the statement being that Drake would sail in the spring with more than 100 ships.

It is reported that Colonel Norris with 1,500 men had arrived at Middleburg in Zeeland.

I have also advices from a person who has seen, in the house of Horatio Pallavicini, a statement sent from Portugal to England of the best place where a force could be disembarked in that country, namely, a position near the castle of St. Gian, where there was a town where an army could be lodged. The person† who sends the news therefore thinks the intention is to send ships to Portugal. If many ships join the son of Don Antonio they may attempt something.—St. Dié, 26th November 1588.

27 Nov. **481.** COPY of LETTER from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

Thomas Cavendish's ship has been brought from the West Country, and was sailed before the Court at Greenwich. Amongst other things the Queen said, "The king of Spain barks a good deal but "does not bite. We care nothing for the Spaniards; their ships, "loaded with silver and gold from the Indies, come hither after all." Every sailor had a gold chain round his neck, and the sails of the ship were of blue damask, the standard of cloth of gold and blue silk. It was as if Cleopatra had been resuscitated. The only thing wanting was that the rigging should have been of silken rope.

Cavendish must have brought great riches, for they are coining new broad-angels, and gold is cheaper here than ever it was. Spanish pistolets, which four months ago were worth 12 reals 11 maravedis, will not now pass for 11 reals 24 maravedis, in consequence of the

* David was Manuel de Andrada, the poisoner and spy. Antonio de Escobar and Sampson were identical. David was ignorant that Escobar also was a spy.

† This person is stated in another letter of same date to be the Genoese, Marco Antonio Messia.

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great abundance of them here. I do not know whether this wealth comes from Cavendish's ship or from that of Don Pedro de Valdés. The latter ship sank whilst they were bringing her from Dartmouth to Dover, and only two or three of the 60 sailors on board of her were saved. In ancient times such occurrences as these were considered by the Romans to be prophetic, and I think they would have held this to be of evil augury.

Great preparations are being made here to send and bring this gold and silver from the place where it is found, and we have plenty of good seamen for the purpose.

The Queen has sent to Holland and Zeeland asking for 40 ships of war at their cost, and a sum of money per month, but they have refused both requests.

30 Nov. **482.** ADVICES from DAVID at ROUEN.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Yesterday I had advices from England, saying that a great fleet was being fitted out with all speed; the general rumour being that it is intended for Portugal, and Englishmen with whom I have spoken say that it will consist of 200 sail.

Lord Cumberland is cruising with 15 ships in the Channel, and I am told that Don Cristobal, the son of Don Antonio, is still detained (*i.e.*, at the Downs) by contrary winds.

I have also seen a letter written from London to a friend of mine here, saying that news has arrived in England that his Majesty is fitting out a great Armada; but that before it is ready, the English fleet will be there (*i.e.*, in Spain). They also tell him that they must cease to write to Portugal, as all letters for there are opened in the house of the Cardinal (*i.e.*, the Archduke Albert, governor of Portugal). I can assure you that this is a very desirable course to take.

3 Dec. **483.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

The master of the ship "Valencera," which was lost in Ireland, has arrived here by way of Scotland. He says that most of the men were saved and had gone to Scotland. They had been plundered by the Irish, although afterwards they found some who treated them well, giving them food and lodging on the road. In Scotland the King had them clothed and some alms given to them. They shipped there for Bordeaux. He alone has come hither, and says he thinks that Don Alonso de Luzon, colonel of the Naples Regiment, with eight or ten other gentlemen and the captain of the ship, had been taken prisoners. He is not aware that any other ship of the Armada was wrecked on the island, but says that on the road he heard speak of others. Horatio Pallavicini tells me that they know now of more than 30, although the common statement is that there were 18 lost there. Don Antonio said last Monday that 12 had been wrecked. This great discrepancy makes one think that there were not even six. It makes my heart bleed to see these poor Spaniards prisoners here, suffering as they do. It is a great pity, and a great shame, that their countrymen do not send them some help to ransom them. It would be a work of mercy. The ship in which they were captured was being taken from one place to

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another to be overhauled and made seaworthy again, when she was lost with her guns and the Englishmen on board.*

7 Dec. **484.** COPY of LETTER from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

Drake's fleet is being fitted out here, consisting of 80 sail, 45 large and 35 small. Besides these there are 20 Flemish ships. They say the fleet is to go to Portugal, but there is no certainty of this.

On the 5th instant the captain,† who recently came from Peru, gave a banquet to the Queen in his ship, where she boasted more than I could repeat. The sails were all of damask, and the sailors were dressed in the same. The cabin where the Queen dined was hung with cloth of gold and silver, and the flags were marvellously rich.

Great rejoicings have been held here for the dispersal of the Spanish Armada. The Queen attended a sermon in St. Paul's, where much was said about the victory. I will leave the rest to the imagination.

M. de Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, had received permission to return to France but has been detained, I know not yet why.

8 Dec. (N.S.) **485.** ADVICES from ENGLAND (from ANTONIO DE VEGA).

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

This letter is being taken by the French ambassador, who has permission from his King to return, which permission he only obtained after great trouble, both in England and France. He goes with the intention I have already mentioned, and will do all the good service he can; feeling the pulse on both sides, and advising me of the result when we meet at the place agreed upon. The principal cause of his movement is our interest, and I am suré he will make such representations to the King as may be advisable. He will not speak with you until I go thither, for reasons which I will explain when I see you, but he will visit Stafford publicly, and will satisfy both him and his mistress with fair words, in their own way. If it should happen that one of his secretaries named Cordalier (Cordaillot ?) should hand this letter to you, make much of him, and hold out hopes that he will be well rewarded, because he leaves here in consequence of the Queen's wish, and he will arrange when I leave for you to be well posted of all that happens in England, returning hither himself if necessary.

I am obliged to await the return of Colonel Norris, who has gone to Holland and Zeeland, to request their assistance in Don Antonio's expedition, in the form of ships and money. He reports that they promise 30 ships, supplied for six months, and 4,000 soldiers paid for a month; all of which will be sent within 15 or 20 days, and the final decision as to what is to be done will then be arrived at. Notwithstanding this, however, they are making great preparations here of provisions, etc., Drake and Hawkins being constantly with Don Antonio, secretly. Seventy ships are being fitted out in various ports here, and now that we hear of great preparations are being

* In the King's hand :—"It must be Don Pedro de Valdés' ship. Better, so than that they should enjoy it."

† Cavendish.

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made by his Majesty, they (the English) are showing more energy than ever, in order to prevent him from continuing what he has commenced. They count upon three methods of doing this, first, by sending Don Antonio to Portugal and Drake to the Spanish Indies, the fleet for either of which purposes will be ready by January, although they say it will undertake both. I can say for certain that Don Antonio is so confident that they will restore him to Portugal that he looks upon himself as already there. Another method is to persuade the Turk to arm on their (the English) providing for a part of the expenses incurred. They think this will prevent his Majesty from undertaking anything this year. Six very large ships are being built for the Queen, in addition to those she has, and they depend upon her receiving six large vessels from Denmark. They are also repairing the Indian ship* and that of Don Pedro de Valdés. Urge them (*i.e.*, in Spain) to provide plenty of good Portuguese galleons (galleys ?) as they (*i.e.*, the English) care for naught else. It is said that orders will be given that a ship for the Queen shall be built in every port in England, but no such measure has yet been taken.

An ambassador has arrived here from Denmark to confirm the alliance. Robert, the Englishman who managed the earl of Leicester's business, writes from Barbary that an ambassador from the king of Morocco to the queen of England and Don Antonio was on the coast, about to embark. Don Cristobal is still in the Downs, and the earl of Cumberland has returned to Court.

Every year on the 17th November the Queen celebrates the feast of her coronation; and this year on the 19th, which is St. Elizabeth's Day, she determined to hold another festival, in celebration of the recent events. There was a great public procession, jousts, and great bonfires all over the city. The Queen decided to go in state to St. Paul's, and invited the French ambassador. But he excused himself by saying that he had no orders from his King to be present at any rejoicings in celebration of her success over the king of Spain. There was much wrangling about this; and at last she said she was going to give thanks to God for allowing her to reign 30 years, and to beg Him to allow her to reign for the rest of her life in peace, and it was to this ceremony that she had invited him. He therefore accepted the invitation, on condition that the festival was extended for another day, so that the visit to St. Paul's should not take place on the same day as the jousts, bonfires, etc. It was therefore postponed until Sunday the 24th (O.S.). If it should be said in Paris that the ambassador went to any other festival do not believe it; but still complain about it, so that Stafford shall hear.

There is nothing from Ireland later than what I wrote on the 21st. The best of it is that they (the English ?) say nothing, and the news can only come through them. They make people believe what they like. I hope that all, or nearly all, of what they print is false, as much of it certainly is.

* The great galleon "San Felipe." Don Pedro de Valdés' flagship "Nuestra Señora del Rosario" was taken from Dartmouth to Chatham, where she was found to be not worth repairing and was broken up. Spanish accounts state that she sank on her way to Chatham, but this does not appear to have been the case.

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It will be well to advise the (Spanish) ambassador in Rome to take great care how he sends his letters, as some are taken and fall into their (the English) hands.

Since writing the above, I learn from the (French) ambassador that the Queen has declined to give him permission to leave, although he has the permission of his own King. She says she will write to the King, and wishes him to await the reply. In short she will not let him go.

9 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1568.

486. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have no fresh advices from England from Julio. I will try to send some Italian thither, as your Majesty commands. The advices that went in the general letter of 24th ultimo are from Marco Antonio Messia, to whom I have communicated your Majesty's message and have sent him 200 crowns. I understand that he has been imprisoned for debt, which will prevent him from being useful. If your Majesty would order the property of his, embargoed in Lisbon, to be handed to his correspondent Lercaro, under the guise of a deposit,* Messia will be able to stay in England, and keep up a good appearance. Being poor his friends now stand aloof from him, especially Horatio Pallavicini, to whom he has access, and obtains from him much intelligence about armaments. Messia has always protested that if the embargo on his goods in Lisbon were not raised his credit would be lost, and he should not be able to be so useful to us. There are not many Italians who can obtain access to Pallavicini as he has done, and it is evident that he knows how to conduct himself. I therefore think he will be a better man to report than any other, if your Majesty will order his property to be restored in the way I suggest. The advices dated the 5th are from Sampson, whom I instructed to write a statement of what he had heard in his voyage (to England). I also send copy of the autograph instructions given by Don Antonio to his agent Escobar, who informed the Queen-mother that he (Don Antonio) had sent his son to Barbary, and that the queen of England or her Council had not said anything to him about his voyage to Portugal. Drake alone had spoken of it, and Don Antonio assures the Queen-mother that he will not undertake anything without letting her and her son know. Escobar mentioned that he had orders to go to the prince of Bearn, but the Queen-mother told him that the time was not opportune. She asked him (Escobar) to tell her the truth about the fleets, as so many lies were current. He told her that if your Majesty's Armada had fought the English fleet your Majesty would be as much king of England to-day as you are king of Spain,† and that Don Antonio entertained the same opinion, as did many Italian pensioners of the queen of England. It was evident, he said, also, from the extreme alarm in England at the rumour that the Spaniards had

* In the King's hand:—"It will be well to do this. My nephew (*i.e.*, the Cardinal "Archduke Albert) will have to be written to about it. Let Don Cristobal (*i.e.*, "de Mora) know."

† It will be well to remind the reader that Escobar was really a Spanish agent, although ostensibly one of Don Antonio's principal supporters.

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landed in Ireland. This greatly disturbed the Queen-mother, who asked him whether what he said could possibly be true.—St. Dié, 9th December 1588.

9 Dec. **487.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

I make every effort to report to your Majesty all that happens in England, as I am ordered to do in the despatches of 2nd and 5th ultimo. I can only add to the enclosed advices that I learn by letters of 15th that Don Antonio's son had returned to Dartmouth, in consequence of contrary weather, with 8 ships, three large and five small; and by letters of 21st I hear that Don Antonio himself said that his son was in the Downs on the 19th, having ridden out a great storm. So by this he must have left Dartmouth.

They write from St. Malo that a ship of 300 tons, which had sailed well armed from Havre de Grâce, had fought three English ships of large size for eight hours, when she retired with the loss of 37 men and had entered St. Malo in contrary weather. It was said that the English ships carried the son of Don Antonio, and that under cover of going to Barbary his real intention might be to go to the castle of the Mina with other ships. As I do not known what probability there is of this, I pronounce no opinion, but think well to inform your Majesty of the statement.

The earl of Cumberland was still on the English coast, detained by cross winds. He must have consumed most of his victuals by this time. The Queen was arming, and had sent to buy ships at Dantzig,* but the number was not known, nor was the number which would be contributed by the Hollanders. It was therefore thought that Drake's fleet and the other ships could not be ready before the middle or end of January.

The Queen had also ordered 12 ships to prevent any fleet leaving Dunkirk. It was asserted at Court that the Queen would send to sea 150 ships. It is reported from Rouen that the queen of England had forbidden all French merchandise from being imported into England, except through the Island of Guernsey, whither English goods also would be sent. As my advices from London say nothing of this, I do not affirm it. If the Queen really carries it into effect she will prevent her subjects from trading with France, which will not be very advantageous to her just now. I send enclosed a printed pamphlet in Italian, consisting of a letter addressed to me which has been spread broadcast in all languages. (*See* Note, page 484.)

Escobar has returned (from England) and has seen the Queen-mother. Don Antonio conferred great honours upon him, made him a knight of the Order of Christ, etc.

M. de Trielle† had arranged that if he heard of anything that needed attention he would promptly advise the duke of Parma thereof, and at the same time would report to me. He writes to me under date of 23rd ultimo, that he has left for Brussels to

* In the King's hand:—"Do not let them get beforehand with us."

† In the King's hand:—"I do not know who this is." The person in question was M. d'Estrelles, the renegade Fleming who had offered to betray Cambrai. See note on page 642, Vol. III., of this Calendar.

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inform the duke of Parma of an affair of great importance which cannot be entrusted to a letter.*—Paris, 9th December 1588.

10 Dec. **488.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

The duke of Medina Sidonia has entered Santander with a good part of the Armada, and it is believed that the rest will have entered other ports. Some of the men are suffering from illness, but, please God, they will recover their health. No particulars have been received of the condition of the enemy, or the destination of the fleet they are fitting out. Try to learn everything, and, with this object, see whether you cannot keep your hold on Julio, even though you have to put up with something from him. Since, however, you have some suspicion of him, do not depend upon his intelligence alone, but try to get other advices to compare with his.

If, as appears, you have not thanked the King (of France) for his action about the galleys at Bayonne, the galleass at Calais, etc., do so as warmly as you can in my name.—San Lorenzo, 10th December 1588.

Postcript.—You did well in giving the 1,000 crowns to the English nuns of Sion at Rouen. You will pay them the rest that is owing, and the amount due to the English seminary at Rheims, out of the last remittance sent you.

10 Dec. **489.** COPY of a LETTER written by "David" (*i.e.*, Manuel de Andrada) from Rouen.

Paris Archives, K. 1567. Portuguese.

A courier arrived to-day from London bringing me a letter from Diego Botello, summoning me to join Don Antonio with all haste. Botello writes that Don Antonio hopes to hear before the 15th whether this fleet they are fitting out is really for him or not, because, although everybody says it is, the Queen herself has not told him so, nor have her Councillors. But, notwithstanding this, my cousin writes, *that it is certain that the fleet is going to Portugal*,† and that he heard from Diego Botello that he was sending me an urgent message from Don Antonio, not to delay joining him. As, however, I have determined to serve no one but his Majesty, I shall make no movement until I hear from your Lordship. If you tell me not to go, I will not. If you think it well that I should go, I will start directly I receive your advice and serve his Majesty there, and I give you my word it will have to be a difficult thing indeed that I will not attempt, if his Majesty's service demands it.‡

If I am not to go, I will make the best excuses I can. No Portuguese hitherto has ever placed himself at the service of his Majesty more loyally and sincerely than I do.

19 Dec. **490.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Since I informed your Majesty of the ideas the governor of Havre de Grâce had formed about the chain that ought to be given

* In the King's hand :—"It is very likely that he had arrived at Brussels when he (the Duke ?) left there, according to the date of the letters received from there."

† The King underlines these words and calls attention to them by his usual exclamation, "Ojo!"

‡ In the King's hand :—"If this be so, you might entrust him with something."

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to him, I have received orders to give him the chain I first suggested, of 600 crowns. I am keeping it back until I receive further instructions. I have already spent 8,000 crowns on the galleass and the soldiers who are in Morvien, and Purser Igueldo writes to me for more money every day. He says the rank and file must be clothed. Please send money.

The galleass must have at least 100 soldiers more on board to go in safety, seeing the large number of English armed ships in the Channel.* It is said here that the duke of Parma has orders to send 40 captains to Spain, if so, it would be well to have them embarked on this galleass. The artillery, stores, etc., saved from the "Santa Ana" are being shipped on the galleass. I have directed Igueldo to have this done, and to leave nothing at Havre de Grâce.—St. Dié, 19th December 1588.

21 Dec. **491.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

Don Antonio had sent six ships to Guinea, in a contract with certain English merchants who had advanced him money on the venture.

Don Antonio was sending an ambassador to a negro inland, who is accompanied by a Portuguese named Juan Velez de Aranse, who was a companion of the mulatto, Domingo Fernandez, whom J. B. Tassis sent from here (Paris) and who was drawn and quartered in Lisbon.

Velez has written to Don Antonio for him to send ambassadors to the black King to form an alliance, and holds out hopes that the King will lend him a large sum, as he is very rich in money. The ships will go to a place not far from the Castle of the Mina (Elmina) and they are armed, to be able to fight the galleys if they come across them.

They left some time ago, but must still be off the English coast, as the wind is against them. The son of Don Antonio was still on that coast on the 24th ultimo.

The queen of England is sending many Englishmen all over Spain and Italy, on pretence of being Catholics flying from England in consequence of their religion. They are really going to spy, and hear everything that is said and done. Whilst I was in England four of these men arrived from Spain.†

22 Dec. **492.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

Thanks for measures taken with regard to the galleass "Zuñiga" at Havre de Grâce. She is no doubt by this time ready to sail, as the arms, etc., from the galleass "Capitana" ("San Lorenzo"), sent by the duke of Parma in flyboats, would soon arrive. If more men should be needed, in consequence of the disorder and desertion of those who were on board, you can have them supplied from the soldiers who

* In the King's hand:—"*Let what is necessary be done that she may come in safety.*" It will be recollected that the hulk "San Pedro el Menor" had been wrecked at Morvien, Brittany, and the flagship "Santa Ana" at Havre, as well as the galleass "San Lorenzo" at the mouth of Calais Harbour. The galleass "Zuñiga" had put into Havre, where many of her soldiers and sailors had deserted.

† In the King's hand:—"It will be well to keep an eye on this."

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were on the hulk that put into Morvien, if they are still there; or else by getting some of the soldiers who are coming from Flanders and telling them that they will be punished* in Spain if they arrive there straggling in disorderly fashion, but that if they will serve on board the galleass you will use your influence to have them well received and treated. If neither of these courses is practicable, you will have to get some French seamen through some trustworthy ("Catholic," in the King's hand) person. But do not put enough Frenchmen on board to be able to master the Spaniards.

Those who have come to Spain from the galleass against orders shall be sought and punished. You may thank Purser Pedro Igueldo in my name for his efforts. The governor of Havre de Grâce and his lieutenant, who you say will not now be satisfied with chains worth 600 crowns each, may be given 2,000 crowns, divided between them according to your discretion. Thank them from me, as it will be advisable for several reasons to pledge them to us. You may promise that the ship that has been freighted to bring the stores from the hulk wrecked at Morvien shall not be embargoed when it arrives in Spain.—Madrid, 22nd December 1588.

27 Dec. **493.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448.

I learn by your letter about England, of 26th ultimo, that Don Antonio's son had sailed, and his object. You did well in sending advice at the same time to the Spanish ports, where all due precautions have been taken against any eventuality. No further news of the ships in question has been received. Let me know everything you can learn about the other fleet being fitted out for Drake, and try to discover what the real object is. Make inquiries as to what is being said about the existence of a Spanish force in Ireland, and the condition they are in. Up to the present the intelligence that has reached us in this respect is so uncertain that we do not know what to believe nor what steps to adopt in the matter.

You are rightly suspicious of the coming to France of the French ambassador in England, for his errand well may be one that bodes no good to us. But doubtless since his arrival you will have been able to get at the bottom of it. If it be a matter of alliances against me, you will take such steps as may be necessary with Mucio (*i.e.*, the duke of Guise) and the King himself, if you think desirable to impede the negotiations. You will deal with each one according to his humour.

I will have the Scottish matter you mention well considered.†

With regard to employing David in one place or the other, you will use your own discretion, and use him where you think he may be most profitable.—Madrid, 22nd December 1588.

* "I do not see that any such men have been punished, so I do not think they will "believe such a threat, for all Don Bernardino may say, seeing that nothing of the sort "has been done." (In the King's hand).

† In the King's hand;—"I do not remember what this refers to. Tell me." See letters dated 4th October and 4th November about Scotland.

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27 Dec. **494.** MAROLIN DE JUAN, Pilot-General of the Armada, to ———.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

Yesterday there arrived here (Havre de Grâce) some Scottish ships with 32 Spanish soldiers, and some sailors from our Armada lost on the coast of Ireland. They belonged to the Venetian ship "Valencera," which carried Don Alonso de Luzon, colonel of the regiment of Naples, and many private gentlemen, who, they say, remain prisoners on the island, most of the soldiers having been killed.

Don Alonso de Leyva, with the men saved from the wreck of his ship and those from the "Santa Ana,"* also wrecked on that coast, went to embark upon the galleass "Girona," which had put into one of the ports. When she had set sail for Spain she was caught in a great gale, which broke her rudder and drove her at midnight on the rocks. Out of 1,300 men on board the galleass only 9 sailors were saved, who told the story to these soldiers who have arrived here.

The ship "Saint Juan Bautista" of Ragusa, 800 tons, was burnt in a Scottish port, with Don Diego Manrique on board. They say that the only persons who escaped were 15 who were on shore at the time.

The ship "Juliana" foundered on the high sea, not a soul being saved from her.

According to this, the statement that the Spaniards had fortified themselves in Ireland must be a fable.—Havre de Grâce, 27th December 1588.

27 Dec. **495.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1567.

All my reports from England confirm the statement that Drake's fleet is being fitted out with furious haste, but that it would not be ready to sail until the end of January, as the men were not collected yet.

Drake offered 12,000 English crowns towards the expedition, the earl of Sussex (Essex), 10,000, Colonel Norris, 8,000, and various English merchants, 24,000.† Although it was said that ships were being got ready in Holland for the expedition, it could not be ascertained how many there were, or when they would go.

Many (English) soldiers had returned from Zeeland, and it was said they would go in Drake's fleet.

Captain Winter had sailed with 9 armed ships, with the object I reported to your Majesty in my previous letters, namely, to blockade Dunkirk, as it was asserted that the Queen had news that the duke of Parma was sending to your Majesty in Spain a number of old soldiers.‡

The ships of the earl of Cumberland, and those with Don Antonio's son on board, were still on the coast on the 3rd instant, kept by contrary winds. The Queen had ordered the arrest of 10 English and 3 French ships in the Thames, but with what object was not known.

* The "Duquesa Santa Ana." Don Alonso de Leyva's own ship was the "Rata Coronada."

† The King has summed up these amounts in the margin, and has appended the following words: "By his saying English crowns, perhaps he means pounds, which I think would be three times as much." Some account of the cost of the expedition will be found in "The Year after the Armada," by the editor of this calendar.

‡ In the King's hand:— "This would be a sign that they are coming hither."

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It is also true, as I wrote in my last, that the Queen had prohibited the direct importation of French merchandise into England. It is all to be sent to the Island of Guernsey, whither English goods for France are to be sent.

It is reported from Scotland to be true that Don Alonso de Leyva had landed 2,000 men in Ireland, in the province of Mac Win,* where the people were helping him. A person who has come from Scotland relates that a Spaniard of rank was in the Scottish islands, where the people were very much pleased with him, as he paid well for everything he had of them.† He frequently went from one island to another as they are close together; and if he had to stay for a day or two on an island, as it was necessary for him to do to obtain provisions, he carried with him 400 or 500 harqebussiers who guarded him well night and day. These islands must be the Hebrides, because, according to another advice, there is a Spanish galleass amongst those islands, and the queen of England had sent three ships to try to capture it.

Another report from Scotland says that there is a galleass belonging to your Majesty in Moray Firth; and another had put into a Scottish port but had left again.—St. Dié, 27th December 1588.

27 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1567.

496. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The new confidant has very rarely any news from England, and the information sent to me by Julio I generally receive previously from other quarters. In letters of the 9th instant he tells me that Drake's fleet was being fitted out in furious haste, but that it could not leave until the end of January.

I told your Majesty some months ago that I had sent a man to England, and since then I have sent another. I obtained them by means of two confidants in Paris, through whom they corresponded. As the confidants have had to fly from the town, I am cut off from communication with the men in England. I greatly regret this, as they supplied me with punctual advices about armaments, and as I am in this village, where no one has dared to come and see me, I am prevented from sending others. Under these circumstances I humbly beg your Majesty to have Bosc's property disembargoed in Lisbon, giving out that it was done at my intercession‡, as it will oblige him (Marco Antonio Messia) to remain there (in England ?), and he sends me constant intelligence which he hears at the house of Pallavicini. Antonio de Vega also says that if Chateauneuf (the French ambassador) comes away he (Vega) cannot stay. David writes the letter enclosed. I instructed him to go to England instantly, and report all he heard, as I thought that if Don Antonio kept him there he could be more useful to us than at Rouen. The reports, enclosed in the general letter translated from English are

* In the King's hand.—"Find out what province this is and let me know." It was Killibegs Harbour, which belonged to Mac Swyne.

† This must have been Gomez de Medina, whose flag-hulk "Gran Grifon" had been wrecked on Fair Island in the Orkneys.

‡ In the King's hand:—"This had better be done. See Don Cristobal (de Mora) and if possible write to-day. Bosc was the cipher name for the spy Messia."

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from Vega, and those dated the 3rd from Bosc. The others are from Sampson (*i.e.*, Escobar).—St. Dié, 27th December 1588.

30 Dec. **497.** DUKE OF PARMA to DON JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Estado, 594.

Your worship does me infinite honour in desiring to know from me the real truth as to the date when this army could have been ready to sail, if weather had permitted and the Armada had performed its task. I will reply frankly and freely to your question. Notwithstanding all that has been said, or may be said, by ignorant people, or those who maliciously raise doubts where none should exist, I will say that on the 7th August, when Secretary Arceo came and I left Bruges, I saw already embarked at Nieuport 16,000 foot soldiers; and when I arrived at Dunkirk on Tuesday, the 8th, before dawn, the men who were to be shipped there had arrived, and their embarcation was commenced. They would all have been on board with the stores and the rest, as everything was ready, and the shipping was going on very rapidly, if the embarcation had not been suspended in consequence of the intelligence received of the Armada. But for this they might well have begun to get out of port that night, and have joined those from Nieuport during next day, so that together they could have fulfilled their task, as nothing necessary was lacking. It is true that, in consequence of the number of infantry having been increased, there was very little room for the cavalry, there being only 20 rafts for them, unless the Armada could aid us with accommodation for the rest, as those who had come from the duke of Medina Sidonia said they thought there would be no difficulty in doing. Even if this had been impossible we should have tried to send the rest of the cavalry over in the other boats, and no time would have been lost in the principal task, and in taking a port for the Armada in the Channel of London. If for your greater satisfaction, and my justification, you would like to see certificates and sworn depositions of all the magistrates, commanders of troops, and seamen, with regard to the readiness of victuals and stores, etc., I will most willingly send them. You may truly believe that when I told the Duke that only three days would be required for the embarcation and preparations for sailing, I did not speak lightly; and I should have effected it in less time than I said, with God's help. I will not enlarge here on the causes and reasons that prevented me from going to the coast earlier than I did, as I have already stated them, and they may be well guessed. The men and stores, moreover, were so completely ready for shipment, that I felt confident they would be put on board rapidly. There was no need even to supply water to the boats, whatever some people may say, as no cooking was required for so short a passage, and there was plenty of beer to drink. It was also not necessary, as others imagine, to waste time in shipping artillery on the warships, as we counted on the support of the Armada. The omission to do this beforehand was not negligence but artifice; and this is the simple truth which you may stand to.—Brussels, 30th December 1588.

S.D. **498.** LIST of PRISONERS in the town of DROGHEDA in Ireland.

Paris Archives, K. 1568.

Don Alonso de Luzon, colonel.

Don Rodrigo Lasso de la Vega, commander of Santiago.

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Captain Geronimo Aznar (Aybar ?).
Ensign Pedro Ramirez.
Captain Juan de Guzman.
Captain Don Garcia Manriquez.
Captain Don Beltran de Salto.
Sergeant-Major Baltasar Lopez de Arbor.
Reformed Captain Juan Fernandez de la Pila.
Sergeant-Major to the Colonel Diego Suarez.
Reformed Ensign Juan de Porras.
Field-Captain Juan Hidalgo.
Reformed Sergeant Sebastian Vasquez.
Juan de Guzman, soldier.
Pedro Fernandez, doctor.
Ship Captain Horatio Donai, Venetian.
Michael di Venetia, bombardier.
Theodorini Greco, sailor.
Domingo de Jorge, ship's clerk.
Jacques Flamenco, captain of a hulk.
Juan Domingo, Italian, drummer.
Juan, Italian, drummer.
J. Moreno St. Angelo, drummer.
Pedro, Italian.
Augustino, Italian, barber.

Servants.

Francisco de Soto, colonel's servant.
Juan Bautista, servant of the same.
Marco de Mendoza, Don Rodrigo Lasso's servant.
Juan de Salazar, sergeant-major's servant.
Juan de Uzena, soldier's servant.

Don Diego de Luzon,
Don Sebastian Zapata,
Sergeant Antonio de Bacia,
} these three have died in the town.

Don Garcia de Avila.
Don Gaspar de Avila, his brother.
Don Cristobal Maldoneza.
Don Diego de Guzman, was very ill, not known whether dead or alive.
Hernando de Cañavera, died crossing a river.

Don Antonio Manriquez,
Don Alvaro de Mendoza,
Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, auditor,
} these three were very ill, 20 miles away. Not known whether dead or alive.

Died before they surrendered, Don Pedro del Salto, aged from 14 to 15 years.

Note in original.—"In this list there can only be contained the loss from a single ship, and I am therefore much surprised that as so many names are mentioned no reference whatever is made to Don Felipe and Don Luis de Cordoba, who were said to have been taken prisoners also. This list makes me doubt it."

Note.—The above list seems to contain only the names of those from the "Valencera," whose subsequent fate is told in a document in this

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calendar. A list of prisoners from other ships, whom Bingham had ordered to be slaughtered at Drogheda, will be found in State Papers, Ireland, CXXXIX. Don Diego de Cordoba was one of those killed, but Bingham, in his letter to the Queen, says that he has "only "reserved alive one Don Luis de Cordoba, and a young gentleman, "his nephew, until your Highness' pleasure be known." These two gentlemen were respectively the brother and son of the marquis de Ayamonte.

12 Jan. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1570.

499. ADVICES from ENGLAND.

The Queen went from Greenwich to Richmond two days before Christmas, to pacify a quarrel between her two favourites, the earl of Essex and Raleigh.

Drake was at Court, the present messenger having seen him there. It is understood that the Queen has ordered 12 ships—some her own and others belonging to merchants—to be fitted out with great speed. One of them is the "Royal Merchant." They are to go and receive the fleet from Holland, in which it is said Don Antonio is going to Portugal. Others say they are intended for the Indies.

It was said that 4,000 men were coming in the Dutch fleet, including 2,000 musketeers under Colonel Norris. Captain Frobisher had gone to Zeeland to bring them over.

The rest of the ships for Drake were being got ready with all speed. The earl of Cumberland was again fitting out four ships to go to the Straits of Magellan. He captured a ship from Dunkirk called "The Hare," which was bound to Spain with a cargo of merchandise. The men on the prize fought very stoutly, and all who were taken alive were thrown into the sea. The ship and cargo were sold, and have enabled Cumberland to fit out his vessels for the fresh voyage. Sir Harry Cavendish is also putting in order his own ship, and a smaller one that he has bought; as well as a patache in charge of his nephew, who went with him on his last voyage. The patache is to accompany the earl of Cumberland, until he is through the Straits of Magellan.

15 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1549.

500. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

It is said that a fleet of ships has been seen off Cape Finisterre, and as the English were making preparations for putting to sea, very much energy must have been exercised if these be English ships. Try to discover what you can about it, what is the number of ships and men they have sent out, the alleged destination, etc., as it will be very necessary for us to know this. Report also as to the other preparations which you mention.

If what you say about Don Alonso de Leyva be true, it would be very fortunate.* We receive the news from other quarters as well, but as so little from him comes to hand we are doubtful. If you cannot ascertain the truth about this through your usual English

* That is to say, that he had been able to establish a footing in Ireland with 2,000 men. We know now that Don Alonso chivalrously put to sea in the overcrowded galleass "Girona," which was wrecked, rather than draw the vengeance of the English on to O'Neil and his vassal chiefs by remaining on their territories.

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channels, try whether you can obtain information from Scotland, where you have friends, or by some other means. Report to me instantly if you find the news is true.

The Spanish infantry from the hulk at Morvien has arrived in the ship you freighted. I will order the ship not to be detained, since you desire it.—Madrid, 15th January 1589.

21 Jan. **501.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

Whilst I was making up to-day's despatches I received advices from London, dated 2nd instant, saying that the Hamburg fleet had arrived, and with it the Queen's ambassador in Constantinople.

Ships were arriving from Holland, of the 40 promised to go with Drake's fleet. Some of the 2,000 muskeeters had come in the ships which had already arrived.

Drake was fitting out, with great energy, the ships I have mentioned in my former letters. Don Antonio also was very busy getting ready, under the impression that he and Drake would sail within a month. All the Portuguese prisoners from the Armada had been released, on condition that they should embark in Don Antonio's fleet. I understand that a certain Juan de Sotomayor who was the royal alguacil in Don Pedro de Valdés' ship, is to go with the fleet,* and a Seville pilot they took in one of the ships from the Indies, as well as all the Portuguese sailors, which is a proof of the intention to touch on some point of the Portuguese coast.

Some time ago I informed your Majesty that the Queen had given leave for over 50 vessels to go out and plunder. They must have formed a junction, and probably are the fleet met by a Seville ship arriving at Rouen.

The earl of Cumberland's ships encountered a terrible storm off the Isle of Wight. They were so much injured that they were unable to continue their voyage.

All advices confirm the great energy with which warlike preparations are being made in England. The loss of the "Girona," with Don Alonso de Leyva and 1,300 men, is also confirmed.—Chausée de St. Victor, 21st January 1589.

Note.—In a letter to the King, of same date as above, Mendoza says that 56 men had arrived from the wreck of the "Capitana," and 20 from Ireland; and there would now be sufficient force for the galleass "Zuñiga" to sail from Havre for Spain. Igueldo had asked the governor of Havre (Villars) for the guns and ammunition that had been put ashore from the galleass, but the Governor had raised difficulties, and had ended by keeping for himself 11 guns out of the 27, and 41 barrels of powder. Igueldo still presses for money beyond the 12,000 crowns already provided for him. He must pay the men a month's wages before they will sail, and they cost 100 crowns a day to keep. The men from Ireland, moreover, must be clothed, for they come naked. Captain Saavedra had sided with the men and had quarrelled with Igueldo, and Captain Duarte Nuñez had

* His name was Gregorio de Sotomayor, a Portuguese. The full text of his confession will be found in State Papers, Dom. CCXIV., 19.

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been put into command of the troops until the galleass reached a Spanish port. Mendoza had sent peremptory orders to the other captains to obey him, and the "Zuñiga" would now sail as soon as possible.

21 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

502. STATEMENT of JUAN DE NOVA formerly a servant of Don Juan de Idiaquez, who went with the Armada in the company of Don Alonso de Luzon, and is a native of San Ciprian, in Galicia; and of Francisco de Borja, a native of Antequera, belonging to the company of Don Garcia Manrique.*

They embarked in the Venetian ship "Valencera," in which there were 500 soldiers, in consequence of the vessel having taking on board 100 from the Hamburg ship, before doubling Cape Clear, in Ireland. The rest of the men from the Hamburg ship were taken off by Juan de Medina, General of the hulks, the hulk afterwards foundering.†

They (the deponents) lost sight of the Armada on the night of the 12th September, during a tempest. The same night their ship sprang a leak forward, and for the next two days and nights they were at the pumps. On the 14th they brought up on the coast of Ireland, towards Blasket (?), and all the soldiers (except 40 who remained in the ship and were afterwards drowned when she foundered) were put on shore, with their arms, in a little boat.

They learnt on the island that it was held by the queen of England's troops, and that at a castle called Duhort (Dogherty?) there dwelt an Irish bishop named Cornelius.‡ They therefore took their way thither, and after having been three days on the road they arrived within a day's journey of the place. Colonel Alonso de Luzon thereupon sent a messenger forward to the bishop, saying that, as he was a Catholic, they begged him to help and advise them. He replied that they might come to the castle, and make an appearance of taking it by force, firing their harquebusses, etc., and it would then be surrendered to them. This was for the purpose of preventing the Queen's officers from saying that he had surrendered it voluntarily.

The Colonel and the whole of them set forward, and when they arrived within sight of the castle those within discharged a piece of artillery towards the part where the Queen's garrison was. The Colonel, therefore, fearing treason, refused to enter the castle, but directed his steps, by a marsh, towards another dismantled castle near. They then discovered that the Queen's garrison were approaching them, to the number of 200 horse, and as many footmen, harquebussiers, and bowmen. The Spanish force therefore halted;

* In relation to this, see Don Alonso de Luzon's statement after his capture by the English at Drogheda, in State Papers, Ireland, CXXXVII. (printed in "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada").

† The hulk of Juan Gomez de Medina was wrecked on Fair Island, the commander and men who were saved remaining on the island all the winter. They subsequently escaped to Scotland, and thence to Spain.

‡ Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe (Laonensis). The men from the "Valencera" are said in English records to have landed at O'Dogherty's country, the name of his town being Illagh.

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and the enemy did likewise; drums being beaten on both sides for a parley. The enemy asked them what they wanted in the Queen's dominions, to which they replied that they were Spanish soldiers who had been cast upon the island by the wreck of their ship, and they begged that they might be allowed, upon due payment, to obtain a ship to take them back to Spain. They were told that this could not be, and that they must surrender as prisoners of war. They replied that if that was the only alternative, they would rather die fighting, as befitted Spaniards. The English answered that if they did not surrender at once 3,000 of the Queen's troops would come shortly and cut all their throats. They still persisted, however, in their refusal to surrender, and they remained halted all that night. The next night the enemy sounded the attack at two or three points, and a skirmish commenced, which continued the whole night.

The next morning, whilst they were endeavouring to better their position, they heard the enemy's drums again sound for a parley. The Colonel and Captains Beltran del Salto* and Geronimo de Aybar went down to the level of the bog to hear what they had to say. The major of the enemy told them that they had better lay down their arms and he would conduct them to the Queen's governor in Dublin, 30 miles off, who would send them to the Queen. The major† made them many offers and promises, if they would surrender, and in view of this, and that his men were dying with hunger, and that the enemy had cut off all supplies, the colonel replied that he would lay down his arms on fair terms of war, if they would keep their promise, and allow each man to retain the best suit of clothes he had. They gave their word that this should be done, and the Spaniards laid down their arms. As soon as the enemy had possession of them, and had conveyed them to the other side of the bog towards Dublin, they fell upon the Spaniards in a body and despoiled them of everything they possessed, leaving them quite naked, and killing those who offered the least resistance. The colonel complained of this to the major of the enemy's force, the reply being that it had been done by the soldiery without his orders, but he gave his word that the men should all be dressed on their arrival at a castle where he intended to pass the night, two miles from the place where they then were. When they had traversed half this distance the major said that as the road was so bad they would bivouac in the open for that night. They did so, the enemy forming square, inside of which they placed the Colonel, Don Rodrigo La-so, Don Sebastian Zapata, gentlemen volunteers; Don Diego de Luzon, and Don Antonio Manrique, attachés; Don Beltran del Salto, Geronimo de Aybar, Juan de Guzman, and Don Garcia Manrique, Captains; and the Chaplain-general and Judge of the regiment, the Vicar of the shoeless Carmelites of Lisbon and two other friars, the other soldiers being left a stone's-throw away, naked, in which manner they passed the night.

* He had commanded the soldiers on the Hamburg ship, and had been taken on board the "Valencera."

† John Kelly, who is described as "Captain Hovenden's lieutenant."

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The next morning, at daybreak, the enemy came to separate some other officers who were amongst the soldiers, and put them inside the square with the rest. The remaining soldiers were then made to go into an open field, and a line of the enemy's harquebussiers approached them on one side and a body of his cavalry on the other, killing over 300 of them with lance and bullet; 150 Spaniards managed to escape across a bog, most of them wounded, and sought refuge in the castle of Duhort (Dogherty), where bishop Cornelius received them and conveyed 100 or so, who were unwounded, to the Island of Hibernia (Hebrides ?). Those who were wounded remained in the castle, under the care of the people there, who were Catholics, but many of them died every day. They were sent, under a guide, to the house of a savage gentleman named O'Cahan,* where they remained three days, both he and his people displaying great sympathy with them in their sufferings, feeding them and waiting upon them hand and foot. On the fourth day they went with another guide to a brother of his, also named O'Cahan, 12 miles from here. He also welcomed us with the same kindness as his brother had done. The day after our arrival mass was said for us, but this was an exception in our honour, as they usually have mass only once a week. On the third day after their arrival, he sent them, with another guide and letters, to another gentleman named Sorleyboy, begging him to provide them with a boat, as they were Catholics as he was; this gentleman possessing vessels, as he lives on an arm of the sea.† He received them with much kindness, and kept them 20 days, mass being said for them. There were at the time, no boats there, but he sent for some three miles off. Two boats were sent and 80 soldiers embarked in them, to be taken to an island off Scotland, which is only 10 miles off, the rest remaining in the castle until the boats should return.

In the meanwhile the Governor in Dublin had learned that this gentleman had sheltered the Spaniards, and sent to tell him, in the Queen's name, not to ship any more Spaniards on pain of death and confiscation of all his property, and to surrender to the English those he still had with him. He replied he would rather lose his life and goods, and those of his wife and children, than barter Christian blood. He had, he said, dedicated his sword to the defence of the Catholic faith, and those who held it, and in spite of the Governor, the Queen, and all England, he would aid and embark the rest of the Spaniards who came to him; and he came back to them (the Spaniards), with tears in his eyes, and told them the Governor's demand and his reply thereto. So when the boats came back he shipped the rest.

When they arrived on the Scotch island on the other side, they learnt from a savage who spoke Latin that, on the same day that the English had massacred the soldiers, they had conveyed the colonel and the rest of the officers on foot, all naked as they were, to Dublin, 14 miles off, where they were put into prison, except those who died on the road of hunger, thirst, and exhaustion. He said

* This name is given variously as Ocana, Socam, etc. It may be either O'Kane or O'Cahan.

† Sorleyboy McDonnell was lord of Dunluce, joint lord of the route.

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that the man who had ordered all the soldiers to be murdered was an Irish Earl named O'Neil.*

They (the deponents and their companions) then proceeded on their way, being guided by men sent from one gentleman to another, until they arrived in Edinburgh, where the King was. By his orders they were kept lodged in the town for 30 days, being fed and clothed the while. He then sent them to France, dividing them amongst four Scottish ships which, as the weather was against them, had to coast along the English shore, and twice had to cast anchor in English ports. On one occasion the Governor of the place, learning that there were Spaniards on board the ships, sought to take them out, but the shipmasters said that the soldiers had been delivered to their care by the king of Scotland to carry to France, and had ordered them, on pain of death, not to abandon them. They therefore refused to surrender them, but would defend them with their own lives. They sent a boat to acquaint the king of Scotland of the occurrence, and he informed the queen of England that, as the Spaniards had appealed to him, he had provided ships to take them across, and he begged that they should not be molested in her ports. She therefore gave orders that they were not to be interfered with. Twenty days had passed in the meanwhile, the weather having still detained them in port, but at last they set sail and all arrived in France.

It is said that Lord Claude Hamilton sent to summon all the Spaniards to his house, and Sir John Seton, his brother-in-law, the same. Eighteen Spaniards went and were dressed and well treated, and the rest, who would not go, as they were told it was a trap to kill them, were provided with 50 crowns for their journey.

They (the deponents) heard from a sailor of the galleass "Girona," that the ship "Rata," with Don Alonso de Leyva on board, after doubling Cape Clear, in the north of Ireland, anchored, being short of water and food. She had a large number of men on board, as she had rescued the company of the "Sta Ana," which foundered at sea.† She (the "Rata") had but one anchor, and as the current was very strong it broke, but they managed to get another cable ashore and made it fast to a rock. The current, however, drove them on to the land, and seeing the ship was in this case, all the men on board decided to land, taking such small stores as they

* In "Certaine Advertisements out of Ireland," published in 1588, it is asserted that O'Neil wrote from his castle of Dungannon to the Lord Deputy, informing him that 600 Spaniards were in O'Dogherty's country.

† This is somewhat different from the conclusion arrived at by Professor Laughton and Captain Fernandez Duro, namely, that the "Rata" was lost in Killibegs Harbour, and that her company was taken by the "Duquesa St. Ana," the latter ship being in her turn lost, and the combined companies taken by the "Girona," subsequently wrecked off the Giant's Causeway. As the geographical names in Ireland have been to a great extent altered, and, on the one hand, the English accounts usually do not mention the names of ships lost, and on the other hand the terrified survivors naturally did not concern themselves greatly about the names of the wild headlands against which their ships perished, it is extremely difficult to decide precisely what happened. It is more probable, that the "Rata" was lost on the extreme point of Mayo (*see* Bingham to Walsingham, 1st October, State Papers, Ireland), and that the company, after a short delay, shipped in the "Duquesa St. Ana," which in turn was lost at Loghros Bay, Donegal; De Leyva and his men marching overland to Killibegs, where they joined the "Girona," only to be wrecked again, as related, near the Giant's Causeway. (*See* paper by present editor in "Transactions of Royal Historical Society." Vol. IX.).

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could, some munitions, and one field piece. They learnt from an Irishman who spoke Latin that the galleass "Girona" was higher up the coast at anchor, and they therefore went in search of her, carrying Don Alonso de Leyva in a chair, as he was ill. They all got on board the "Girona" and Don Alonso de Leyva directed that they should return round Cape Clear* as they had no rudder and could not navigate. They could, he thought, manage to get to Scotland, where they would obtain succour. They therefore went round Cape Clear, and when they had arrived between the Spanish sea and the island of Scotland,† they had a fair wind to carry them to Spain. The pilot therefore represented to Don Alonso that if he would allow him to set sail he would arrive in Spain in five days. Don Alonso replied, that if he was sure the weather was favourable he could do so, but he was deceived in thinking that the weather was settled, for it changed and cast them upon the Island of Ibernia (*sic*). They ran upon a submerged rock and the galleass went to pieces, more than 1,300 men being drowned. Only nine sailors were saved, one of whom gave this statement.

Note.—In the letter from Mendoza to the King, enclosing this statement, the writer mentions that the sailors told him that Don Antonio Manrique, nephew of Don Jorge, was still in Scotland, and that a sailor passing the spot where Don Alonso de Leyva was lost with 1,300 men (*i.e.*, near the Giant's Causeway) had recognised a number of the corpses that strewed the shore, and from the canvas belt of one of them had taken 300 ducats in money.

1 Feb. **503.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

I constantly endeavour to send to your Majesty reports from England. The sails seen off Finisterre, as mentioned in your Majesty's despatch of 15th, were either a flotilla of hulks or a squadron of English pirates, as I wrote to your Majesty some time ago. I mentioned that the Queen had given permission to 50 ships to sail on plundering voyages. Drake's fleet had not left on the date of my last advices, 6th ultimo, he himself being at Court, and only a very few of the ships promised from Holland had arrived. I have only heard of the two ships sailing from France, which I mentioned in previous letters as belonging to M. de la Chatre, governor of Dieppe. This leads me to think confidently that the vessels in question must be the English privateers, which have collected together. The whole of France is so disturbed that it is impossible to obtain letters from England excepting at rare intervals. — Chausée de St. Victor, 1st February 1589.

5 Feb. **504.** BERNARDO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

As the correspondence from England is not allowed to pass through France, I am without any letters from my confidant there, and consequently can only forward the news sent by the French ambassador. He writes to his wife, on the 12th ultimo, that Don

* It is evident that in many cases when Cape Clear is mentioned by the Spaniards, some headland in the north of Ireland is meant, and not Cape Clear in Munster. Mr. Froude thought that Clare Island was the place indicated; but it is evidently was not so in the present case.

† That is to say, in North Channel.

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Antonio's affairs were progressing greatly, and the fleet that Drake and he were to take out would be ready to sail by the middle of February. The English ambassador here has letters of 19th ultimo, saying that Drake's fleet was ready, and would leave on the 14th or 15th of February, Norris having arrived in England. The earl of Northumberland had subscribed 20,000 crowns to the enterprise, and the eard of Essex 10,000, although he would not go in person.* Sir William Guilford, who was governor of the Sluys, was to accompany the expedition.

The following troops were to make up the force:—4,000 musketeers, contributed by the States of Holland, with 40 ships, victualled and stored, to convey the 4,000, and 2,000 English troops, and 300 lances taken by the Queen from her garrisons in Holland, etc.; 4,000 harquebussiers, 4,000 pikemen, and another 300 lances, which together will amount to 14,000 men and 600 horse, to be ready by the middle of February. The ships are to consist of six of the Queen's ships from the Thames, with four pataches and twelve merchantmen, amongst which is the "Royal Merchant," and 70 or 80 other ships, which were ready at Plymouth, Falmouth, Dartmouth, and other neighbouring ports. The common rumour was that the destination of the fleet would be Portugal, although Walsingham asserts, in his letter of the 19th, that it was undecided whether Don Antonio would go in person or not. The above intelligence is published by the English ambassador here, who shows Walsingham's letters; but, as I have no reports from my confidants, I cannot affirm the present condition of the armaments. It appears to me, however, that even if the Queen decided to send so many foot soldiers out of England (and it will be an extraordinary thing if she does), she would find a difficulty in shipping 600 horses in such a fleet as that described. As soon as I learn direct particulars I will let your Majesty know with all speed.

Don Antonio's son had been driven into Plymouth by a storm, and was there consuming his stores. It had therefore been necessary for him to obtain a fresh supply of victuals. He sailed from there again on the 23rd December, in company with 12 ships that had sailed for plunder, and some merchant ships bound for Barbary, which had been specially ordered by the Queen to accompany him, as it was feared that the long delay that had taken place would have allowed some of your Majesty's vessels to put out to intercept him.

The three ships sent out by Sir Harry Cavendish, and four of the earl of Cumberland's, bound for the Straits of Magellan, it is said will leave with Drake and separate from him at sea, proceeding thence on their voyage.—Chausée de St. Victor, 5th February 1589.

13 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1570.

505. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have no news from England since my last, and the agent here for the Dutch rebels says that his last advices are dated 26th December, at which date the States had not decided whether they would contribute men and ships to go with Drake's fleet.

* Essex, greatly to the Queen's anger, secretly fled from Court and joined the expedition. An account of his behaviour will be found in "The Year after the Armada."

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A certain Friar, Joseph Tejeda, a follower of Don Antonio, who had gone from England to Lyons, had fled from there to England again, as an attempt was made to arrest him in his monastery itself, on the accusation that he wrote books against your Majesty. A Portuguese had arrived there (Lyons), called Esteban Ferreira da Gama,* who has changed his name to Juan Luis. He was implicated with Leiton. He is desirous of obtaining your Majesty's pardon.—Chausée de St. Victor, 13th February 1589.

15 Feb. **506.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

The only news I can add about England is, that on the night of the 10th, this King said in his cabinet to the Abbé Guadagni, that if Don Antonio had not already embarked he would very soon do so. He was glad for his sake, but was sorry that the queen of England should have taken away so many of her troops from Holland and Zeeland, because if he had no enemy to fight there, the duke of Parma might send his forces to France to help the duke of Mayenne. This was said with a great appearance of anxiety.

The English ambassador here complains publicly that although, through a third person, he had offered his mistress' aid to this King, and a similar offer had been made through Chateauneuf, no answer had been received.—Chaussée de St. Victor, 15th February 1589.

24 Feb. **507.** STATEMENT of MARCO ANTONIO MICEA (or MESSIA) who left London on 24th February 1589.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

The Queen's fleet, under Sir Francis Drake, is getting ready to sail by the 15th March. Including six ships of the Queen's, large and small, the total number of sail is calculated at 70, some say more. Besides these, however, there are 40 to come from Holland and Zeeland. Of these, six with 400 soldiers have already arrived at Tilbury, in the Thames. They say more will come, but it is impossible to say for certain. There will be 10,000 soldiers shipped on the fleet, independent of those from Holland, to the number, it is expected, of 3,500, mostly musketeers, and of 4,000 English pioneers, some of whom I saw embarked.

Norris has been appointed General of the force. He is considered at present the best soldier in the country.

It is said also that the earl of Cumberland is to go in this fleet with six ships, but I am told, and believe, that he will not do so, but will go to plunder on the Indian route. This was his intention when he sailed at the end of November, but he was driven into the Isle of Wight in a storm with great damage, his own ship having had to be relieved of her mast.

Drake and Norris were trying to induce the Council to victual the fleet for six months instead of four. In order to pay for this, and other necessaries, the Queen had issued a warrant for 40,000*l.*, and some companies of merchants had provided 30,000*l.*, on condition of sharing in the prizes. It is publicly stated that the destination is to be Portugal, and that Don Antonio will go in the fleet. Horatio

* Esteban Ferreira da Gama, *alias* Domingo Fernandis, was hanged at Tyburn, for complicity in Dr. Lopez's alleged plot to poison Elizabeth. He was a ruined gentleman of good position in Portugal, and had been a close friend of Don Antonio.

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Pallavicini told me that, although common rumour said this, he knew well that the Queen and Council had other plans in view. Don Antonio also told me that it was doubtful whether the Portuguese enterprise would be undertaken, as no credit could be given to English promises.

The statement was also current that the fleet was intended for the Azores, where it is said an arrangement has been made for help to be given to it, especially with one Fonseca, vicar of St. Bartolomé,* residing at San Mateo. Other persons believe that the fleet is at present only intended to collect at Plymouth to await events in Spain, and to cruise in the Channel, for the purpose of obstructing what trade is carried on by Germans and Flemings with Spain. Others again think it is to carry troops to France, who would land at Rochelle. This may be true, to judge by what I was told by Friar Joseph Tejeda, who landed at Rye on the 22nd with an Italian captain named Sebastian Pardin. They said they came with important messages from the king of France to the queen of England, and that Don Antonio would not go in the fleet to Portugal. They said the king of Morocco was to lend Don Antonio 100,000 crowns, which had already been received by Duarte Perin (Edward Perrin), who was expected in England; Don Cristobal, the son of Don Antonio, having been left in Barbary as a hostage.

Whilst I was at Rye, awaiting a passage across, I learned that 4,000 men were being collected in Scotland to go to France in the King's service, and two Commissioners had gone to France to learn where they should be landed.

Parliament was opened in London on the 4th February. They were discussing the means for prolonging the war, and the Queen had asked for two subsidies for this purpose. The people were dissatisfied at this, but it was expected that the subsidies would he voted.

Horatio Pallavicini has laid before the Queen and her Council a statement, in which he proposes that, with the object of continuing the war, it is desirable to arm 40 or 50 ships, and to divide them into two squadrons, one to go to the coast of Spain, and the other to the Indies, the prizes taken being devoted to the cost of the war. He advises that no Spanish officer or sailor should be released, as he is of opinion that his Majesty will be more pressed for experienced men and seamen than for anything else.

Horatio Pallavicini has made great efforts to prevent any negotiation for the liberation of Don Pedro de Valdés, whilst the war lasts, and I understand that the Council has already agreed that no sailors are to be released.

Certain titles of Earl and Baron are to be granted in this Parliament. This is, however, in suspense at present, as they are all falling out amongst themselves, there not being three great personages or members of the Council in accord with one another. Amongst others there is a great quarrel between the earl of Essex and Walter Raleigh, and between the Lord Admiral and Drake.

It is said that the earl of Arundel, who has been imprisoned in the Tower for the last three years for Catholicism, is to be tried and

* In the King's hand :—" Let this be seen to at once if it has not already been done."

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condemned to lose his head; but up to the day of my departure nothing had been done in the matter, as I learned from some members of the Council.

Sixteen or eighteen ships have sailed (from England) this year for Italy and the Levant, some of which have sailed on other occasions on piratical voyages with native (Turkish?) masters, and have returned with great riches. Unless this be stopped, and some of the ships captured, it will greatly encourage the English.

In conclusion of my statement, I may say that I am confidently of opinion that, if his Majesty again sends an expedition to England (and the sooner the better), and it is well managed and commanded, with the determination to land the troops, it will, with God's help, be successful. It is important that something should be gained in the first encounters, as my experience shows me that ever such a little success at the commencement animates the men, whilst the smallest reverse casts them down.

Note.—The above statement is that referred to in Mendoza's letter to the King, dated 22nd March.

2 March. Paris Archives, K. 1570.

508. ADVICES from LONDON (from ANTONIO DE VEGA).

In various English ports 75 ships are now ready. Amongst them are six belonging to the Queen. Drake's flagship is the "Revenge," 500 tons, and the vice-flagship is the "Sans Pareil," 700 tons. There are two others of 400 tons each, another of 300, and another of 25,* with bronze guns. Drake's ship carries 38 pieces, six in the bows, and the other ships are armed in proportion. There are two pinnances of 40 and 50 tons, all the rest of the ships being private property. There are eight of them of 25† tons up to 400, armed with iron guns and victualled for six months. Drake is to command at sea, and John Norris on land. They take 8,000 soldiers and 4,000 seamen, and the information I have as to their design is, that if they had carried out the original intention and sailed in January, they would have gone to the Azores and have left Don Antonio there with 3,000 men, the fleet thence proceeding to the West Indies and fortifying Habana. I have learnt recently that, as the season is now advanced, they will run down the coast of Spain and try to burn the Spanish fleet‡ wherever they may find it, and then land in Portugal if they do not encounter great resistance. Thence they will go and await the flotillas at the islands. They expected contingents of men and ships from Holland and Zeeland, but up to the present only 10 ships and three companies have come. Drake was to embark on the 10th instant, and Norris on the 15th. Don Antonio was determined to accompany the expedition, but it would not be possible for him to do so, as he was quite unprepared, and they would not give him a penny and he had no security beyond the word of Drake and Norris. The fleet will doubtless sail some

* In the King's hand:—"He means 250."

† In the King's hand:—"Here, too, he must mean 250, 25 tons would be too small." Like all of Vega's letters this is very confused.

‡ In the King's hand:—"It will be well to give notice of this to Corunna and Santander. I see that this is what they are most likely to attempt." The real design was as stated in this letter.

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time during the month, unless the wind prevents it, or the League should gain some advantage which would frustrate their designs.

4 March. **509.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

I have nothing very fresh from England, but last news about the preparations of the fleet are confirmed. Drake has given Don Antonio a credit for 10,000 crowns to defray the costs of his own preparations for the voyage. He had sent to Horatio Pallavicini for some proof armour he has, in order to have some made like it. They announce that there has been a rising in the Island of Terceira, and they also assert that the Castle of St. Gian only contained three or four pieces of artillery, and the same in the Tower of Belem, as all the rest had been taken for the Armada. He has no lack of friends in Portugal, and although they (the English) had news that the duke of Parma was going to Spain with his forces, they said that before even he could get to Italy, and had begun his long sea voyage, Don Antonio would have finished his business.

An Italian named Aurelio Sopra, in the queen of England's service in Ireland, had come from there, and says that counting the ships that foundered at sea, and those wrecked on the coast, 27 sail of the Armada and 9,000 men had perished there. He says the men found the English even more cruel than the winds and waters, as they had murdered nearly all of them.

The English ambassador here has received two packets of letters of 9th February, the bearers of which say that Drake would sail in the middle of this month with 150 sail and 15,000 men, exclusive of seamen. The rendezvous of the fleet is Plymouth, and some of the ships were already dropping down the Thames on their way thither. The Queen said that the fleet was raised entirely by her subjects, in exchange for that which had taken your Majesty so many years to collect for the purpose of attacking her.

Drake was to command at sea and Norris on land, and Don Antonio was to accompany the expedition. The English ambassador, however, in conversation with his friends uses very different language to this. He asserts that the Dutch ships had not yet arrived, and Drake was not yet ready to sail. He says that at most the force will not exceed 60 or 70 ships, and 8,000 to 10,000 men, including soldiers and sailors. As Walsingham says nothing about the fleet in his letter, he (the ambassador) believes that it is not so advanced as is said, and could not leave before the end of February. They say the object of the expedition is to try to force the Spanish ports in which ships may be collecting, thinking that when they have done this, it will be easier for them to invest Portugal, and if not, they will go to the Azores or the Indies.

The Queen had come to London, as she had summoned Parliament for the 15th February, the object being to ask for money to send these ships out. It was understood that she would make some new Earls and Barons in this Parliament, particularly Cecil, Hatton, and Walsingham. She had conferred the governorship of Guernsey upon Lord Seymour and had recompensed Paulet's son.

The earl of Arundel was being put upon his trial for having had an understanding with your Majesty's Armada, and for having

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written to the cardinal of England (*i.e.*, Allen). The earl of Derby had been ordered to preside as Constable, with 12 Barons to pass sentence, in accordance with the custom of England.

A man had arrived from Fez to see the Queen and Don Antonio, and in order to beguile the people they had christened him ambassador of the Sheriff and asserted that he had brought a great sum of money for Don Antonio. They caused the merchants of London to go out and meet him with 200 horsemen, and the Queen received him with the ceremonial of an ambassador, Don Antonio doing the same, sending him a coach in which to visit him.

Two couriers brought these letters on the 9th to the English ambassador. One of them was the Queen's principal courier, who only takes charge of despatches of the utmost importance, and he also brought a packet for this King from his ambassador, for which the King presented him with 100 crowns. He (Henry III.) is so short of money that the courier must have brought him some good news.

The English ambassador at once begged urgently for an audience and in order to be able to receive him, the King gave all the ambassadors notice that he would see them; although for over two months we had been unable to obtain an audience. If I can learn what the English ambassador's message is in time for this post, I will send word. I expect it is to offer aid. The Queen had given leave to M. de Chateauneuf to come to France, and he was ready to depart, when the English ambassador here, fearing the disturbed condition of things in this country, that some evil might befall him, wrote to the Queen asking her by all means to detain Chateauneuf.

The said English ambassador has sent to me the enclosed letter from Don Pedro de Valdés, and another for me, both open. The substance of the letter to me is to beg me to send his letter to your Majesty, with those written by the other Spanish prisoners who are with him, returning any replies that may be sent by the same means.

I enclose the advices I have from Scotland.—St. Victor, 4th March, 1589.

Note.—In another letter of same date as above Mendoza begs the King, at the request of Cardinal Allen, to give some money to the English seminary at Rheims and the English Nuns of Sion at Rouen, as their principal benefactors, Guise and his brother, are dead.

4 March. **510.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

The first news I give in the general despatch about England is from Marco Antonio Messia, who was the man that carried the armour to Don Antonio. He says that so far as he could gather from his (Don Antonio's) language Drake's fleet is rather for the islands and the Indies than for Portugal.

The English ambassador has confirmed to Sampson the information I give about the fleet, and the new confidant has also sent to tell me the same. I mentioned the English ambassador's interview with the King, and he said that he had condoled with him on the death of the Queen-Mother, and had in general terms made offers (of help) to him. It would not be necessary, however, for Secretary Revol to have been with the ambassador for an hour in order

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to answer these two points, and I cannot help thinking that my suspicions of months ago may be correct, and that he ("the new confidant") is not acting straightforwardly, although I have continued to keep in with him.

Secretary Curle and his sister, and the apothecary Gorion, have written to me, saying, that in view of the disturbed state of Paris, they do not know what I would wish them to do. I beg for instructions on this point, in case I should have to leave Paris again. I have had them punctually paid their pensions there every two months to keep them satisfied and contented.—Chaussée de St. Victor., 4th March 1589.

17 March. **511.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.
Paris Archives, K. 1449. [EXTRACT.]

Thanks for advices sent from England. I am glad to learn that you are arranging the new means of intelligence you mention to replace those that are failing you. More especially is this desirable in the case of England, about which we are so much in the dark, at the very juncture when it is necessary for us to know their inmost thoughts, let alone the ships they are arming in their ports, and the object for which they are intended. Now that so many Frenchmen are rallying to the Catholic cause, you could, perhaps, make use of some French agents in England. If so, this would be the best course—try it.

I note the excuse under which the governor of Havre de Grâce wishes to detain the galleass. If it be much delayed it will be very inconvenient. Do your best to get her to Santander or other Spanish port.

With regard to the provisions, etc., you say may be obtained from the coast of Brittany,* although we can provide what we need here, it will be well for you to continue the negotiations, but without entering into any engagement, in case we should find it advisable to supply ourselves from there.—Madrid, 17th March 1589.

20 March. **512.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1570.

In addition to the enclosed advices from England, I have only to say that a letter from the French ambassador in England to this King has fallen into my hands, which letter I send herewith. It confirms the news that Drake's fleet, with Don Antonio on board, was on the point of sailing, the design being that which I have several times reported to your Majesty. Although all the advices agree that some of the ships that were fitted out for Drake in London were going down the Thames to join him at Plymouth, and that the fleet would sail by the middle of March, it is still very

* In Philip's instructions to Commander Moreo, sent as his military representative to the princes of the League in May 1589, the following passage occurs:—

"As tending to the same end (*i.e.*, the promotion of the Catholic faith), you will accept in the form which appears most convenient the offer made to me by the duke de Mayenne, through the duke of Parma and Don Bernardino de Mendoza, to give me ports and other facilities for my Armada on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, to operate against England, with the power of drawing ships and seamen, and other necessaries for the Armada, from the same coasts."

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questionable whether the Queen will allow herself at this juncture to be divested of so large a force of ships and men France being in so unsettled a condition, and the towns of the League so well armed. This greatly disturbs the Queen, and this King is so helpless that if, as appearances indicate, he appeals to the Huguenots and the prince of Bearn for support, the latter can only be given with her consent and co-operation. It is difficult to see what other aid she could give at the present time than the troops she has raised for this fleet, and as they are not more that 8,000 or 10,000 men, she can hardly send any to help this King without leaving the fleet empty. We shall soon know whether the fleet is to go or not, and I will send instant advice.

It is reported from London that the queen of England and her Council were much grieved that Rouen had declared for the League, as the English thereby lose the best trade they had with France. They will have to be very careful now that Normandy, so close to them as it is, has embraced the cause of the League.

22 March. **513.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

It is some time since I received any advices from our Scottish friends, in consequence, as I understand, of their keeping up their correspondence with the duke of Parma. His Holiness has authorised the archbishop of Glasgow to abandon, if he pleases, the post of ambassador to the king of Scotland, having consideration to the very small hope entertained by the bishop of Dunblane, the Carthusian friar, on his return, of being able to convert the King. The ambassador assures me that his principal reason for accepting the position was the Pope's special license for him to represent a heretic King, and the instructions from your Majesty that he was not to refuse the post. He says that I am well aware that for many years past he has been devoted to your Majesty's service, and begs me to convey the above intelligence to your Majesty, in order that he may know whether you wish him to resign or retain the position of ambassador. He will not move either way until he receives instructions. As the good prelate has shown his devotion on so many occasions to your Majesty's service, and his personality is of the highest importance in the conversion of Scotland, or in any other negotiations to be carried on there, I cannot refrain from saying how hardly pressed he is for money. All his misfortunes fell upon him at once. He lost his mistress, the Huguenots two years ago took an abbey of his in Poitou worth 3,000 crowns, and he is now almost starving, for the king of Scotland does not give him a groat, nor will he allow him to draw anything from the archbishopric. It is very important to keep him attached to your Majesty, in view of anything that may be attempted in Scotland, where if any change took place they could not avoid making him a Cardinal; besides which he is in a position to depose as to the renunciation of the queen of Scotland in your Majesty's favour as effectually as Curle and his sister and the apothecary Gorion, as the Queen sent to her ambassador the original letter for his Holiness. His deposition, moreover, will carry great weight, in consequence of his character and position. All this makes me urge your Majesty,

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whilst praying you to forgive my boldness, to grant the archbishop a pension of 1,000 crowns a year, out of the funds of some bishopric; which will entirely secure him, and at the same time will not pledge your Majesty to grant him any more, even if they make him a Cardinal, as in such case he would go to Scotland, where he would live well on the revenues of his archbishopric. The queen of Scotland recommended him as warmly as she did her other servants, and your Majesty granted a pension of 700 crowns to the bishop of Ross, in addition to the 300 he had in Spain, on the recommendation of the Queen. The character and position of Glasgow is such that much more service can be rendered by him than by Ross, and any grant your Majesty may make him would really be a gracious charity, even if he were of no service in return, for he is over 70 years of age and has passed all his life in honour and affluence. He has spent all the grant your Majesty made him through me, and indeed has had nothing else to live upon. His need is such that Cardinal Sanzio, who is his friend, seeing his position, has assigned to him the rent of the house I live in to keep him from actual beggary. I am informed that in the disturbances in Paris after Guise's murder,* no one inflamed Aumale more than he did not to give way. He also insisted on the declaration of the Sorbonne, to which is due entirely the present favourable position of affairs. He proceeds in the same way towards Mayenne.†—Paris, 22nd March 1589.

22 March. **514.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

Marco Antonio Messia, who was sent by the marquis of Santa Cruz to England to report, arrived here the day following my own arrival here. He tells me that Horatio Pallavicini, with whom he is on very intimate terms, had tempted him to go to Spain, on the pretext of negotiating for the liberation of the Spanish prisoners, especially those held by Pallavicini; and under cover of this doing a very great service to the queen of England, for which he would be well rewarded. This was to discover certain information which she and her Council were very anxious to obtain. These points are set forth in the enclosed document, written with milk on paper so that if the letters were afterwards rubbed with charcoal dust they could be read.‡ He did this in my house. As he was in such great need, owing to his having been in England three years, and his property sequestered in Lisbon, he did not dare to refuse the commission, for fear of the danger he ran, being in the hands of barbarous people like the English. He thought, moreover, that this might afford an opportunity of conveying to your Majesty verbally

* Mendoza had sent to the King an extremely interesting and detailed relation "of the events that happened at Blois from December the 23rd to 25th, 1588," in which the murder of the Guises is minutely described by an eye-witness. The subject does not come within the scope of the present Calendar, but the document is well worth attention. It is K. 1567. 174. Archives Nationales, Paris.

† The Sorbonne (University of Paris) had formally declared on the 17th January 1589 that Henry III. had forfeited the crown by his crimes; and that his subjects were thereby legally released from their allegiance. The duke of Mayenne then assumed the presidency of the provisional government in Paris, under the style of Lieutenant-General of the Realm.

‡ The statement referred to follows this letter.

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an account of the state of things in England and other particulars which, as he is a sailor, he may be able to give, as to the armaments, etc. He therefore decided to accept the mission, in order to serve your Majesty, and will write to the English what your Majesty may please to direct. He has left there Scipion Borgoni and Eliano Calvo, who will report as faithfully as he has done, addressing their letters to me.

I replied that, as he had been forced to leave in consequence of his business being suspended, owing to the embargo on his property, he had better draw up a statement of what he told me, so that no time might be lost in sending it to your Majesty by this post.

I can only say that, to judge by what I have seen in his letters, and during my personal contact with him now, I believe that if he had not had the wit to fasten himself on to Pallavicini, they would have executed him before this, knowing as I do the English temper.

As Messia comes with very little money, in order to prevent his being detained at Nantes I have furnished him with a credit for 100 crowns. I think this is to your Majesty's interest, so that he may write favourably to the two correspondents he has left in England.

Two days after Messia, Antonio de Vega arrived here. He had gone from England to Flanders to give an account of Drake's fleet, and the designs of Don Antonio, to the duke of Parma. Although he says he wrote from Flanders, and the Duke sent his statement instantly to Spain, I have told him to write here what he wished your Majesty to know, as he for safety has to go by sea. He therefore gave me the advices dated 2nd instant, which I enclose in the general despatch. Vega discussed other matters with me, but I am suffering so much from my illness, and as the matters will have to be decided by your Majesty, and it was not pressing that they should be dealt with at the moment, I told him he had better repeat his discourse to your Majesty when he reached Spain.*

Vega was obliged to leave England owing to the danger he ran, as he was being closely watched, not only by Don Antonio but by the English as well. Don Antonio dissembled with him in order not to offend the French ambassador,† and because he thought that Vega could not refuse to embark with him, and might then be thrown into the sea, or kept in prison, which is his usual way with those whom he suspects. It was also necessary for him to leave so as not to injure the French ambassador in England. When Vega told him how desirable it was that the duke of Parma should be informed what was the English plan when your Majesty's Armada slipped its anchors off Calais, and that, owing to the ports being closed no person could be sent unless from the embassy, he (the

* The matter mysteriously referred to here is probably the first suggestion of the plot to poison the Queen (or, as I believe, Don Antonio), commonly known by the name of Dr. Lopez.

† Vega sometimes refers to Chateauneuf as his brother-in-law, but I cannot find any proof of relationship, although he seems to have been on close terms of intimacy with him and lived in his house. Vega also called himself Don Antonio's nephew, which he certainly was not. He was evidently a vain, presumptuous scoundrel and traitor, and his boasted information is very frequently quite unfounded.

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French ambassador) very willingly sent his own steward, who carried Vega's letter to the duke of Parma. The steward was recognised in Flanders by some Englishmen, and the governor of Calais also wrote to the Queen informing her that the man had gone to Flanders. Complaints were therefore made by her to this King, who heard them readily enough, as the ambassador is a brother-in-law of M. de la Chatre, and an adherent of the League.

Vega had not made any demands upon me yet for his maintenance, or the cost of his many couriers and despatches, but he asked me now to pay to the French ambassador 186 sun-crowns which he had lent him to get out of England. The duke of Parma had informed him that, if he needed money, it would be provided for him in Flanders; but he had not thought wise to divulge this debt there, as it could not be so secretly paid to the ambassador as here. He also asked me to give him the balance up to 400 crowns, in order that he might arrive at Madrid. This I am doing, giving him credits on Nantes, thinking it to your Majesty's interest that he should not have to travel in need, and fall into the hands of Bearn and the Huguenots, who would send him to England; or that the French ambassador should be displeased, as his co-operation at this juncture may be valuable. As I have seen how earnestly Vega has been trying to retrieve his past errors, and he has served so well since his submission, I beg your Majesty to favour him as he deserves.

A Frenchman named Ruyvot, a short young man of from 26 to 30 years of age, with a small face and chestnut beard, has been sent from England to Spain by Walsingham for a spy.* He will go to the house of L'onglé,† who was formerly the secretary of M. de la Mauvissière, late French ambassador in England. I have spoken to him several times, and when he is asked whether he knows me, he will say yes, and this will be a further proof that he is the man. His business in London was to represent a merchant named Guillaume, of Bordeaux. Vega informs me of this and says that Ruyvot calls himself a Huguenot in England.—Paris, 22nd March 1589.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

515. DOCUMENT headed—"Information the English require from Spain. Heads of the Commission given to Messia in England."

Of the health of the King and Prince.

Of the disposition of the King and Court to continue the war; of the preparations or orders with this object.

Of Rebelli's negotiations with them or rather with the Scots.

Of the credit and position of the duke of Medina Sidonia.

Whether Giovanni Andrea (Doria) has been summoned to serve at sea.

Of the opinion of the Court with regard to whom the fault is to be attributed for the failure of the Armada—whether to the duke of Parma or the duke of Medina.

Of the opinion of the Court with regard to the duke of Parma's services and as to his continuance in the government of Flanders.

* In the King's hand:—"It will be well to try to catch this man if he is here. Consider how."

† L'onglé was the French ambassador in Madrid.

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Of the state of Portugal and the preparations for its defence.

Of the raising of Spanish infantry, and why Marcias left Spain.

Whether Don Alonso de Leyva ever returned. A note of the chiefs lost, whether by wreck, illness, or battle.

Another memorandum of those who are still able to serve the King in war.

Of the Indian flotillas, and the times of their departure and return.

Of Don Luis de Cordoba, brother of the marquis de Ayamonte. If it be true that he has returned to Spain, or whether the man they have prisoner in London who calls himself Don Gonsalve be he.

If the said Don Gonsalve be rich and powerful, as is believed.

If Don Luis de Cordoba be a prisoner, and what is his capability.

And finally, if Don Juan de Idiaquez or other royal Minister should ask about Horatio Pallavicini, I am to give a full account of him, and to say that there is no other person in all England so capable of arranging peace when negotiations are again taken in hand.

March. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

516. ADVICES from DAVID.

[EXTRACTS.]

On the 19th instant Don Antonio and his son Don Manuel left London for Dover, to embark there on the fleet of 60 ships which was awaiting him. Another fleet from Holland was also expected to join them. General Norris and Drake were in Dover, for the purpose of embarking with Don Antonio, as well as a brother of the earl of Essex, who was going in command of the cavalry, Captain Wilmer,* who was in the Netherlands, being his lieutenant. Sir Robert Sidney's brother is also going in command of 10 companies. There are from 500 to 600 gentlemen going with the fleet and about 20,000 soldiers, English and Flemish. They are taking 400 horses for the reiters and 1,200 saddles, with the arms necessary for the raising of as many more cavalry when they land, the horses for which they say they will steal. They take also 200 artillery horses and 30,000 stand of arms, muskets, harquebusses, and lances for the Portuguese; and are carrying provisions for their whole force for six months. What with English, Flemish, and Dutch, armed ships, transports, hulks, etc. it is calculated that the whole fleet will not fall short of 200 sail. The affair is in earnest, and Diego Botello has informed me of many particulars.

On the 25th Don Antonio and his fleet passed within sight of Rye, where I was. There were 80 odd ships, and as soon as he had passed I embarked on a fishing boat for France in order, if necessary, to go in person to Madrid, and give an account to the King of this and other things contained in this letter.

Don Antonio's intention is, if the weather be favourable, to land somewhere near Lisbon, as he is informed that the city will welcome him. Diego Botello says they will land 15,000 soldiers, the rest of the force with the sailors remaining with the fleet, which is to be

* Probably Sir Roger Williams, who was Norris' second in command. The three brothers Wingfield also took part in the expedition, and one wrote an account of it.

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commanded by Drake, Norris being General on land. If Drake sees an opportunity he will go with most of the fleet to await the Indian flotillas.*

Don Antonio is on Drake's ship with Diego Botello and five other Portuguese, whilst Don Manuel accompanies Norris with four Portuguese. In a ship of 120 tons there are Cipriano de Figueredo and Antonio de Brito Pimentel, with the rest of the Portuguese, except ten, who go in a patache which I am told takes six men who are to be put on shore first. I hear they are to land at Buarcos, on the Aveiro side of the hill, but much vigilance should be exercised at Cintra and the Cape, and indeed all along the coast. It would be worth while for his Majesty to offer a reward of 1,000 cruzados for every man who is found to have landed in the interests of Don Antonio. These six or more will certainly land. The Barbary ambassador goes in Don Antonio's ship, dressed as a Portuguese, his only object being to carry the news of the landing to the Sheriff, who will then send a force of Moors, or perhaps try to land them in Andalucia. The Sheriff also promises Don Antonio a quantity of powder, harquebusses, and lances, even without payment. He will also lend him 200,000 cruzados; and Diego Botello tells me that, as security for this, and the munitions, Don Cristobal, his son, is to be given by Don Antonio as a hostage to the Moor. They have great hope that the Sheriff will fulfil his promises, as his ambassador has assured the queen of England he will, and Don Cristobal has written, saying he has been very well received in Barbary. I learn the same from Alfonso Carvalho, who accompanied Don Cristobal, who writes that on their arrival at Sapi, on the 7th January, the Sheriff sent an alcaide to receive Don Cristobal, accompanied by the principal people of the country; and that Juan Vaz Alcanforado had gone to Morocco for the money. They were saying there that this year Portugal would be taken from the king of Spain.

It will be desirable in his Majesty's interests that orders should be given all over Portugal that there should be no horses, waggons, or mules near the coast, as the thing they fear most, according to Diego Botello, is that this order should be given.

They also fear lest his Majesty, in addition to the infantry, should place 5,000 or 6,000 horsemen in Lisbon, which might attack and defeat them as soon as they land. It is clear that their intention is to land near Lisbon, as they are confident that they will be helped by the Portuguese. His Majesty should therefore issue a proclamation, that any person giving to Don Antonio help, aid, or shelter in any form, shall lose his life. Orders should also be given to preachers to announce from their pulpits, that, under the guise of restoring Don Antonio, the English and Flemings are coming to rob, as they

* The force was landed at Peniche, marching overland to Lisbon; whilst the fleet remained at Cascaes, at the mouth of the Tagus. The objects of the expedition, as stated in the Queen's orders to the commanders, were first to burn the Spanish fleet in Lisbon or elsewhere; secondly, to restore Don Antonio to the throne if the public feeling in Portugal was found to be favourable, and thirdly, to capture St. Michael's. The first and third objects were not even attempted, and the second failed mainly in consequence of the loss of time incurred by an attack upon Corunna and the vigour displayed by the Cardinal Archduke Albert in terrorising the Portuguese adherents of the Pretender, mostly common people and friars, the nobles and leaders having been disposed of previously.

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have done elsewhere, and introduce their diabolical sect, profaning the holy temples; and the people should therefore be urged to stand firm as Christians, and endeavour to conquer the foe.* If they be beaten their pride will be lowered, and perhaps this will enable his Majesty to gain England, and for trade to be free in all parts, which it will never be whilst the English are masters of the sea.

(Advises the arrest of several sympathisers and spies of Don Antonio in Portugal, whose names are given.)

The fitting out of the English fleet cost 400,000 crowns, out of which 80,000 crowns was provided by merchants, and the rest by the Queen, the earl of Essex, Drake, Norris, etc. These 400,000 crowns Don Antonio undertakes to pay within three months after he disembarks, and until the sum be paid, the officers and soldiers are not to be obliged to take any oath of allegiance to him. He also undertakes to pay the soldiers what is due to them within three months, and thereafter to pay them every month. I know this to be the case, as I went with Diego Botello to Drake's house when the contract was translated.

Don Antonio's design to raise money is to seize all the spices, sugars, cottons, salt, shumac, etc., that he finds in the country; the natives paying for them at current prices, but foreigners being charged increased rates. The owners of the goods are not to lose their property, but to be paid 500,000 or 600,000 crowns. It would be well for his Majesty to adopt this plan. He (Don Antonio) also intends to appeal to the ecclesiastics for help, taking a great part of the church plate to raise money. All this is on the supposition that Don Antonio will take Portugal, which I hope to God he will not. It is quite sufficient reason for refusing to help him, that he has promised to give liberty of conscience to all foreigners in Portugal. Before Don Antonio left London he had 500 or 600 general pardons printed, giving an account of the sufferings he has undergone to liberate the Portuguese from subjection to Castile, and declaring the great force he brings with him. Diego Botello tells me that these general amnesties for all offences will be spread in the towns by the men who I say are to go and land in advance. These men should therefore be captured without fail.

I again remind you to advise his Majesty to have a strong garrison at Peniche, as it is whispered that the landing of the force will take place there.

Amongst Englishmen, and in Don Antonio's own household, it is generally admitted that if this expedition fails, Don Antonio will never be able to raise his head again, or find anyone to help him.

It is therefore doubly important that his Majesty should use every effort to defeat him as soon as he lands, and Portugal will thus be assured, and England nearly captured.

If his Majesty's forces do not oppose these people as soon as they land I fear that the Portuguese, seeing them in large numbers, may join them, and it will cost his Majesty much more than if the attempt be nipped in the bud. Above all, there should be many

* The measures here suggested were adopted and improved upon by the Cardinal Archduke. See the history of the expedition in "The Year after the Armada."

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cavalry, as that is what they fear. His Majesty's forces should be concentrated in or about Lisbon, as Portugal will have mainly to be ruled from there.

Those who have most opposed the expedition in England are the Admiral and the governor of the Isle of Wight, Sir Walter Raleigh; but with all their efforts they could not prevail, as they had against them Walsingham, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, the earl of Essex, Norris, Drake, and the merchants, who are all largely interested in the venture. No men, either soldiers or sailors, have been forced into the expedition; but all have gone voluntarily, under the impression that they have only to land and load themselves with gold and silver, so confident are they in the hopes held out to them that the Portuguese will take up arms in their favour at once. They also say that they have been promised by Don Antonio the sack of all the towns which do not submit to him, and that when they enter Castile they shall sack every place, and carry war with blood and fire through the country. God grant that this may not happen, as his Majesty will doubtless have taken the necessary measures, according to my advices from England. I repeat, if Don Antonio be beaten this time, he will trouble his Majesty no more, and England also will be humbled.

A cousin of mine, Antonio de Andrada, has to go to Plymouth, and I have instructed him to come and inform you of any change or news of importance he may observe before the expedition sails. If he has nothing to communicate, I instruct him, the moment he lands (in Portugal), to desert to his Majesty's force, and give all the information in his possession to the officer in command.

The earl of Cumberland is fitting out five great ships and two pataches for the Indies, with 1,000 soldiers besides sailors. His pilot is a Portuguese from Viana, who was on board a ship they captured, and was given to the Earl by Don Antonio. The pilot says that the Earl intends to pass close to the Portuguese coast, and if Don Antonio needs help, he will give it him, and if not, he will proceed on his voyage.

Sir Harry Cavendish is also making ready to sail after the expedition has gone. He was going back to China with two ships and a patache, but the latter was lost near Gravesend on the 20th instant, with 42 persons, none being saved. But he will have another built, and will certainly sail on his voyage.

Don Antonio and all his people are going wretchedly provided with necessaries. With the exception of six or eight members of his household, they are unarmed, as the Queen has only given him 400 crowns, out of which he had to pay for the board and lodging of his people. He could only give them three shirts of unbleached linen each. No English gentleman attends him, and no presents were given to him except by the earl of Essex, who sent him a hackney, and the Lord Chancellor, who gave some very rich arms to Don Manuel, which arms had formerly belonged to the duke of Nassau.

The Queen also gave Don Manuel, when he took leave of her, a windmill made of precious stones, valued at 800 crowns.

Don Antonio is determined to be the first to set foot on shore. He takes with him some black bullet-proof armour, the helmet

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being also proof. He intends to leap ashore fully armed, Don Alonso carrying before him a Christ raised from the dead. His servants, it is said, will land with him. This is the talk amongst us (*i.e.*, the Portuguese), but Don Antonio will first see whether the English will not be offended at it.

I have done all the service to the King that I can do here, which has not been small, and if I am allowed to go to Portugal I may be able to do great service through a brother-in-law of mine, who is one of the principal preachers of the Order of Santo Domingo in Lisbon, and through a brother of mine, who is also a great preacher.

Note.—It will be seen by the above letter that the spy Andrada was extremely well informed with regard to the expedition, nearly all details given by him having been absolutely correct. The first man to land on Portuguese soil was Essex, who struggled through the surf on foot, a proceeding which poor Don Antonio could hardly emulate.

1 April. **517.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

David has come expressly from England to give me the enclosed reports, his excuse being that he has fallen out with Diego Botello. He has also given me a packet of letters he brought from Don Antonio to his agent here, Antonio de Escobar, copies of which are enclosed.

David says that if it be necessary for him to go and give your Majesty a verbal account of the information he gives me, he will go gladly, without regarding the dangers of the road. I have put him off until I hear from your Majesty, and until we see whether Don Antonio goes with the fleet; because if he does not David may still give us reports of his proceedings, in England or elsewhere. —Paris, 1st April 1589.

April. **518.** ADVICES of the ENGLISH FLEET.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

On the 19th March Drake and Norris were in Dover, ready to embark for Plymouth. On the 25th they sailed with 80 ships, Flemish and English, the rest being at Plymouth.

It is asserted that they will have over 130 sail victualled for six months, and taking 15,000 soldiers.

The intention is said to be to make for Portugal, and to land near Lisbon the larger part of the force, the rest remaining on the fleet of which Drake is to have command, whilst Norris is to direct the land operations. If it is found convenient the greater part of the fleet will go out to await the Indian flotillas.

It is believed in Plymouth that the fleet will sail some time in April at latest.

1 April. **519.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

I last gave an account of English armaments dated the 2nd ultimo, and have since received advices dated 7th ultimo reporting that Drake is making ready with all speed to sail with his fleet, carrying

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5,000 soldiers and sailors.* This being the case, and his having very few victuals, not many of the Dutch ships having arrived, it is thought that Drake would be more likely to come to France to help the Huguenots than to go to Spain, as the number of men mentioned would be insufficient to do anything in Portugal, whilst they would be too many to go out on the Indian route.

The French ambassador, Chateauneuf, has sent a man specially from England, who left London on the 15th, to bring the news verbally (the roads being in such a condition that he could not venture to write it) that Drake had sailed with 80 ships and 15,000 soldiers, his destination being Scotland, where he would ship more troops and then come to France. This device is adopted so as to make it appear that the succour sent to this King comes from Scotland, and not from England. Don Antonio still remained in London, and Drake only had victuals for six weeks, which proved beyond doubt that his intention was to come to France. The duke of Mayenne sent me the news at once, but as nothing was said of the day of Drake's departure, or whether his fleet consisted of the ships in the Thames, or those at Plymouth, or both united, and no mention was made of the arrival or otherwise of the Dutch ships etc., the information did not strike me as being very trustworthy. Besides this, the weather was contrary for a voyage to Scotland, and it was not at all likely that if the Queen had determined to send aid to this King, Drake would have wasted time in going to Scotland for the purpose of making it appear that the succour came from there. I therefore delayed sending the despatch to your Majesty until I learnt more about the matter, and I heard yesterday from a person who left London on the 20th, that Drake had left there for Dover for the purpose of embarking on the ships which were then going down the river—about 30 sail—and taking them round to Plymouth, where the fleet was to collect. Don Antonio had embarked at Dover and was to accompany him.

Don Antonio left London on the morning of the 19th for Gravesend, by boat, after having taken leave of the Queen. He is accompanied by Diego Botello, whom he has made a Duke, and six or seven other persons; his eldest son and other Portuguese going in another boat. He took horses at Gravesend for Dover, where Drake awaited him to embark.

On the 19th a ship of 80 or 100 tons belonging to Sir Harry Cavendish, with 70 people on board, was at anchor before Gravesend. They neglected to close the gun ports, and as the tide came up the water got in and sank the ship. She foundered so suddenly that only 15 out of the 70 persons on board were saved. The English looked upon this as a very poor augury for the success of Don Antonio's expedition.

Colonel Norris left on 15th for Plymouth by land, in order to collect his forces which were lodged in the neighbourhood. Norris said that, as he should have to muster them, he did not think he could ship the troops in less than 25 days.

* This is probably a mistake for 15,000, which is the lowest estimate that Mendoza's agents had recently sent him. As a matter of fact the forces numbered in all nearly 20,000 men.

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The man who has come from London, whom I know well for a person of understanding, assures me that most of the ships that left London are small, the largest being the "Ark Raleigh," of about 400 tons. This was Drake's flagship. They only carry victuals for four months, and are short of powder. The English affirmed that 15,000 men would be shipped at Plymouth, the fleet consisting of 120 sail. This could not be ascertained, however, until Plymouth was reached, but the general opinion was that this force was a very large one. It was common talk that Don Antonio was to go to Portugal in the fleet, Drake commanding at sea, and Norris on land, his lieutenant being a brother of the earl of Essex,* who was at Rochelle.

This man also assures me that only 10 or 12 small ships have arrived of the contingent expected from Holland, and the news received here from Middleburg dated the 9th says nothing of any ships being ready there for England.

I learn from a person who left Rye on the 25th, that Drake passed there on that day on his way to Plymouth with a fair wind, and would probably arrive on the 28th. On the same day some 40 ships had passed Rye, following Drake and Don Antonio. They looked like ships that go to Brouage for salt, although they might be the ships expected from Holland. I cannot be certain of this news, but will endeavour to send more trustworthy details in my next. My reports to-day are so various that I send them to your Majesty as I receive them. David's (*i.e.*, Andrada's) reports enclosed magnify the force more than others, and confirm the passage of Don Antonio and Drake before Rye.

In order that your Majesty may have timely advice of the fleet at Plymouth, I send this by special messenger, and will send another as soon as I learn that it has sailed from Plymouth; although, if they have a fair wind, they will be in Spanish waters before I know of their departure.

Information comes from Scotland, dated the 9th ultimo, that the King had ordered the arrest of the earl of Huntly and that he had been placed in Edinburgh Castle on the 7th, which was considered an extraordinary thing. His enemies say it is because he was carrying on a communication with the duke of Parma.—Paris, 1st April 1589.

6 April. Paris Archives, K. 1570.

520. ADVICES from TOURS sent by SAMPSON.

[EXTRACT.]

Whilst the English ambassador was coming away from an audience with the king (of France), he said that he had leave of absence for six weeks to go to England on his private affairs. As he had not previously mentioned this it is probable that his voyage was decided upon during the audience with the King, and that the ambassador spoke of it as he did in order to conceal the fact that he was going to England at the King's request. As the ambassador was about to mount his horse to depart, Secretary Revol came and

* Young Walter Devereux accompanied the expedition, but not in any important command.

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conversed with him at great length, and the ambassador then went direct to Chatelherault, where the prince of Bearn was, he having already obtained by permission of the King a passport and safe-conduct from the Prince.

He talked with Bearn for three or four hours, and then sent his secretary to the Court with letters for the King and Secretary Revol, which were followed by other letters for Revol, and duly answered by the latter. The ambassador accompanied Bearn to Brusseuire, in Lower Poitou, where they both took the Sacrament on Holy Thursday, the ambassador leaving the following day for Niort with de Sangele, governor of the town, in whose house he stayed that night. On Saturday before Easter he slept at Rochelle, where he found three ships that Bearn had ordered to be prepared for him, and in which he embarked on Easter Monday. He did not go through the town of Poitiers for fear they might offer him some affront, as they did at the same time to M. de Lonac, who was retiring to Gascony with a passport from the King; and whom they kept waiting at the gate for three hours before they would allow him to enter, and asked him where was the dagger with which he had slain the duke of Guise; and at last, though they allowed him to pass through the town, they would not permit him to stay.

The ambassador remained with Bearn for three weeks and was greatly regaled by the Prince, who took him hunting, etc.

The first time the ambassador spoke with him he expressed surprise that one side of the Prince's beard had turned white. He replied that that was the side of the League, whilst the other was the side of hope for France.

11 April. **521.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

I kept David here, as I told your Majesty, and asked him whether when he left England he had quarrelled so seriously with Diego Botello that he could not go back thither. He replied that he knew Botello's character very well, and was sure that if he made him a present he would be pacified. David offered to take the risk of returning if he could thereby serve your Majesty. The unsettled state of France making it very difficult to get news from England, and especially from Plymouth, I asked David to return; and as, up to the present, he has never asked me for a groat for all his voyages since he submitted to your Majesty, I gave him 220 crowns for the purpose mentioned. I told him to go first to Tours to see Don Antonio's agent, and tell him that he had been robbed (of his letters); but that, notwithstanding this, he had thought well to come and inform him of the powerful fleet with which Don Antonio was going to Portugal, so that Escobar might convey the information to the king of France. He was also to ask Escobar whether he had any message for Don Antonio, as he (David) was going back. The reason for this was so that Escobar might write favourably of him to England.

I instructed him to go thence direct to Plymouth, and send intelligence by every possible means, giving an account of the armaments in progress; and when Don Antonio sailed to send a person to give a verbal statement, if he could not send letters.

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As he had already arranged for his cousin to land and give instant information to the Cardinal Archduke, or other principal officer of your Majesty, if the fleet touched at any point of Spain or Portugal, and he (David) had already been sounded by Don Antonio as to whether he would remain in England and assist in his affairs, I directed him to endeavour to do so. With that object he should go to London, and thence write to me. If Don Antonio did not embark he was to keep with him, continuing to report to me. I thought that he would thus be serving your Majesty more effectually than otherwise, as Sampson cannot return to England, and has no communications of importance with Don Antonio, now that this King (Henry III.) is so powerless. If Don Antonio departs also it will not be advisable for us to leave London entirely unwatched, and with no person there to inform us of the news of the expedition that may reach there from Don Antonio and his friends. David can do this, and advise whether any new armaments are fitted out to reinforce him. I send a copy of the cipher he has left with me, that it may be forwarded to the Cardinal Archduke.*—Paris, 11th April 1589.

16 April. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1570.

522. ADVICES from ENGLAND.

All the fleet is now at Plymouth, 145 to 150 sail with the Dutchmen. I reported that 70 hulks on their way from Germany to Spain, with victuals and munitions, had been captured, and these have been of the utmost service to them. They are greatly rejoiced thereat, as they have thus been furnished with many things which they lacked, and they have also largely increased the number of their ships, and are able to carry more men. I have read letters from Plymouth, saying that the number of soldiers will now reach 17,000 or 18,000 men, as well as 4,000 seamen; all of the ships would be ready to sail with the first fair wind. The cargo on the hulks was said to be on account of his Catholic Majesty.

The fleet is undoubtedly bound direct to Portugal, and to carry out the other objects I mentioned in my last. The principal object of attack is to be the Indian flotillas, which we are informed here (in England) sailed last February, and consisted of very good ships. This is really the principal blow they wish to strike. I will advise as soon as the fleet sails.

It is considered certain that the earl of Arundel will be put upon his trial next week, and that he will lose his head, as they are all of one mind about it, except the Chancellor and the Treasurer. He (Arundel) is ill, they say, entirely of grief and worry, the principal accusation against him being that when the Armada was off the coast he begged a Catholic priest to say a mass to the Holy Trinity, begging God to send victory to the Spaniards. The priest was arrested and confessed this. They also allege that he (Arundel)

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* The cipher enclosed is as follows. It is given here simply as a specimen :—

A B C D E F G H J L M N O P Q R S T U X Y Z

t ɔ 0 1 3 4 2 8 ∓ o–o 7 9 p ɒ b g q a e = δ ℔

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joined the Holy League. Parliament has risen, after having voted two subsidies to the estimated amount of 1,200,000 crowns.

Captain Cavendish, who returned some months ago from the South Seas, has again sailed thither a fortnight since with nine very well armed ships. One of his ships foundered in the Thames, and all the crew were drowned except four men. The earl of Cumberland has also sailed with five ships in good order, his destination being the East Indies, although it is not known what part. If neither of these expeditions brings back anything of value there will be no more similar enterprises; because it is the hope that they will come back loaded with gold and silver, as they have done hitherto, that causes them to be sent; and the principal thing to be guarded against is, that they should touch any of the Indian flotillas or other treasure. Their great object is to despoil his Majesty, in order to give them the means of making war against him and render themselves rich.

After the above was written, intelligence has arrived from Plymouth that a ship had entered that port, having left Lisbon 16 days before, with a Frenchman on board, who had been for a long time in his Majesty's galleys. He brings news that there were very few soldiers in Lisbon, not 150 in the Castle, and very few in the other fortresses, which were also badly provided with artillery and other necessaries. This intelligence has been sent hither and arouses great hopes of success in Portugal; but, as I have said, the main object of the fleet is to capture treasure, and its orders are to the following effect:—First, if the weather serves, to go where they learn there is a good gathering of Spanish ships and try to burn them. Thence to go to Portugal, and if they encounter much resistance to abandon that part of the enterprise, and proceed on their voyage towards the Spanish Indies to meet the flotillas and land men. If they do not find much resistance in Portugal they are to leave Don Antonio there with 5,000 or 6,000 men, whilst the main body of the fleet goes to the Indies, leaving on their way off Terceira a sufficient number of ships to intercept the flotillas from the East Indies. This would indicate that the fleet itself is to go to the Indies to seek for the ships in port, and capture them there with their treasure, or take it if it be on land. If the treasure has been carried inland they will pursue it with their horses, of which they are taking 500 with them. If, therefore, the greatest energy be not exercised at this juncture in counteracting the design, his Majesty's treasure will be in imminent danger. The best means of safety will be to carry it on to the coast of the South Sea (*i.e.*, the Pacific) well inland. God knows the flotillas will be in peril! for if it be not looked to they will all fall into their (the English) hands. The advices from Plymouth to-day say that over 20,000 men are going.

Two more couriers have come from Plymouth since the above was written. They report that the fleet was short of victuals, of which great quantities were needed, as well as large sums of money, so that if they did not soon get a fair wind to sail, the fear was expressed that the above designs could not be proceeded with, or at least that some of them would have to be changed. But they will not change their plan of intercepting the flotillas, for that is their main object.

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21 April. **523.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1570. [EXTRACT.]

I have information from Tours that the King was collecting his forces, and that the queen of England would not help him with money, but with troops; the condition being that they should fight under Bearn, which confirms what I said of her wish to have fortresses in which the English might be placed; and in this way Bearn would enlarge his territory and get into his grasp places which the King would not be able to take from him. Even if the question of religion were not a stake, as a matter of state policy the English, if they set foot in France, must not be allowed to subject by force the Catholics of this country, the queen of England having usurped from your Majesty the Dutch Islands and Zeeland.* If once this were allowed she would invade the Netherlands over the French frontier, which must be prevented by the sending hither by your Majesty of very powerful forces to aid the Catholics against the English and Huguenots. I have written to the duke of Parma warning him of this.—Paris, 21st April 1589.

21 April. **524.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1570.

I have just learnt that on the road between Dieppe and Rouen they have captured a courier sent by the French ambassador in England. His despatches were opened, and amongst others, one from the ambassador to his master, dated 7th instant, saying that the Queen had told him that Drake was to sail from Plymouth with his fleet on that day, accompanied by Don Antonio. Forty ships, with 4,000 men and 500 horses, had arrived from Holland; and these together with the other forces would form a very powerful fleet, which if the weather then prevailing continued would arrive in Portugal within 10 days. The same intelligence is contained in another letter in the packet for the prince of Bearn, from his agent in England, who also writes in similar terms to the count de Soissons.

With regard to French affairs, the ambassador states that he had had an interview with the Queen, in which he laid before her the necessity of her providing money, but that he could get no further reply from her but that she would write to the King in accordance with the instructions she had given to her ambassador. Bearn's agent writes to his master in cipher, but the letter has been deciphered, and it is found to express the same regret as that expressed by the Queen to the ambassador at the non-arrival of M. de Sinille in France. He (the agent) then says that his master the King (by which it is supposed he means the king of Scotland) will fulfil the promises he had made, and would be ready without fail by the end of May, which he (the agent) hoped would be the case. This he says, and the message taken by Sinille, would have silenced everything in that (the French ?) Court. The agent says in his letter to the count de Soissons, that people in England are very anxious to know whether the King has joined with the prince of Bearn, and he begs the Count to assure the King as soon as he has joined the Prince that he (the agent) will at once come over and

* In the King's hand:—"He is quite right in this, and it will be well to write something to the duke of Parma."

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serve him. All the letters agree that the fleet was on the point of sailing, now that the Dutch galleons had arrived, and that this courier was sent specially to inform the King (of France) thereof. I have therefore thought necessary to send instant advice by special courier to your Majesty of the present forward stage of the armament, and that its destination is generally agreed to be Portugal. Although I have men in England to give me punctual reports of what happens, it is impossible for me to receive my letters so quickly as I should like, or even for a man to come; for every despatch that enters the country is opened, either by the King's people or the League, or else by the highwaymen, who take either side as their interests dictate, and rob everyone. I cannot therefore expect any very fresh reports from England, or that a man should arrive, even if he could escape from there, unless by very exceptional good fortune. If my despatches arrive (in Spain) it may also be considered a fortunate chance, seeing the condition of this country, the robbers, and the way in which Marshal de Matignon detains the letters in Bordeaux. He says that no courier shall pass there without a passport from the king of France, which I have explained to him I cannot obtain as I am not at Court.

On the 17th instant a ship arrived at Rouen from Laredo in eight days, and reports that she sighted no ships on her way. As she has come so quickly, it is to be concluded that the English fleet could not arrive (in Portugal) from Plymouth, as the (French) ambassador says, even if it did sail on the 7th. If what is reported from England be correct the fleet would be in Spanish waters before I could obtain news of its departure. Since the 13th furious gales have been blowing on the French coast. The galleass (Zuñiga) sailed from Havre on the 15th at nine at night, with fresh settled weather, which lasted for 40 hours, and I hope to God, as she is a fast ship, that this will have enabled her to get clear of the Channel, which is the most dangerous part of her voyage.*—Paris, 21st April 1589.

23 April. Paris Archives, K. 1449.

525. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

[EXTRACT.]

I have long known of the good intentions of the archbishop of Glasgow, and I will not fail when an opportunity offers of assisting him in his necessity. I do not think that this is a favourable time for him to relinquish his embassy, even if for no other reason than to prevent the evil offices which might be effected by his successor. In addition to this, however, we should lose his own services, which may be of advantage to us. You will therefore urge him to retain his post.—Aranjuez, 23rd April 1589.

26 April. Paris Archives, K. 1570.

526. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In consequence of the turmoil and disturbance of this country, I cannot usually send reports from England as speedily as I could

* In the King's hand:—"It is to be feared that she will not make Corunna, or that "they may have captured her, for we hear nothing of her arrival." The King's forebodings were partly correct, as will be seen by subsequent letters. The unfortunate galleass was caught in a gale, greatly damaged, and once more had to put back to Havre de Grâce, where a fresh series of disasters awaited her.

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wish; but now that the English ports are rigorously closed it is difficult to get advices at all. Even when I manage to send men thither, which I have endeavoured to do, it is almost impossible for them to return in time for any reports they bring to be serviceable, as no one is allowed to leave without a passport, and the ordinary weekly posts to Rouen are discontinued. It is therefore only by lucky chance that I can get fresh news, and I have men posted in Calais and elsewhere, so that no time should be lost in forwarding my despatches. Last night I received the enclosed report, which comes from the confidant left there by Antonio de Vega, a person known to me, who is in a position to have a good knowledge of what passes at Plymouth. Letters from Rouen, of the 23rd, say that by last advices from London it was still uncertain whether the fleet had sailed from Plymouth.

There is no news at Havre de Grâce of the galleass ("Zuñiga"), which inspires me with the hope that she had fair weather and got clear of the Channel, and I hope to God that she will have arrived safely ere this.—Paris, 26th April 1589.

27 April. Paris Archives, K. 1570.

527. PURSER PEDRO DE IGUELDO to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. (An account of the voyage and return to Havre de Grâce of the galleass "Zuñiga.")

Left Havre on evening of 15th. On 17th, a furious S.S.E. gale. On the 18th given up for lost, as they were drifting on to the English coast. The straining of the vessel opened her decks, and she shipped much water, mizen-mast and jib-boom carried away, main-top-mast broken, and mainyard damaged, but repaired. The seamen recommended that everything possible should be thrown overboard to relieve the ship. Twelve good guns, therefore, sacrificed, with much ammunition, etc., anchors, chains, 8 barrels of cider, nearly all the fresh water; 2 long boats and a gig lost, and 30 oars, which the convicts were ready enough to throw overboard. Grieved to think our sins are so great as to need such a punishment as this.

On the 18th, at mid-day, we were between Scilly and the Lizard, a very dangerous place, and for the next eight days we were tacking off the English coast in a constant gale, and at last, off Cape La Hogue, the wind shifted to the east, and although short of drink, and the ship damaged, we determined to proceed on our voyage. In four hours our persecutor again attacked us, and we were forced to anchor off Havre where we now are.

At the request of the governor we took the galleass to the two ships that had the same day arrived from the Newfoundland fisheries, bringing with them as a prize a Portuguese ship from Santo Domingo, loaded with hides. We took the prize away from them, and brought them all three in with us to our former position.

The way in which Captain Marolin has worked in this voyage cannot be exaggerated. He never went below, and his care was needed, for the Italian seamen are worthless, and they all hide themselves at night, leaving no one to work the ship. If it had not been for the St. Sebastian sailors we must have been lost, and one of them was killed by a gun getting adrift in the storm.

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The ship must be refitted and re-victualled to be able to go to Spain; the repairs, etc. will cost 3,000 crowns, besides the pay and maintenance of the men, and 25 days will be needful for the work. Pray send me instructions what is to be done. I wrote that 120 soldiers were to come on board. I gave them all the needful help, but when they came to embark, 50 stayed away, keeping their arms, a mean thing for Spaniards to do. They did it out of fear, because it was said that off the Casquets 8 or 10 English ships were awaiting us. I find them now serving the governor of Havre de Grâce, to whom please write, asking him to dismiss them, and to return to us the powder and the 10 guns he has from the "St. Ana," as we now want them to replace those we threw overboard, and our powder is all wet.

Note.—The above letter is enclosed in one from Mendoza to the King of 30th April, asking for money to be sent for the purposes of the galleass, and to pay the sailors, who are grumbling and saying they do not want doles but to be paid monthly. The prize taken away from the French ships from Newfoundland for the governor of Havre could not have been taken by him except by the aid of the galleass. Have written, asking him to take an inventory of cargo, in order that a claim may be made by the owners, who are Spanish subjects.

3 May. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

528. PURSER PEDRO DE IGUELDO to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

In my last letter I advised the arrival in the roads here of the galleass ("Zuñiga"), and said she would enter the harbour the next day. On the last day of April she attempted to do so, in charge of the sworn pilots of the town; but they handled her so badly that they got her aground. Every effort was made to get her off. Her guns and stores were put into lighters alongside, but withal the general opinion was that she had made her last voyage. By the aid of 50 men from the town she was made fast, so that she should not capsize at low water. She was thus kept straight and undamaged till next tide, which was 11 o'clock at night, when to the surprise of everyone we got her off. I can only account for all these tribulations by supposing that God is pleased to send them to us as a punishment for our sins.

Everything on board the galleass was then put ashore to lighten her sufficiently to repair her, some biscuits, etc., being thrown overboard, as they were damaged by sea water. Fresh masts have been bought, and everything else is being provided. The sailors mutinied yesterday, as I was giving them the usual dole. They said they would not receive it unless it were increased, as the days were longer, and they could not exist on it as they had done before. I was in trouble and risk with them, but I persuaded them to take what I offered, on promising them that I would send a person to you about it. They will not do a thing on board the galleass, unless they are paid extra, and I feel sure they will desert when we are about to sail. The worst of it is, they will not declare themselves until the ship is outside, and it is too late to seek them.—Havre de Grâce, 3rd May 1589.

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Note.—The above letter is sent to the King in an autograph letter dated 8th May from Mendoza, who says that the galleass was as fortunate in getting off on this occasion as in escaping from the tempest off Ushant. Captain Duarte Nunez has been sent by Igueldo with a list of the things needed on the galleass (which list is also in the same packet as above, K. 1569), and especially to represent the difficulty about sailors and soldiers to go in the galleass to Spain, the Channel being so full of English ships. Frenchmen are not to be trusted, and it is useless to give money to the Spaniards there (in Havre de Grâce) to go on the voyage. They will take the money but they will not go, whatever they may promise. Begs for instructions.

8 May. **529.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

I have news from London of 22nd ultimo, saying that it was still uncertain whether Drake had sailed with his fleet from Plymouth. He was known to be somewhat short of victuals and money. A Scotsman, who embarked at Rye on the 26th, says he was told there that the fleet was still in Plymouth; and although the duke of Mayenne asserts that he has intercepted a letter announcing that Drake and Don Antonio had sailed on the 22nd with 18,000 men, I do not think that likely, as at that very time the terrible storm in which the galleass was caught was blowing up Channel.*

I hear from Rouen, under date of 5th instant, that a Fleming has arrived in that town, who declares that he saw Drake sail from Plymouth on the last day of April, but he does not say how many ships he took. But I cannot obtain further confirmation of this; and even if my letters did not meet with so many stumblingblocks on the roads as they do, it would be impossible for me to inform your Majesty of the departure of the fleet from Plymouth before the ships themselves appeared in Spanish waters.

Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, has passed through Calais on his way hither, the Queen having given him leave on the arrival of Stafford in England.

The earl of Arundel had been condemned in public tribunal to be beheaded, and it is understood that he will soon be executed. This gives rise to the idea that the rest of the Catholic personages in prison would also be condemned.—Paris, 8th May 1589.

8 May. **530.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1570.

Encloses a petition from Dr. Nicholas Wendon, which he begs Idiaquez to forward to the best of his ability. Dr. Wendon has no other means of sustenance except the pension granted by his Majesty. This and the writer's affection for Dr. Wendon, who is so zealous in his Majesty's service, lead him to urge his case with so much warmth. —Paris, 8th May 1589.

* The expedition left Plymouth Harbour on the 13th April (O.S.), although the wind was dead against it, in order to await a change outside and so prevent the disorder and desertion of their men by further delay in port. It finally sailed on the 16th April (O.S.), and at the time this letter was written the expedition had already arrived at Corunna.

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9 May. (N.S) **531.** ADVICES from EXETER, sent by DAVID (MANUEL DE ANDRADA).

Paris Archives, K. 1570. Portuguese.

As soon as I arrived here I sent a courier to Plymouth, and wrote to a friend, asking him to inform me about the Portuguese, who I heard had arrived there. He sent word to say that they were Alvaro de Pavia from Italy, and Francisco Diaz de Carballo, Francisco Ruiz, and Matteus Estebes, who had come from Barbary with the money which had been sent by the Moor, and is now in London, as well as the powder which the Moor had contributed. I do not know the quantity, but will ascertain as soon as I reach Plymouth.

Four ships are being fitted out here to be sent to the Moluccas, with 300 soldiers, and they will sail in two months.

Seven or eight vessels are also being loaded with biscuits and other victuals to be sent to Portugal.

Before the personage (Don Antonio) left here, a Portuguese gentleman came and invited him to the country (Portugal), where all were ready to receive him. I am told that he brought some money. I will ascertain all these points and report. My Plymouth friend also writes that the personage left instructions there that all (the Portuguese) who might arrive there were to follow him without delay. I do not know what I shall do myself, but in any case I shall endeavour my utmost to stay and go on to London, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions.

Alvaro de Pavia has been to Venice, Ferrara, and Salonica, to get money from the Jews for Don Antonio. F. Diaz de Carballo was captain of a small vessel that accompanied Don Antonio's son to Barbary, and Estebes is a sailor of Cascaes, who was brought a prisoner to England and joined Don Antonio.

11 May. **532.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

Letter of 1st April, and the important enclosures it contained, to hand, after considerable delay. We note the information about the English fleet, etc., and will endeavour to be well prepared. But in future pray send your news flying. You will understand that in the present state of affairs this is of the utmost importance, especially with English reports, which you must endeavour to obtain with great diligence. Send all your despatches by various routes, so that if one be lost other copies will reach us.*

David acted excellently in coming over from England to give you the news you send, which is very important. Thank him from me, and make use of him to obtain similar information as frequently as possible. When you think that he should return send him back to England.—San Lorenzo, 11th May 1589.

12 May. **533.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

In another despatch I reply to your letters. I wish to say in this only that the English fleet arrived at Corunna on the 4th instant, in

* Through all the subsequent troubles in France, during the time Mendoza stayed in the country, he sent his despatches in triplicate, and sometimes in quadruplicate, by various routes. As will be seen, however, in the course of this and next year's correspondence, the whole of the copies were frequently intercepted. Abstracts of several intercepted letters at this period will be found in Hatfield MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.), Vol. III.

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the morning, and began landing men on a retired spot away from the entrance to the port and Fort San Antonio, which defends the ships in harbour. They, no doubt, thought that it would go ill with them if they attempted to enter by the usual passage. The marquis of Cerralbo opposed them the same afternoon with the troops he had, and it is stated inflicted some damage upon them. It is known that reinforcements entered the city the same night, and that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were hastening to send further aid. Although, therefore, no courier has arrived with further news, it is considered certain that if the enemy persevered in his attempts he will have come off badly. If further intelligence arrives before this letter leaves it shall be enclosed.

Major Avendaño replies to the accusation that he disobeyed your orders (*i.e.*, in refusing to take charge of the men of his regiment on the galleass "Zuñiga"), that he received no instructions from you. Please advise me. He shall not be sentenced until I hear from you. —San Lorenzo, 12th May 1589.

14 May. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

534. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have news from England, dated 23rd ultimo, from the confidant left there by Antonio de Vega. He confirms his previous information that Drake was in Plymouth, short of victuals and money.

I have also advices from a person who left London on the 1st instant (N.S.), that on that date there was no intelligence there of Drake's fleet having sailed. The earl of Essex, who is now a great favourite of the Queen, had fled from the Court; some people say in consequence of his mother, who is the widow of the earl of Leicester, having married one of her servants, and others because of a quarrel with Raleigh, the Queen's late favourite. The Queen was greatly grieved at the loss of Essex, and it was said that she had ordered the fleet not to sail, in order to prevent her favourite from going in it.* This is considered by some to be a stratagem arranged between the Queen and Essex in order to give an excuse for detaining the fleet until the result of the duke of Mayenne's arrival at Tours is seen.

I have no further confirmation of the news I sent your Majesty from Rouen, that a person had arrived there who had seen the fleet sail from Plymouth. This makes me doubt the truth of the information. I will send special advice through Lyons as soon as I learn anything certain.—Paris, 14th May 1589.

15 May. (N.S.) Paris Archives, K. 1570.

535. ADVICES from LONDON.

Since last report of 29th ultimo, I learn that Drake and the fleet sailed from Plymouth on Friday, 28th ultimo. There are about 200 sail, large and small, with 16,000 soldiers at least, and 6,000 sailors; but the fleet is only victualled for a very short time, for they write that even in Plymouth the ships were short of food and money, and the Queen had to provide 30,000*l.* for the purpose of supplying them. If they do not get some victuals in Spain or

* The Earl fled to Plymouth, and went on board the "Swiftsure," which ship at once left port and put to sea; both Drake and Norris (they said) being ignorant of the Earl's whereabouts.

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Portugal, they will not be able to stay out long. There is no news yet of their having arrived there (in Spain), though it is being anxiously looked for here. If the wind has served them they will have run for Santander, in order to burn the ships; and as it was known before the fleet left Plymouth that the Portuguese design had been discovered, it is probable that they will change that part of the plan, and go to the Azores to attempt to take them, and to intercept the Indian flotillas, which is the real object of the expedition.

Some envoys from the States of Holland are expected here, but it is considered certain that the Queen will give them no men, and very little money. As soon as they arrive Lord Buckhurst is already appointed to go over and put the States in the best order he can, to prevent the people from surrendering, as the submissions already made have caused much sorrow here.

The Queen is now in London, but will start in a week to pass the summer in a house 10 miles from here called "Nonsuch." Every day prizes are brought in by the armed privateers, and recently the despatch caravel from New Spain, with much cochineal and money, they say to the value of 150,000 crowns, two sugar ships, and a ship from St. Lucar to Puerto Rico, with the new governor, were brought in; the crews, however, being sent to Spain according to the conditions.

18 May (N.S.)

536. ADVICES from DAVID (from Plymouth).

Paris Archives, K. 1569. Portuguese.

When I arrived at Plymouth I found certain Portuguese who had come from Barbary ready to embark. As they were going on board I pretended to be ill, and let them proceed on their way, whilst I stayed behind. During the short time I had to speak to them I learnt that the Moor had not given a real nor an ounce of powder to help the personage (Don Antonio). He said he would give nothing until he learnt from his ambassador that the personage had authority from the Queen to go to Portugal. As soon as that message came he would provide powder, money, and men. They tell me that the son of the personage was well treated, but that no confidence was placed in the Moor's promises. On the 13th there arrived here from London Baltasar Gonsalvez, who had gone as pilot to Barbary, and he confirms this. He says that the Moor would not even give enough to pay for the voyage of the two ships that went to Barbary.

For these Portuguese to come from London hither Duarte Perrin (Edward Perrin) had to pawn some clothes, and Perrin will certainly retire from London in order to avoid arrest for payment of the passage money.

I know for certain that there are not victuals on the fleet for more than two months, and that not more than 400 soldiers came from Flanders, and very poor fellows too.

The ships promised by the States had not arrived, and if they (the English) had not fallen in with 70 flyboats off Dover, on their way to Brouage for cargoes of salt, they could not have embarked all their men. Not more than 200 horses are going altogether. They are expecting intelligence hourly, and everyone is in great

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doubt, in consequence of the shortness of the provisions. Forty pataches are now being made ready in London and here (Plymouth) to carry further stores. They will be ready during May, and if good news comes they will sail. I feigned illness, and so escaped going (with the fleet). I shall only await the arrival here of the first news, and shall then go to London, where, so long as God favours me, I will advise your Lordship of everything needful.

Cumberland and Cavendish are making ready to go on the voyages I have already mentioned. Four ships are being fitted out here also for the Moluccas. They are all expected to be ready to sail in June.—Plymouth, 18th May 1589.

21 May. **537.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

Having consideration for the qualities possessed by Richard Burley, an English gentleman—an exile from his country for the Catholic cause—who has served me on my fleet with an allowance of 20 crowns a month, and in order that he may continue to serve me more efficiently in France, as you may direct, I have decided to increase his allowance to 30 crowns a month, which you will pay him punctually until further orders from me.—San Lorenzo, 21st May 1589.

21 May. **538.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

The Englishman, Richard Burley, has proposed to me that he will obtain, and bring from England to Spain, artillery, powder, balls, ships, sailors, and pilots—Catholics—and other things we need. He also offers to report what occurs in England, through you. We have therefore considered it advisable to send him to you, that you may consider what he has to say, and arrange to take advantage of his proposals. With regard to the merchants who will bring the goods, you will promise that they shall be absolutely secure for the payment for them; and when the seamen and pilots are to come you will assist them on their way hither, and encourage them in the hope that they shall be well rewarded for their services. You will thus, and in every other way possible, do your best to turn to good account the proposals of Richard Burley, and employ him as you think most desirable for my service.—San Lorenzo, 21st May 1589.

Note.—In the King's hand:—"I do not think I have been told "about this. It would be very good, but it will be needful to be sure "they are all Catholics, and trustworthy, and that the affair is not "a trap. Write to Don Bernardino to look well at their hands, and "to take care not to be tricked." A letter was accordingly written and enclosed with the above, containing the substance of the King's note, and ending with the following passage:—"Robert Persons "says that it would be a good thing to let Burley be accompanied "by Thomas Fitzherbert, who is resident in France, and whose "whereabouts you will know. Although Persons is satisfied with "Burley to deal with Englishmen, he considers the other man "(Fitzherbert) to be more experienced and able to negotiate with "the French, as he speaks the language, etc."

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Burley had been one of the unattached salaried officers on the Armada. I consider probable that Thomas Fitzherbert was the new intermediary between Mendoza and Sir Edward Stafford, after the death of Charles Arundell. M. Forneron, who, perhaps, has not followed the correspondence quite so closely as I have been obliged to do, fails to identify "Julio" as Stafford, and canvasses the possibility of Gratley, Burley, or some other person being the man. Although Mendoza purposely introduces mystification in his references to "Julio" and the "new confidant" I have no doubt whatever that they both stood for Stafford, and I believe that the intermediary after Charles Arundel may have been Thomas Fitzherbert.

22 May. Paris Archives, K. 1570. **539.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

I have a letter from Tours in which the writer says that on the 16th he dined with one of Don Antonio's Portuguese, who had come from Rochelle with two other men, to complain to the prince of Bearn of the captains of five Flemish hulks, which had been bound to Spain with passports from the duke of Parma, and had been captured by the English, taken into Plymouth, 600 Englishmen put on board, and forced to sail with Drake's fleet. The shipmasters, in order not to risk their cargoes, had separated from the fleet, and had entered Rochelle; and this Portuguese had come to ask Bearn to punish them for deserting.* He said with the wind they had there was no doubt Drake's ships would be in Portugal by the 10th. The two Rochelle men who came with the Portuguese affirmed in his absence that what he said was quite true with regard to the five Flemish ships in Rochelle, with the 600 men on board, for they had seen them. They did not say what day they had sailed from Plymouth, but it must have been the 30th of April, as I had been informed from Rouen. This is quite consistent with Chateauneuf's statement. He left London on the 2nd May, and says that it was then uncertain whether the fleet had sailed or not. It takes four days to get news from Plymouth to London. The fact of their having embarked English troops on these hulks seems to prove that they were short of victuals, and wanted to feed the men on the stores carried in the hulks.—Paris, 22nd May 1589.

22 May. Paris Archives, K. 1570. **540.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

I have given to the archbishop of Glasgow your Majesty's gracious message, and he is very grateful that your Majesty should recollect him in his great need.

As your Majesty considers it desirable that the position of Scots ambassador should be filled by a person entirely devoted to your Majesty's interest, and desires that the Archbishop should continue ambassador, he will do so.—Paris, 22nd May 1589.

24 May. Paris Archives, K. 1449. **541.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The letters you advise have not been received. Triplicate your despatches in future. It is of such importance that we should have

* No less than 25 of the Flemish boats, with 3,000 men on board, deserted from the expedition as soon as they got out of the Channel.

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constant news that you are not to limit your correspondence to ordinary carriers, but send letters by different routes, so that some will be sure to arrive.

The English fleet came to Corunna on the 4th instant, landed troops, and laid siege to the place. Those within defended themselves stoutly, and all our Galicia men were arming to relieve the city. You will see by this how important it is that you should advise me as to whether any preparations are being made by the English to revictual their fleet. You will be the better able to learn this now as the ports are doubtless open again since the fleet sailed. We have no news of the galleass, and in view of the weather we fear she may have had to put back again to Havre de Grâce, or some other French port. In this case she will have been well received and provided—by your efforts—until the weather allowed her to sail in safety.—San Lorenzo, 1589.

26 May. Estado, 839.

542. DUCHESS of SAVOY (the Infanta Catharine) to the KING.

Strongly recommends to the King's attention Prior John Arnold, an Englishman who goes to Spain on matters of importance.—Turin, 26th May 1589.

543. The CARTHUSIAN PRIOR, JOHN ARNOLD, to the KING.

Although it was necessary in the interests of our order that the Chapter General held this year in France should send someone to crave the aid of your Majesty, I myself should not have come but for a business of great importance in your Majesty's service. The bishop of Cassano in Calabria, desirous of serving your Majesty to the utmost in your attempt to recover the lost kingdoms of England and Scotland, sent about two years ago, at his own cost, to Scotland a Scotsman, the bishop of Dunblane, a monk of the Carthusian Order, to gain over the King or some of the nobles to aid the Spanish Armada. By the persuasions of the Bishop and of other Catholics, and through fear of the Armada, the King was for a time induced to consent, if his life were spared and a proper maintenance secured to him, to deliver himself into your Majesty's hands and admit the Armada into his realm. On the evil fate of the Armada being known, his Chancellor, who is maintained by English tyranny, and is a pestilent heretic most fatal to his country, dissuaded him, and induced him rather to ally himself with the murderess of his sainted mother. Notwithstanding this, the Bishop sends me to your Majesty in his name, to say that if you wish to have the King in your power he will deliver him to you, although against the King's own will and that of all his people. But, in order to bring this about, the first thing to do is to kill the Chancellor, who is so bound up with the Englishwoman (Elizabeth) and is so powerful in Scotland. The Bishop promises to have this done (although he is a priest) as he has his Holiness' authority for it.

The Bishop also promises to hand over to your Majesty the three strongest and best fortresses in Scotland, near the English border and on the sea shore, the most distant from Berwick not being more than three leagues. They may be fortified in such a way by 300 labourers in a few hours, that, with a garrison of 300

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soldiers, they will be impregnable. These matters will not cost your Majesty more than six or seven thousand ducats, and by any other means than the Bishop the same end could not be attained with a million. One of these fortresses is held by one of the noblest of the Scottish Barons, a brother of the Bishop himself, and the other two are held by near relatives. This Bishop is of very high lineage, very learned and pious, so that your Majesty may rely upon him implicitly. He was originally bishop of Dunblane in Scotland, but fled from his diocese and country for the faith, when his Holiness made him bishop of Vaison in France. But the good father, tired of bishoprics, relinquished his new see to a nephew of his, took the habit of our order, and now lives in the Grand Chartreuse. In making these offers of service to your Majesty, he asks for nothing for himself, but only desires to bring our country to the Catholic faith again. He is sick to death of the follies of the world. But his brother the Baron, and his other noble relatives, expect when their promises are fulfilled to be liberally rewarded by your Majesty. In the meantime they only ask your Majesty to forward and promote your bishop of Cassano (who first sent the bishop of Dunblane to Scotland), and that you will not rest content until they have made him a Cardinal, in which position he will be the more powerful to serve your Majesty. There is no man in or out of England of English birth so worthy, learned, virtuous, and dexterous in managing matters of importance, as he is. Since he was exiled for his faith 28 years ago he has always been employed in the ruling of dioceses and provinces. If your Majesty will raise him to that dignity you will lose nothing, and gain much, because the revenues of his see will maintain him, and he will have much greater power to forward your Majesty's interests.

If your Majesty decides to accept the offer it will be necessary for you to write to his Holiness, asking him to send orders to the bishop of Dunblane and his nephew, the bishop of Vaison in France, to follow in all things the instructions of your Majesty, as without this order they are not allowed to leave their present residences. It will then be necessary to send the bishop of Dunblane to live in Flanders, giving him enough to live upon there until the promises made are fulfilled, and he should be given six or seven thousand ducats to carry the matter through. The bishop of Dunblane himself with his said nephew must be the instruments to effect the business, and if necessary I too will accompany them to Scotland to bear witness to the nobles of your Majesty's promises. The Carthusians were the first in England to shed their blood in the struggle against the monster heresy, and now again offer themselves, their lives, and labour, to put an end to the monster. These are the matters of importance which have been entrusted to me by the duke of Savoy, his wife, the bishop of Dunblane, and the very reverend General of our Order. If they commend themselves to your Majesty I shall be filled with joy; if not, I shall sorely grieve at my laborious journey hither, even if I carry away with me ten thousand ducats.

Note.—Another letter from the same to the same accompanies the above, but it refers exclusively to the affairs of the Carthusian

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Order. With it also is a letter from Philip's confessor, Fray Francisco, to the King to the following effect.

"As this matter requires consideration, and some difficulties may offer themselves, as indeed they have occurred to me, this good English friar says that he will give a full account of all he can recollect, but as he has forgotten some things we can both of us write to the Carthusian bishop the difficulties which occur to us; in order that he may explain them, and I may give an account to your Majesty. In the meanwhile your Majesty might give us permission to settle his other matters, as he wishes to get away soon in order to avoid bad weather at sea."

31 May. **544.** ADVICES from DAVID (from Plymouth).

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

A patache arrived here from Drake on the 24th instant, bringing news that the English fleet had arrived at Corunna five days after sailing from this coast. They had encountered great resistance, but had overcome the Spaniards and had killed many. The ships that were in port had been captured, and the galleon "St. Miño" had been burnt, as well as three leagues of country inland; great quantities of provisions had been sacked, and many arms captured. Not more than 500 Englishmen had been killed or wounded, but three of the principal officers and some gentlemen had fallen.

The army was at Corunna for 14 days, and on the same day that the patache left the fleet again set sail, the rumour being that it was going thence to Santander to burn the Spanish fleet there.

The report also states that the earl of Essex had not yet* arrived and that 26 flyboats full of men were missing, and no idea existed as to whither they can have gone.

On the 26th we learnt that six boats full of men were at Rochelle, and two of the flyboats had already arrived here.

On the 28th three flyboats arrived in these ports, one loaded with horses and two with men, but these are said to have been driven from Corunna in a storm. God knows what is true! Yesterday, the 30th, there arrived here a Galician three-masted schooner loaded with wine, which had been captured by the English and left Corunna eight days ago, She brings news that the English fleet had already gone to Bayona.

The store ships left here five or six days ago. There were 20 of them, besides those which they say were to go from London.

They say that there is no order for the Armada to return yet, so I intend to go to London, and there, with the favour of God, to do my duty.

Captain Morgan came in the patache to take the news to the Queen, and posted to London at once. He is expected back again here hourly.—Plymouth, 31st May 1589.

6 June. **545.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

Is trying to despatch the galleass "Zuñiga" (from Havre de Grâce) as soon as possible, but as she had to be careened to see what

* The 19th May (N.S.). The Earl joined the expedition after it sailed from Corunna.

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damage she had sustained, she cannot leave these spring tides. The Governor has made a bastion for defence at the entrance of the harbour, which has had the effect of silting up the Channel, and it will have to be cleared before the galleass can leave. She will take advantage of the high tides about the end of the month. By that time the sailors and powder will have arrived from Dunkirk. The companies have now been made up to 130 soldiers; and these, together with the men who are flying from Flanders, will enable them to undertake the voyage. Begs for money to be sent.—Paris, 6th June 1589.

6 June. **546.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

I have no fresh news from England since mine of the 15th ultimo, except that the Queen's Ministers announce that their plans in Portugal have been discovered, which is probably an artifice to lend further authority to the small strength of their fleet.

The earl of Cumberland is busy fitting out his ships for Moluccas. Reports from Dieppe of the 24th say that ships that have arrived in that port from Spain bring the news that the English fleet had retired from Corunna with some damage; and that on the date mentioned an English ship had arrived (at Dieppe) saying that a patache sent by Drake to carry the news to the Queen had arrived, and reported that the greater part of the English fleet had been broken up and burnt by your Majesty's galleys. In consequence of their having spread this news the master and sailors of the patache had been sent to prison by the Queen, which makes many people here believe it to be true.*—Paris, 6th June 1589.

21 June. **547.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

[EXTRACT.]

My latest news from England is dated 24th ultimo, saying that Captain Forbes of the Scots Guard, who left Tours for Scotland, had obtained the king of Scotland's permission to raise troops, but that the queen of England had not provided the money for the purpose; and it was therefore believed that the troops would not come so quickly. The news in England was that their fleet had suffered much damage.—Paris, 21st June 1589.

Note.—In a letter from Mendoza to Idiaquez, dated 17th June, the loss of the English force before Corunna is reported to be 2,500 men.

21 June. **548.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

[EXTRACT.]

The King and Bearn are very friendly, but they have no forces to help the queen of England in the invasion of Spain. This King wishes the English troops in the fleet (in Portugal) should come hither and help him, and Stafford went to England about this. The Queen would not consent.

I will proceed with Richard Burley as your Majesty commands. He must have good connections there (in England), as he offers to export things which even in time of peace are not allowed to be sent out. Thomas Fitzherbert, respecting whom Father Persons reported to your Majesty, left for Spain viâ Italy, some time ago; his intention

* The news was, of course, entirely unfounded.

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being to beg some favour of your Majesty, in consideration of the good correspondence he had maintained here with me.

Prays to be instructed as to what arrangement he is to make on his departure for the payment of their pensions to Gilbert Curle and the apothecary Gorion.—Paris, 21st June 1589.

21 June. **549.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

My eyes no better.* As this King has declared me to be his enemy, I hope soon to be able to salute you personally, and make use of the remedies for my eyes. The marquis of Cerralbo has borne himself (*i.e.*, against the English in Corunna) as befitted a soldier of the duke of Alba, and I hope the English will all return with broken heads as they deserve. If his Majesty does not resent this King's nonsense as it merits, and keeps me here as his ambassador after what has happened, we shall all have our tails between our legs. I do not speak for myself, for I am blind, but others in a like position will feel the effect and will be unable to show a firm front under similar circumstances. But I will not leave here until I have got my servant back, if I have to sell my shirt to do it.†—Paris, 21st June 1589.

* Mendoza had been operated upon for cataract some years before, but had become worse as time went on. For many months before this letter he had been ill with worry and anxiety, owing to his invidious position as representative of the Catholic King to Henry III., who was in arms against the League. In his private letters to Idiaquez his comp'aints were constant. He was, he said, in hourly danger of assassination, insulted by the King and his Huguenot courtiers, without money for pressing needs, and so blind that he can only just see objects dimly as through a dark glass.

† Mendoza had followed the King for some time, staying at Blois, St. Dié, and other places, but in January, 1589, he conceived the idea that Henry III. intended to have him assassinated. He therefore left St. Dié to be near the King's person at Blois, and to ask that a fitting lodging should be appointed for him there. The King appointed for the purpose the Castle of Arnault, two leagues off, which Mendoza says is far away and isolated; and he refused to go thither, begging for a lodging at Blois, about which some difficulty was raised, which confirmed Mendoza's suspicions that evil was intended to him. He then feigned a necessity to go to Havre, to see about the galleass, but he was formally forbidden to leave Court by Henry III. He then went (21st January) to a village near Blois called the Chaussée de St. Victor. "I am," he said to the King, "here serving you as best I can, but wherever I am there is sure to be a "storm and I am running under close reefed sails fore and aft"; to which Philip appends a note, asking what he means. Shortly afterwards he fled to Paris, and Henry III. said that in future he must regard him as an enemy. Mendoza was as haughty as the King, and refused to make any advances towards a reconciliation, although he was urged to do so by Philip and Idiaquez. In June Mendoza's favourite old servant, Hans Oberholtzer, with despatches, was captured by the French King's forces whilst on his way to Spain, as it was asserted that Mendoza had forfeited his privileges as an ambassador. The servant was captured only two posts from Paris by count de la Rochefoucauld, and was claimed by Bearn as a prisoner of war. Mendoza wrote to Henry threatening him with the vengeance of his master; whom he urged to imprison Longlée and Forget, the French envoys in Spain. But Henry was as determined as Mendoza and the latter had, with a bad grace, to give an apologetic explanation of his conduct before Oberholtzer was released; although then the French King said it was only to please Philip and not his ambassador. Mendoza's position in June had become really so impossible as Spanish representative near Henry III. that Philip suggested that another envoy should be sent for that purpose, whilst Mendoza remained in Paris. But Mendoza was fractious and angry, and said that the moment such an envoy entered France he would retire, come what might. It was therefore arranged in July that the duke of Medina Celi should go to the King, ostensibly to condole for the recent death of his mother, and Mendoza might then retire without loss of dignity. But on the 2nd August Henry was assassinated, and Mendoza was obliged to stay on, writing all the autumn violent, angry letters to Idiaquez, chafing at the delay. Then came the siege of Paris, and he could not get away. During the siege the old soldier's spirit came back. Blind and ill as he was, he was the mainstay of the defence of the beleaguered capital, exhorting the soldiers, visiting the outposts, feeding the famished, and giving advice to the defenders.

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8 July. **550.** DON ANTONIO to JUAN LUIS (Esteban Ferreira da Gama).

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

My dear friend—I expected to have written you this letter from Lisbon, and hoped to have summoned you thither to receive the honours and thanks your labours in my service deserve. I would have shown the world that I am no ungrateful Prince. But our Lord has ordained otherwise, and I have been forced to return to this country, after arriving at the gates of Lisbon; and that without fighting the enemy. But I was obliged to retire; and withal I give thanks to our Lord for all things, and trust in Him soon to be able to return in such guise that the past will be remedied.* At Alvelade I was lodged in your country house, where I found your wife, Donna Maria, although I was previously unaware that she was there, as I had been told at Torres Vedras that she was in hiding. When the sickness of my soldiers made it impossible for us to enter Lisbon, and we had to retire, it would have been dangerous for her to return to her house, so I decided that she had better embark with us. The ship in which she sailed preceded ours, and entered a port nearer London than this; although I do not yet know which, as I only arrived here three or four days ago. When we parted company your wife was quite well, and was accompanied by your son, Francisco Ferreira. I thought well to write to you, in order that you might know what had happened, and so enable you to write to your wife, saying what you think had better be done. If you write, send your letters through Dr. Ruy Lopez, the Portuguese who is in my service and that of the Queen.* I should not advise you to come hither, as the state of our affairs is very uncertain; but wherever you are you will be welcome, and your company will aid me to bear my troubles. I hope to hear from you very soon.—Astonas (Stonehouse?), 8th July 1589.

8 July. **557.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

[EXTRACT.]

The galleass ("Zuñiga") was ready to leave, she missed last spring tides. Two little Biscay galliots have taken shelter in Havre de Grâce with 60,000 crowns belonging to Augustin Spinola, which money they were carrying to Flanders. Twenty-three English ships gave chase to them in St. John's Roads, and they were obliged to run into Havre de Grâce to escape them. I have aided them all I can as your Majesty orders, but I fear it will be impossible for them to reach Flanders with the money.—Paris, 8th July 1589.

8 July. **552.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

I enclose advices from England, and only have to add thereto that news comes from Rochelle that nine Flemish ships have entered that port, having separated from the English fleet at Corunna in a storm, they say. A number of English soldiers come in them, and they are loaded with wine and corn they had taken in Corunna. The English soldiers were asked to land and go and serve the king of France, but very few of them did so.

* The King emphatically calls attention to these passages.

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While I was writing the above I have received reports from David, dated 16th ultimo (N.S.), saying that on the 10th the 20 fly-boats loaded with victuals for the English fleet had sailed from Plymouth, and that he had written by them to his cousin not to fail to go to the Archduke if necessary, and inform him of anything he heard. David had feigned illness, and so had avoided himself going in the ships.

Sir Harry Cavendish and the earl of Cumberland were expected in Plymouth with the 20 ships they had fitted out, 10 to go to China and 10 to the Moluccas. They were expected to leave during August.

People were very sad in Plymouth, as no news of the fleet had come for 20 days.

I have advices from London, dated 26th ultimo, saying that the Queen had ordered by proclamation that news from the fleet should not be discussed.

I have letters dated 8th ultimo, from a Spanish captain called Legorreta* in Scotland, who informs me that he and another captain are there with their standards. With them and others who escaped from the wrecks in Ireland, there are, he says, 800 Spaniards, and he has given notice of this to the duke of Parma, who had sent a Scottish gentleman to the King to thank him for the kind treatment he had extended to these Spaniards. But the Duke had not given them any orders to embark nor had he sent them any help.

They inform me also that after the earl of Huntly had been released from prison, he had raised his people and had joined Lord Claude Hamilton, the earl of Bothwell, and Lord Gray. The King had gone to meet them, with the Chancellor and others, but with a much smaller force than Huntly's. The latter had, however, surrendered to the King without defence, and he and the rest of them had all been captured. This had caused the breaking up of the Catholic party and Morton's life was now in danger.

The queen of England had three great armed ships of her own in the Strait of Scotland, in order to reconnoitre all ships that went in or out.—Paris, 8th July 1589.

14 July. **553.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

Marco Antonio Messia, who arrived here recently with a letter from you, proposed the terms upon which the English are desirous of exchanging Colonel Don Alonso de Luzon, Don Rodrigo Lasso de la Vega, Don Luis de Cordoba, and Don Gonzalo de Cordoba, for M. de Teligny, and at the same time relieving his father, M. de la Noue, from the oath he has sworn not to take up arms against me. With this object in view the English have delivered the prisoners to Horatio Pallavicini, who it is understood is engaged to be married to la Noue's daughter. As it is better for us to surrender M. de Teligny than to have so many men of rank prisoners, I have consented to the exchange if they also include Don Diego

* Esteban de Legorreta had commanded 103 men of Nicholas Isla's regiment on the Armada. He went from Scotland to Flanders, where he distinguished himself in the wars of the League.

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de Pimentel, Don Juan de Velasco, Don Pedro de Valdés, and Juan de Guzman, if no others can be got from them. Attempts must also be made to obtain their release on the surrender of Teligny, without relieving la Noue from his oath. On the contrary, the opportunity should be utilised to oblige him to confirm it. In order that the affair may be conducted to a successful issue, I write to the duke of Parma in the terms you will see by the enclosed copy, he having Teligny in his possession; and in accordance with the decision he arrives at you will instruct Marco Antonio Messia. The latter is now going back to you with a letter from me, to the effect that he is to follow your orders. Do your best through him, or otherwise, for the release of the prisoners mentioned, and any others that can be obtained.—San Lorenzo, 14th July 1589.

21 July. Paris Archives, K. 1569. Portuguese.

554. STATEMENT given by DAVID of EVENTS in ENGLAND up to the 21st July, on which day he left Plymouth.

On the 29th June the earl of Cumberland sailed from Plymouth with one of the Queen's ships of 700 tons, two small craft of 60 each, a caravel of 40, and two shallops. He takes 600 soldiers and sailors, and goes straight to St. Domingo, the pilot being a Portuguese, who told me this in Plymouth. I reported it at the time, but in consequence of the disturbed state of France my letters have not arrived. I also reported that Chidley was at Plymouth with seven ships, ready to sail for the south, only awaiting a wind; and I sent word that on the 4th or 5th of July the earl of Essex and his brother arrived at Plymouth with seven ships, whilst the brother of Robert Sidney had arrived at Dartmouth with two or three others. He is very ill. The news they brought was that the fleet was dispersed, and was going to the Indies to try to capture territory.

I sent advice likewise, that on the 10th July Don Antonio and Drake had arrived at Plymouth with 20 or 30 ships, and ships kept coming into port up to the 13th, when the remainder of them arrived with the son of Don Antonio and General Norris. Amongst the whole 100 ships or so that entered there were not 2,000 men, soldiers or sailors, in good health. Besides these many put into various other English ports, the number of ships missing being about 30 sail, English and Flemish, which they say have sailed for the islands (Azores), as when the fleet left Cascaes that was its destination. Up to the time I left Plymouth these ships had not arrived. They confess to have lost only two ships, which the Adelantado of Castile burnt with his galleys near Lisbon.

I advised also that it was looked upon as certain, Diego Botello having said as much, that the loss of soldiers and sailors of the fleet exceeds 18,000 men, amongst whom are 900 gentlemen and officers, the best in England.

I said that Don Antonio and his people had arrived in Plymouth in a wretched state, and that the Portuguese were now more unpopular in England than the Spaniards themselves. The English hold Don Antonio now in no respect whatever, and the only name they can find for him and his people is "dog." They openly insult Don Antonio to his face without being punished.

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I related that as soon as the earl of Essex arrived he sent his brother post haste to the Queen, to ask her pardon for the fault he had committed in going with the expedition without her permission. The Earl awaited the reply 15 miles from Plymouth until after the arrival of Don Antonio, and when he left he did not visit or write to him.

I gave also an account of about 30 men who had come back with Don Antonio, whose names I did not know. . . . . In the same ship came the wife of Esteban Ferreira da Gama, who is at Lyons in France.

[A long list of the Portuguese adherents of Don Antonio, who remained at Peniche in Portugal, here follows.]

Don Antonio sent from Cascaes to Barbary an Englishman, whom he took with him as his secretary, he having been formerly secretary to Walsingham. In his company went the Moor, who had gone to England as the Sheriff's ambassador, to say that the Sheriff would send aid. I heard in England that Don Antonio had sent them to tell the Moor of his failure, and to ask him not to send to the coast of Portugal, but to forward to England the money he had promised to lend on the security of his (Don Antonio's) son. I heard, however, from Duarte Perin (Edward Perrin), who had been sent to Barbary to fetch the money, that the Moor would never give a real.

At the time I left Don Antonio was lodging in a village near Plymouth, called Astonas (Stonehouse?) very miserable and ill-treated. When I took leave of him he told me that the next day he was going to a town called Exeter, where he expected a message from the Queen which would decide him as to his future course of action. Both he and Diego Botello hope that the good report which will be given to the Queen by the earl of Essex and the Secretary General of the Army, who have gone to Court, taking letters from Don Antonio and the Generals, may cause the Queen to give him help to return again to Portugal shortly. They will say that no resistance whatever was offered to Don Antonio from the people, who were all in his favour, but that the expedition failed for want of siege artillery. From what I hear, however, on all hands, I am assured that nothing in the form of a fleet will sail this year from England; at most a few corsairs will go out for plunder.

Don Antonio signified to me that if he was not well received by the Queen he would leave the country for France or Hamburg, in order to proceed to Constantinople or Barbary. For this purpose he has a caravel, which he brought from Peniche. She is a very swift vessel, and when I left they were putting stores on board of her, sufficient for 40 persons for four months. She has 30 harquebusses, with muskets, lances, and ammunition, and carries 12 Portuguese sailors and two pilots. He is taking this caravel with him to Exeter, if the sailors allow him to do so; but before I came away they (*i.e.*, the English sailors) tried three times to take her by force. It was understood that this was done by secret order of Drake, because he learnt that Don Antonio had come back dissatisfied, and that if the Queen's answer were not favourable he meant to retire from the country, which he could not do unless he

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had this caravel. As soon as Don Antonio arrived I heard that this was his design, and I at once sent the news by three separate routes, in order that the passages to Hamburg, Dantzig, and France might be watched, but my letters have all miscarried, owing to the disturbed state of France.

Alvaro de Paiva came from Constantinople to Plymouth to see Don Antonio, and the latter having gone to Portugal he followed him to Cascaes, and has now returned to England with him. He tells me that the Jews of Turkey offered Don Antonio 500 (*sic*) crowns, and he expected that Don Antonio would go to Constantinople, because, with that and the aid the Grand Turk would give him, he might go and gain the East Indies. If he got the Indies he could draw so much money and goods, both from the Portuguese and the native Kings, that he could make war against all the world. He (Paiva) had brought two passports from the Grand Turk. All this makes me believe that Don Antonio is thinking of making the move; besides which he told me when I took leave of him that when I returned to England I was to enter London secretly, and if I found he was not there I was to leave also secretly, so that no one might know that I had been there, and go and seek him at Constantinople.

A few days before I left the ships sent to Guinea by the Exeter merchants returned. They had taken Francisco da Costa thither as ambassador, and came loaded with hides. They have made so profitable a voyage that three or four more ships will go thither in September.

(A list of nine Spaniards, Italians, &c., whom the writer had contrived to rescue from prison in England—they having been brought as prisoners of war in Drake's fleet—and had shipped them from a rough beach half a league from Plymouth. He had escaped with them, and had brought them to the Brittany coast. He had there obtained passports for them, and had helped them with money for their journey to the extent of his means. His only motive was the service of God and his Majesty.)

I have found a trustworthy man to remain in England, and give punctual account of all that passes to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and have promised that he shall be provided with money. Nothing is done in Don Antonio's house without his knowledge.

Don Antonio sent me to France with letters for the King, the king of Navarre and Antonio de Escobar, and when I was leaving, Don Antonio told me that the redress of his troubles depended upon me; praying me urgently to make the voyage speedily, dangerous though it was in the present disturbed state of France. My instructions were to come straight to Escobar, and for us both to go immediately to Court to negotiate for what Don Antonio requested of the two Kings. At Lantriguerre, near the town of St. Malo, Brittany, I met a certain Richard Burley, who had come from the court of Castile. He had been in the town for 15 days, having been robbed; the dangers of the road being so great that even the townspeople dared not venture outside. I heard from him that he bore letters of importance from his Majesty to Don Bernardino de Mendoza. I brought him with me, providing him with money for

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the road; but before we arrived at Havre de Grâce, we were arrested and robbed four times, and only by devices and inventions of mine were we able to save ourselves from the power of our enemies. I also saved, secreted on my own person, both Burley's papers and my own. We arrived at Rouen, and thence proceeded on our way together in the disguise of countrymen, to the great risk of our lives, as we had to pass near the camp of the king of Navarre, and through many woods infested with robbers. But we made light of our dangers and tribulations, as we knew they were undergone in the service of his Majesty, and in the execution of our duty; and eventually the papers were safely delivered to Don Bernardino de Mendoza.

I also carried a letter from Don Antonio for Esteban Ferreira da Gama at Lyons, who has assumed the name of Juan Luis. This I opened by order of Escobar, and gave a copy thereof to Don Bernardino. It states that he (Don Antonio) has decided to leave England.

By order of Don Bernardino I gave the letter I brought for Escobar to the latter, who told me that Don Antonio's intention was to leave England. I gave to Don Bernardino the two letters from Don Antonio for the kings of France and Navarre, and he considered it best that I should deliver them to Escobar, in order that I might be able to return to England, and fulfil my duties there in the service of his Majesty. Escobar decided that I should go alone to seek the two Kings, and deliver the letters, as he could not leave Paris, and I could then return to England with the answer.

I am now setting out, and I hope by God's help that I, personally and through my friends, shall be able to do all that may be necessary in his Majesty's service, speedily and effectually.

27 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

555. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The copy of the letter enclosed (*i.e.*, from Don Antonio) was given to me by Sampson, as I advised David, who first placed it into my hands, to deliver it to Escobar; because, as it was written in cipher, I told him it would be easier for him, David, to learn the contents from Escobar, and then communicate them to me, than for us to decipher the letter. He did as directed, and so David avoided arousing the suspicion of the agent, who will now write to Don Antonio in a way which will banish suspicion of David.*

I have given the latter 250 crowns for his past voyages and present requirements, as well as to enable him to return to the side of Don Antonio, as under the present circumstances no one could report so effectually as to his movements as David. This will especially be the case if he (Don Antonio) leaves England, as he probably will, there being no person who can serve him as an interpreter so well as David. He is certainly extremely zealous in

* This is a good instance of the extraordinary duplicity of Philip's diplomacy. Escobar and Andrada were both trusted agents of Don Antonio in close communication, and yet neither of them suspected that the other was a Spanish spy.

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your Majesty's service, as witness the dangers he has incurred in his journeys backwards and forwards. His present voyage will have to be effected on foot in the garb of a poor man. He well deserves some favour from your Majesty when he retires. I have told him that if Bearn is far from Rouen he is not to go in search of him, but to proceed on his way, as the most important thing is that he should be near Don Antonio. I have given him full instructions as to how he is to behave, and have written to Don Guillen de San Clemente,* advising him to write to Hamburg and Dantzig for a good watch to be kept for Portuguese there; as Don Antonio may very probably make the voyage thither. I also ask him to let me know who are his (San Clemente's) agents in those ports, in order that I may tell David, and he may point out Don Antonio to them, if he goes. God did not spare David's nephew to go to the Archduke, for he died on the voyage. They tell me that Don Antonio was never ill, but Diego Botello very nearly died.

I am keeping Sampson here, because, although he cannot go to England, he will be very useful in France if Don Antonio decides to join Bearn, which David assures me he is most desirous of doing. If I lost Sampson, it would not be possible to find another man so appropriate; besides which, if anything else should be required to be done here for your Majesty's service, he has the ability and experience to arrange it.—Paris, 27th August 1589.

August. Paris Archives, K. 1569. Portuguese.

556. DON ANTONIO, Prior of Ocrato, to ANTONIO DE ESCOBAR (giving an account of the abortive attempt of the English to restore him to the Throne of Portugal).

The end of it is, in short, that we have returned to this port of Plymouth, which is a just recompense for my sins. I recollect very often what you told me about an astrologer who said that a great victory was in store for Philip, and I confess it has grievously troubled me ever since. This fleet sailed from here to Corunna, whither the Queen and Council had ordered it to go direct,† and even if such orders had not been given, we were so short of provisions in consequence of the haste with which we set out, for fear that the Admiral and his colleagues would abandon the expedition, that we could not have arrived in Lisbon direct. We landed at Corunna and attempted to capture it, in which we were unsuccessful. This not only embarrassed us, but caused the loss of men, and, above all, brought upon us maladies which completed our ruin.

We left there and disembarked at Peniche, where the strong wines of the country increased the sickness of the men; and when we arrived before Lisbon there were not enough men fit to attack a boat, and our host was far more fit to die than to fight. We were short of powder and firematch, and we had no battery artillery. Sir Francis Drake's fleet remained at Cascaes, and refrained from

* The Spanish ambassador in Germany.

† The attack on the town of Corunna was against the Queen's orders, and the delay greatly angered her. See her letters in Calendar of State Papers. Domestic, on the subject. Don Antonio's second reason for the stay at Corunna, was the correct one.

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entering the river, I believe at the express command of the Queen,* for otherwise I am sure Sir Francis would not have failed to do so; for he is full of valour and determined to place me in Lisbon, as also was General Norris, who displayed very great bravery in the expedition, as well as much generosity and assiduity, but the want of so many things could not be overcome; so that after we were full of hope, and masters of the gates of Santa Catalina and San Roque, we had to go to Cascaes, and there embarked with the intention of going to the islands. But the weather was so contrary, and the health so bad, that we were obliged to return to this port; and that is what has happened. I learn that you have had no letters from me since you left London. I sent you a packet of letters, leaving the address in the hands of Dr. Lopez, to hand to Stafford's wife, or to the secretary, but the Doctor says he came across Manuel Andrada,† who was going to Nantes; he gave the packet to him, on his promise to seek you and deliver the packet into your own hands. Andrada now says that they captured him, and took the letter from him in a certain place. This may be true, but I confess I doubt it. I am very sorry you did not get the letter, which instructed you to see the King (of France) and give him an account of my journey. You will now visit the King in my name, and tell him of my return, with such details as may be necessary. Express my hope also that God will soon let him prevail over his enemies, both at home and abroad, and say that I hope I may be the instrument for doing so; for I see clearly from what quarter all his troubles arise.‡ Come if you can, as I have much to say which I cannot write. I shall stay here until I have a message from the Queen. I am in such a state of mind that I cannot talk, and hardly know what I am saying; but this I can assure you, that 4,000 Englishmen are equal to 8,000 Spaniards, and whenever I can embark with them again I shall gladly do so,‡ especially if Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake be amongst them, for, by my faith! they are gallant gentlemen. Perhaps Manuel Andrada will take this letter, although he is indisposed, but I know of no other person who can pass it so well.

Offer the King my personal service, in all sincerity, and at very small cost to him; as, when the men have been dismissed here, I could go with five companies. These particulars, however, are for yourself. To the King you will simply make the offer with all heartiness. You will, however, proceed in such a way as to leave me free in any case, so that if these people (the English) treat me well, I may stick on my rock, if I see it will be best to do so.

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* This was not the case. Drake warned Norris and Don Antonio that, if they persisted in marching overland from Peniche to Lisbon, it would be quite impossible for the fleet to go up the river and face the forts and the galleys there, with hardly any soldiers on board, or gunners to serve his ordnance. If Drake's tactics had been adopted the expedition would probably have been successful. Don Antonio himself was mostly to blame, for over-rating the boldness of his adherents on shore.

† Manuel Andrada, under the name of David, was a spy in Spanish pay, as, indeed, were Escobar and Lopez. The letters in question, dated 15th March, were intercepted by the Spaniards, by Andrada's connivance, and the decipher of them is in the same packet as the above (K. 1569).

‡ The King calls special attention to these passages.

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If you do not come, write me full particulars of affairs in France, and of the King especially. I forgot to say our leaving here with so much flourishing of trumpets, and the fact that Philip knew long before that a great fleet was preparing, together with our going to Corunna, were the cause of our ruin, and that of Portugal.

The power of the king of Castile is now so small there that although he has in Lisbon 3,000 or 4,000 men, yet he could not send out more than nine galleys with 1,200 men when we left Cascaes on our voyage home. So that if we had gone direct to Lisbon, and sickness had not scourged us as it did, we should have succeeded.

They beheaded Don Ruy Diaz (de Lobo) the day I arrived at Lisbon, and captured Count Redondo and many others, who I doubt not by this time are dead. There was a commencement of a movement in my favour all over the kingdom, and there are many details which I wish the world to know, but which cannot be put into writing. Come to me and you shall learn all. I can assure you that if I had to-day 6,000 men of my own choosing, and 500 horse, I would joyously embark again if it depended upon me. That it did not depend upon me before launched me upon my perdition.

The king of Navarre is said to be with the King. I send you a letter of credence for him; visit him in my name, and say I hope by his help to be restored to my own. Give him the above confused account of the expedition.

(Signed) THE KING.

The bearer says he was robbed of a packet from me for you. Note well the account he gives of it to you, and we will see whether it agrees with what he tells me. I expect he opened it.

Note.—In the same packet as the above there is a list of all the Portuguese gentlemen of rank who accompanied Don Antonio in his unfortunate expedition.

27 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

557. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ. [EXTRACT.]

Richard Burley has not specified what means he has for bringing away from England what he proposes, but looking at the present state of things there I cannot help thinking it will be very difficult. I can assure his Majesty that from no place can sailors be obtained so plentifully, cheaply, and speedily as on the Brittany coast under the present circumstances of France. The fact of that province being in favour of the League will ensure the men being faithful to his Majesty. The same may be said of victuals and iron artillery, because the Bretons will be more handy in getting them away from England, and all can be sent from Brittany to Biscay or Corunna with the utmost facility.—Paris, 27th August 1589.

Note.—In a letter to the King of same date as above Mendoza mentions the arrival in Paris of Richard Burley in a pitiable condition, as he had been maltreated on the road and robbed in Brittany. Mendoza had provided him with money, but had been unable yet to discuss with him the business he had in hand as Burley was still too exhausted to do anything.

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558. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

As I advised your Majesty, Richard Burley duly arrived, and I have listened to his proposal, and the means he possesses for bringing from England what is set forth in your Majesty's dispatch of 21st May, which he delivered to me. Even if the ports of the League were not closed against English trade I think Burley's proposal would be difficult of execution, as I have pointed out in previous letters, because his only means seems to be to utilise the boats that carry priests and others of his friends across. A pilot or a few known sailors might, it is true, be brought across in this way, but certainly not more. He says I must fix a wage to be paid to the pilots and sailors here, and that it will be necessary to maintain them when they arrive at the ports, and provide ships to carry them to Spain, whereas your Majesty only orders me to succour them, and guarantee to the merchants that they will be paid for their goods as agreed. I pray your Majesty to instruct me on the point.

So far as regards any considerable number of sailors, and such victuals as biscuit, fish, salt meat, and cheese, I have written to Don Martin de Idiaquez, saying that from no place could such things be obtained so cheaply and easily as from Brittany. If your Majesty will send me credits for the purpose, I can make the contracts here, on condition that the provisions are to be placed in good condition in any port your Majesty wishes. With regard to the sailors, things in France being in their present state, we shall be able to depend upon Bretons.

A person has arrived here from London, which place he left on the 15th ultimo. He reports that the men who arrived in Drake's ships are so plague-stricken that very few will survive.

The Queen has ordered Stafford, her former ambassador here, to make ready to come to France, but in consequence of the death of the King (Henry III.) he was detained.* It is understood that he was bringing some money and a quantity of powder. The English say they have lost almost 18,000 men from their fleet.

The Englishmen who had gone from Rochelle to join Bearn were in Dieppe, on their way back to England, almost naked. They will take back with them such an account of the war as will not make other Englishmen greedy of seeking it.—Paris, 4th September 1589.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

559. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

Sebastian Zamet,† who is a confidant of Épernon, tells me that the latter has sent a person specially to inform him that he is willing, for a consideration, to surrender to your Majesty Metz, Marscoult, and

* There is in the same packet as the above letter (K. 1569) a detailed account of the murder of the King, sent by Mendoza to Philip. It is not reproduced in this Calendar as it has no relation to English affairs.

† Zamet was a Florentine banker in Paris, one of the confidants and intermediaries frequently employed by Catherine de Medici. To judge by the many curious letters written to him by Antonio Perez in his exile, he must have been remarkable for the luxury and profusion of his table.

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Boulogne, placing under your Majesty's protection also the rest of the places he holds. I asked him (Zamet) what form Épernon wished the surrender to assume. He replied that he had not entered into particulars, until he learned my views on the matter. Before the King died the delivery of Boulogne had been discussèd, and it was then suggested that it should be handed over to a treasurer of his for 40,000 crowns. Épernon has, he says, spent 35,000 crowns on it, and if your Majesty will pay him from 40,000 to 50,000, he will surrender the place to your Majesty. As the port is near the Netherlands and so very important for English affairs, since ships might be sent to Boulogne, and troops embarked so speedily that the Englishwoman would be unable to prevent them from landing in her island, I have thought well to lose no time in advising your Majesty of this proposal, in order that instructions may be sent to me.

The duke of Parma wrote to me on the 26th June, that Montelimart would speak to me on the subject of Boulogne, which it was of the utmost importance should be brought to devotion to your Majesty. Montelimart has not arrived, and the duke of Parma has not said anything more about the matter to me; but I am informed that it was under discussion for him to send a number of troops from Flanders, ostensibly in the name of the League, to capture Boulogne, the design being to occupy that port as a point of attack against England. This would cost very little less than the 50,000 crowns asked for by Épernon, without counting the loss of men, and the suspicion that a forcible capture would arouse in the queen of England. This suspicion, moreover, might cause her to keep armed ships there to prevent the collection of vessels at Boulogne; whereas if we bought the place, Italians from the Netherlands might be put into it under the guise of Zamet having taken it on his own account (such talk as this being quite common in France). The Englishwoman would therefore not be alarmed until the main body of ships had entered the port. This affair could be easily managed from here, the ships being victualled and armed in Brittany and Normandy.

To this may be added that if your Majesty had Boulogne, Calais would be squeezed between it and the Netherlands, and M. de Gourdan would be unable to refuse you the use of his port to attack England, unless he threw himself into the arms of the English, which he would hardly do. With the two ports at your Majesty's command, the enterprise could be effected very rapidly even in winter, and at a very much smaller cost than the fitting out of a fresh Armada in Spain next summer or autumn. If your Majesty bought the place, moreover, it would prevent its falling into the hands of the English, who, by the help of Bearn, might get a footing there, and overrun Flanders; thus making it necessary for your Majesty to reinforce your frontiers, which would be costly and troublesome, seeing the trouble that Ostend and Berghen give to Flanders and Brabant. I begged Zamet not to speak of the matter to a living soul. He urged me also to keep it secret, and to send instantly to your Majesty about it, in order that he might advise Épernon, and so avoid his negotiating to sell the place to the

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queen of England, into whose hands, I doubt not, it will fall if your Majesty does not take it. I have not said anything about it to the duke of Parma, nor will I mention it to Jacobo,* who, however, assures me that he would be glad to see the place fall into the hands of your Majesty.—Paris, 4th September 1589.

7 Sept. **560.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

Expresses sorrow for the death of Henry III. "God forgive him "and so conduct the affairs of France as may be best for His "service." In consequence of the confusion now existing, Mendoza is to remain at his post.

We are in great want of reports from England with regard to their designs, and the plots and plans they are hatching. The damaged state in which their fleet returned, and the particulars of their voyage, we learned by means of some ships we sent out for the purpose. Endeavour to obtain frequent and trustworthy advices of all that occurs there, and forward them to us with the speed the case demands. It is to be expected that they and Bearn together are plotting plenty of evil to the cause of religion. It is important that we should know everything, especially about armaments.—San Lorenzo, 7th September 1589.

7 Sept. **561.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA (respecting the statement of two Spaniards who have escaped from England).

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

Two Spaniards who have fled from England relate that they left there in company with Manuel de Andrada, a Portuguese, who told them when they arrived in France that he was the bearer of two letters, one for the king of France and the other for the prince of Bearn. They also understood from him that copies of these two letters would ultimately reach your (Mendoza's) hands, and that Antonio de Goda, a Portuguese who commands a castle and islet at the mouth of Plymouth Harbour, might possibly wish to do some service by surrendering to me what he holds in his charge, if arrangements were made with him. As Manuel de Andrada's intention was to go and see you, you will have already learnt what there is in this, and if you find that anything be done in the matter, which would be most advantageous if it could be managed, you will doubtless have taken the necessary steps. In any case I have thought well to let you know. Report to me.

18 Sept. **562.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

The soldiers who came to London from the fleet to ask for their pay, finding they could obtain no satisfaction, attempted to raise a tumult in the town, which they tried to burn and sack. This forced the Queen to come from Richmond to Greenwich, and she issued stringent orders for the arrest of the soldiers. Four of them were captured and hanged. One of them, as he was about to be hanged,

* Jacobo was the cipher name of the duke of Mayenne, the commander of the forces of the League.

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said to the people that the gallows was the pay they gave them for going to the wars. The Queen had sent to the prince of Bearn 2,000 cannon balls, 1,000 culverin balls, and 70,000 lbs. of powder.

On the 17th, Beauboys Lanoy, the prince of Bearn's ambassador, and M. de Buzenval, who was there on the affairs of the late king of France, dined with the Lord Treasurer, and it is said that they settled there the undertaking the Queen has signed to pay 300,000 crowns to the German reiters to be raised for the prince of Bearn next spring.

Drake is in Plymouth, but there are no preparations for the sailing of a fleet.

2 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

563. ADVICES from LONDON.

The English will raise 20,000 men to succour the prince of Bearn.

Don Antonio is at Plymouth and Drake at home, neither of them daring to stir for fear of the soldiers and sailors from their fleet, of whom, however, there are but few left.

The daughter of the king of Denmark has arrived in Scotland to conclude her marriage with the King.

Some English ships have arrived in London from Muscovy. They report that the Muscovite has forcibly taken two towns belonging to the king of Sweden, one called Riga and the other Revel. The massacre was very great, and the king of Sweden and his son the king of Poland have declared war against the Muscovite.

Horatio Pallavicini was ready to go to Germany to see after the raising of the reiters, but when he heard of the death of the king of France he abandoned his voyage.

The Queen has lent Bearn 70,000 crowns.

The Queen has had a "justification," printed against the Easterlings, setting forth her reasons for capturing the ships that were going to Spain with victuals. The book is in Latin.

10 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1569.

564. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

I will obey your Majesty's orders and stay here since it is in your Majesty's service; although in so doing I consume my life and what little is left to me of the most precious thing in life, my sight, for I can just distinguish light from darkness. Tobias, saintly though he was, replied to the angel's salutation "Gaudium tibi sit "semper; Qual gaudium mihi erit, qui in tenebris sedeo et lumen "celi non video"?*—Paris, 10th October 1589.

* Since his quarrel and separation from Henry III., in January 1589, Mendoza had ceaselessly urged the King and Idiaquez to allow him to retire. He was ill as well as blind, and determined not to be drawn into personal communication with anyone who was not strongly on the side of the League. He appears, moreover, to have been on not very cordial terms with Philip's military representative attached to the army of the League, Commander Moreo.

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10 Oct. **565.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

David said nothing to me about the subject of your Majesty's despatch of the 8th (ultimo), nor did he mention it in the memorial. The Antonio de Goda of whom the Spanish soldiers spoke, I knew well when I was in England. He is the son of a Portuguese and an Englishwoman, born in England, and consequently an Anglicised Portuguese. He is married and established in England, and is not rich, for his only means of living was to undertake commissions for merchants, and the recovery of plundered merchandise; indeed when I was there he had not standing or credit enough to be trusted with a sparrow's nest. I cannot think that he can have risen since then to an extent that would warrant his being placed in a position of importance or in one of the principal fortresses; especially just now, when the English are so jealous of the defence of Plymouth. He may be able to arrange for the escape of a few prisoners, or to give some information, as he is always mixed up with the pirates. This may cause those whose escape he managed to think that he was a person of importance. I will write to England and ascertain what position he occupies, but I can only obtain very infrequent news from there, because no letters come now to Normandy, and those that go to Calais do not reach Paris, except by an extraordinary chance. In all the towns, and even villages, now they have taken to capturing and burning all letters that do not come open. All letters, therefore, to be safe must come through Flanders.

Since writing the above I have received advices from London of 26th ultimo, saying that the Queen had ordered the troops in Plymouth to come to London. They assert that there are 6,000 men, but really they do not reach 4,000. It is not known whether the intention is to send them to the Netherlands, or to reinforce Bearn, which is more likely, as five of the Queen's great ships have left the Thames and sailed down the Channel; which looks as if they were to take the troops to Dieppe.

The princess of Denmark has arrived in Scotland to marry the King.—Paris, 10th October 1589.

30 Oct. **566.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

I wrote on the 14th July that Marco Antonio Messia, who had come from England to treat for the release, by exchange, of the Spanish prisoners there, had been instructed to return to you for instructions in the matter. It appears that just as he was about to set out on his journey he died in Madrid. In order that the release of the prisoners should not be delayed I am sending Juan Baptista Gudiel, whom you will probably know, as he came hither in company with Messia about the same affair. You will instruct him as you were requested to do the other man, and you will use every effort through him to have the prisoners set at liberty, as they are suffering captivity in my service.—San Lorenzo, 30th October 1589.

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6 Nov. **567.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449. [EXTRACT.]

I note what had passed between you and Zamet with regard to the delivery to me, by Épernon, of the towns of Boulogne and others for a consideration. The course you adopted is approved of, and if the proposal be made honestly, and with the intention of carrying it into effect on reasonable terms, it is one that should be accepted. But you have, on several occasions, reported Épernon's attitude towards me to be unfavourable, and it may be concluded that he would not willingly place in my hands positions which might injure the interest of the prince of Bearn, whose friend he has hitherto been. We hear from other quarters also, that he has already carried to an advanced stage negotiations with the duke of Lorraine, to deliver Metz to him; this being one of the places he offers to me. Before, therefore, sending you any resolution on the point, I wish you to pledge those who make the offer, without in any way engaging yourself, and to get at the bottom of the business, so that we may know what we may expect in it. Communicate also with J. B. Tassis and Moreo, both of whom will be in France; and when the affair has been well discussed between you, and we know what has been said in Flanders about Boulogne, you will be in a better position to know what foundation the offer has. Report all to me, and I will then decide.

You will also inquire very carefully about the provisions and sailors you say can be obtained on the coast of Brittany, as to quantity, quality, and the manner in which they can be provided. When you have furnished me with full particulars, I shall be better able to send you clear instructions. I await your letters on the subject.

With regard to the Scottish pilot, as the winter is so far advanced, I do not think he would be of any use here; but if you are sure he is so efficient as you say, you may tell him that if in the spring any opportunity should present itself of employing him he shall not be lost sight of. In the meanwhile let him see whether he can find other good, experienced pilots, Scotsmen like himself, so that if they be required as many may come as are wanted. They will be more useful coming together at an opportune time, than if a single one came in the winter, when he could do no service.—El Pardo, 6th November 1589.

26 Nov. **568.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569. The latest news I have from England is dated the 8th instant, from London, announcing that a patache, which had been sent to reconnoitre on the Spanish coast, had returned to Plymouth; and the Queen had thereupon ordered troops to be collected in those parts and some ships to be put into commission.

Bearn had again sent to ask the Queen for aid, and many members of the Council of the city of London had urged that the Queen should send him the French Huguenots who had taken refuge in England, instead of divesting the country of her own troops, which she would

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require, especially as it had been seen that the soldiers she did send to Bearn had to be sent off by force.

I have had no news of David since he embarked at Havre de Grâce, and I have no doubt that his letters have been lost. It is only by a miracle that even those that reach Calais ever arrive here. This prevents me from sending regular reports from England. —Paris, 26th November 1589.

15 Dec. **569.** ADVICES from ROUEN.

Paris Archives, K. 1569. French.

A merchant had arrived there from Scotland who reports that the King had, in the presence of his Parliament, set at liberty Lord Claude Hamilton and the earl of Morton; both of whom the merchant had seen several times in Edinburgh since their liberation. Their release had been arranged by the Chancellor.

The other gentlemen under arrest had also been set at liberty, but were at present confined to their own houses.

The King had appointed five nobles to govern in his absence, namely, Lord Hamilton, as President of the Council, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Bothwell, and Lord Boyd, but the merchant did not recollect who the fifth was to be, though he knew it was not Huntly.

When the King left he made a speech to the nobility, and another to the burgesses of Edinburgh, in favour of the maintenance of the realm during his absence. He expected to return within 20 days, and was accompanied by seven ships and all of his most intimate friends, especially the Chancellor, the Lord Justice-clerk, Sir William Keith, Glenclouden, and 300 other gentlemen, none of whom, however, are of mark.

Before the Parliament met, a gentleman arrived in a little ship from Norway, to say that the vessel in which the Queen had taken passage made so much water that it was impossible to get her ready so soon as was hoped, and that consequently the Queen would be obliged to stay in Norway during the winter, hoping to come to Scotland in the spring, accompanied by her mother; since, in consequence of the intense cold in those parts, travelling by sea was impossible after the frost set in.

The merchant had heard at Calais that the king of Scotland had arrived in Norway safely, and he and the two Queens had decided to winter in Denmark.

20 Dec. **570.** ADVICES from ROUEN.

Paris Archives, K. 1569. Italian.

We have news here that the English fleet, which left some months since for the coast of Portugal under the earl of Cumberland, has captured in those parts three ships of the flotilla from New Spain, and has sunk one of 400 tons, from which only two men were saved, both of whom were made prisoners by the English and carried with the three prizes to England, They report that in a great storm, continuing five days, 11 of the ships from the Indies of New Spain were lost at sea, with all their crews and cargoes. This was a dreadful loss. They say that the three captured ships

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contained 600 cases of cochineal, many hides, and other merchandise. This news is looked upon as true, as it comes from many quarters. When these ships first arrived the price of cochineal fell in the London market to 6*s.* per pound, but shortly afterwards the competition of buyers sent it up to 7*s.* 6*d.* per pound. Some advices say that there were five ships captured and taken to England, but I learn that persons who write direct from there say three, which are more than enough, considering the loss suffered by the poor people to whom they and the cargoes belong. They say that the greater part belongs to merchants resident in the Indies, and therefore probably the Seville merchants trading with them will suffer.

22 Dec. **571.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

My news from England is dated 6th instant, reporting that they are raising soldiers, and making out lists of all the Queen's troops in every province. It was thought that the men being raised were for reinforcing the English regiments that are with Bearn, because most of the Scottish and English troops who were at Dieppe and Pont de l'Arche had returned to England to avoid suffering further want and starvation. Two English ships that had gone to Dieppe with powder, etc., had done the same, and returned without discharging. The Queen was sending Lord Grey to Ireland with some troops in addition to the ordinary garrisons, and has ordered Sir William (Fitzwilliam), who was the Viceroy, to retire.

They have granted to Don Rodrigo Lasso de la Vega liberty for two months to go to Flanders to negotiate with the duke of Parma for his release, and that of Don Alonso de Luzon and other gentlemen from Cordoba, who were in the possession of Horatio Pallavicini. They wish to exchange them for M. de Teligny, the son of La Noue. The queen of England gives out that the going of the king of Scotland to Denmark was against her opinion, and that she is much annoyed at the release of Morton and the other Catholics before the King's departure.

I hear nothing whatever from David, which increases the suspicion I mentioned in my last. I can gain no intelligence whatever of Don Antonio, although I make great efforts to do so.—Paris, 22nd December 1589.

22 Dec. **572.** ADVICES from DUNKIRK.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

A ship has arrived at Plymouth, captured on her way from the Indies. They say she contains 400 arrobas of cochineal and a quantity of hides. Three other ships of the said flotilla are said to have been sunk by the English.

The queen of England is building six galleons of 600 tons each, and has ordered 4,000 men to be raised for Ireland. These men are very unwilling to go, and by the payment of 5*l.* sterling, equal to 200 (250 ?) reals, exemption could be obtained. Those who desert are hanged. No ships are being prepared to sail.

There is no news of the earl of Cumberland, nor of four out of his six ships, although it is asserted that it was he who made the prize

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above-mentioned, and he has been prevented from arriving by a storm. The prize has no officer of rank on board, nor any other ship with her, only the men who were put on board to guard her.

23 Dec. **573.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

The earl of Cumberland's ships have arrived on this coast with a large number of prizes they have captured. They have 20 ships from Brazil, two from the Indies, one of them from Mexico with 250 arrobas of cochineal, and a quantity of hides, indigo, silver, and gold, the value of which they estimate at 100,000 crowns.

Many letters of marque, authorising them to plunder, are being granted. They are signed by the Lord Admiral and Beauboys Lanoy, the prince of Bearn's ambassador to the Queen, and all prizes are considered good except those from Frenchmen who acknowledge Bearn as King, Scotsmen, Hollanders, Zeelanders, Swedes, Danes, and Venetians.

Musters of troops are taking place in England, and ships are being fitted out in consequence of the news from Spain that a great Armada is being prepared. They are awaiting it here with as stout a heart as they did the one that came before.

31 Dec. **574.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1569.

Since my letter of 22nd about England, I have received advices from Dunkirk of same date, saying that Don Rodrigo Lasso, Don Garcia Manrique, Don Beltran del Salto, and the Auditor, Rodrigo Ponce, had arrived at Nieuport from England. They relate that as they were going through a street in London they noticed in a shop that a dress was being made very handsomely, trimmed with gold. They asked for whom it was intended, and were told that it was for a Spanish captain named Lupercio Latras, who had come from Spain and was then about London. They have now met this man in Calais in wretched garb, going with a request to Commander Moreo.* I have signified this to Moreo, although he was already informed of it, and he tells me that Lupercio Latras was the chief of a band of robbers in Aragon. I do not know whether he has fled from Spain, but the fact of their having so soon got rid of him from England seems to prove that they suspected he might have been sent there. I have thought well to inform your Majesty of this. The advices received by Richard Burley from England are also enclosed. He tells me that, if he finds the passage from England to France free, 14 English pilots will come over from there with Pedro de Zubiaur, who had gone thither from Dunkirk about the ransom of the prisoners. If they are prevented from coming over on that occasion they will find an opportunity of getting across to Havre de Grâce or Holland.—Paris, 31st December 1589.

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12 Jan. **575.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

[EXTRACT.]

Secretary Curle and his sister have recently been dangerously ill. This fact, together with the arrival here of the Legate, had led me to

* Commander Moreo was Philip's military agent with the League.

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consider whether it would not be desirable that Curle and his sister, the apothecary Gorion, and the archbishop of Glasgow, should make a formal deposition before the Legate of what they know respecting the renunciation made by their mistress in your Majesty's favour. Affairs in France are now in such a position that there need be no hesitation about publishing it, and it would be inconvenient if any of these people died without making a declaration. I submit this to your Majesty for your decision.

The archbishop of Glasgow immediately ceased his functions as ambassador when he learnt that the king of Scotland had married a heretic. He, however, still continues to watch your Majesty's interests in every possible way; and this makes me humbly beg that your Majesty will be pleased to remember him and grant him some favour.—Paris, 12th January 1590.

31 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1572. **576.** DIEGO MALDONADO to PHILIP II.

Reports with regard to the capabilities of the coast of Brittany for the fitting out of a Spanish fleet. There are only three ports that can admit ships in safety, and where mariners can be found, as the Governor cannot force them to take service. The provisions are plentiful and good, and the beef well salted with Brouage salt, and put into wooden tierces, such as they make in Brittany, will keep good for a year. The ships are small, weak, and unarmed—quite unfit for fighting. The sailors are Catholics, it is true, but ill conditioned and not to be trusted. They should always be outnumbered in every ship by sailors of other nationalities.—Nantes, 31st January 1590.

Note.—The above report refers to the offer of the duke de Mercœur to Philip II., to place the coast of Brittany at his disposal for the purpose of fitting out a second Armada against England. In subsequent letters, Maldonado points out that the three principal ports, namely, Brest, St. Malo, and Blavet, are against the League; and states that Mercœur intends to attack them. Shortly afterwards Blavet was taken by him, in co-operation with Lansac, who captured some English and Rochellais ships which were carrying reinforcements to the place, and then attacked it by sea, whilst Mercœur advanced against it by land. The port was handed over to the Spaniards, who held it until the signature of the peace of Vervins. Blavet is now called Port Louis.

12 Feb. Estado, 839. **577.** "DOCUMENT endorsed Papers respecting Thomas Morgan. Charges against him which show him to have been a vile spy, who, after gaining the goodwill of the poor queen of Scotland, betrayed her to the English Queen."

Summary of the charges against Thomas Morgan, both on his own spontaneous confession and on the evidence of various ecclesiastical and lay witnesses. Done in Brussels, 12th February 1590:—

1. He confesses that he is of English nationality, born in Wales of honourable and Catholic parents, and 47 years of age. From his youth he has lived by his pen, and at 18 years of

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age became servant to the bishop of Exeter and was for three years his notary of the Archdeaconry. He was then taken by the archbishop of York, whose confidential secretary he remained until the Archbishop died.

2. He confesses during these two years to have been the greatest of heretics and Calvinists and persecutors of the Catholic Church. Although he was a Catholic at heart, he conformed like the rest of them to the heretic services.

3. Having no estate of his own, his said masters endowed him with church prebends worth 4,000 crowns. With regard to this point his confessions vary greatly, for at other times he puts the value at 10,000*l.*, and sometimes as low as 800 crowns.

4. After the death of the Archbishop he took service with the earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of the queen of Scots. He took the opportunity of captivating the benevolence of the Queen by the information he gave her secretly, and other kindly services.

5. He says that before entering the Earl's service he communicated his design to the earls of Pembroke and Northumberland, and to Sir William Shelley, who he knew were great friends of the queen of Scots, and they—especially Pembroke—encouraged him to take service with Shrewsbury, which would open a road for promotion to him, by means of the services he might render to the captive Queen in planning her liberation.

To this clause a marginal note is attached saying that many witnesses are confident that Morgan entered the service with the secret connivance of the earl of Leicester, in order to betray the queen of Scots and her friends. This was proved by all her adherents having been put to death, many of whom had only communicated with Morgan.

6. He served the queen of Scots by informing her of the measures taken at Court against her, and also when her house and papers were to be searched. He himself used to take charge of her most important papers on such occasions. He also used to forward her correspondence both for England and abroad, through the French ambassadors.

7. After three years the services he was rendering to the Queen were discovered, and he was arrested and placed in the Tower of London. They raised a great outcry that he was in league with foreign Catholic Princes against the State, but in 10 months they let him out on 10,000*l.* bail, that he would not leave the country for a year, and would not meddle with the affairs of the queen of Scots.

To the aforegoing clause the following marginal note is attached. This release and the ease with which he left the country, the greed and ambition which led him to mix in such great matters, and the finding of a large number of cyphers in his possession, by means of which he corresponded with people great and small all over Christendom, afford strong suspicion that he was a spy. Some English

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Catholics in Paris, seeing him in communication with servants of the English ambassador, and of Walsingham, told him he was a spy, but he passed it over without taking offence.

8. He confesses that it is the invariable rule in England that no prisoner for high treason escapes with his life, unless he be absolved and swears to do some signal service. But he, Morgan, was not saved in this way, but because he gave a good account of himself, and enjoyed the favour of Councillor Wilson, whom he says he won over to the side of the queen of Scots, although he does not say how.

He says they did let him out of the Tower without passing sentence in writing, after he had been a prisoner on so grave a charge, touching the safety of the realm and the Queen. After that, he says he remained 18 months in the country and spent 700 crowns, the proceeds of property he sold.

9. He then went to France secretly, whither the queen of Scots sent him warm letters of recommendation to the duke of Guise and the bishop of Glasgow, asking them to employ him in her service. He was there occupied on her affairs with a salary of 30 crowns a month; and was so entirely in her confidence that she used no other cypher for her correspondence than that which he had sent her.

The following marginal note is attached to this clause. Many witnesses are persuaded that Morgan's sole object in this voyage was to discover for the queen of England the negotiations of the Pope, his Catholic Majesty, and other Christian Princes with the object of liberating the queen of Scots. He began by sowing discord between her and her advisers, and persuaded her that they, and Dr. Allen and the Jesuits, aimed at conquering England and Scotland for the king of Spain under her name, and so succeeded in getting her to forbid any of them to communicate with her, except through Morgan and Charles Paget. He also introduced division amongst the English Catholics; being amongst those who maintained that matters might be remedied without the employment of foreign forces, the chiefs of which party are the bishop of Cassano (Dr. Owen Lewis) in Rome and the bishop of Dunblane; and they, with Morgan, persecute Cardinal Allen and the Jesuits, and others who wish to reduce England by the forces of his Majesty.

10. He confesses that he was imprisoned by King Henry of France at the instance, he says, of the queen of England, for having conspired with others to kill her. He was in the Bastille for two years on this charge without once being interrogated, and was very well treated, with an allowance of two crowns a day for his expenses. He received what visitors he pleased. From this it may be inferred that this imprisonment also was feigned, the better to discover to the queen of England the plans against her and to enable her to undo all her enemies, till the sacrifice of the queen of Scots.

11. He confesses that when he was arrested he had in his lodging seven or eight thousand crowns, and many papers, of which none were lost. He says the money belonged to Lord Paget.

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Suspicion is increased by the fact that, having brought to France only 300 crowns, and his friends having sent him 500 since his departure from England, he confesses to have spent in various ways, apart from his maintenance, more than 2,500 crowns.

12. He confesses to have been very intimate with a priest named Gifford, now a prisoner in Paris for having written a book against the authority of the Pope and the good fame of his Catholic Majesty and the Spanish nation, with other heretical conclusions. Gifford in his confessions says he was assisted in the composition of the book by a priest named Gratley, a prisoner of the Inquisition in Rome, and by Thomas Morgan.* Gifford went to England with Morgan's knowledge, where he presented the book to Secretary Walsingham, who Morgan knew was paying Gifford.

13. He declares that he has been cognisant of several plots against England, and all of them have failed. The rest of the English Catholics think that it is he who has divulged them, as he has carried on an extensive correspondence through the French ambassadors there.

14. He says he came hither (*i.e.*, to Flanders) by order of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who sent him with other English pensioners to serve his Majesty here. Notwithstanding this, he confesses that since he came hither in 1588 he has not once spoken to his Highness (*i.e.*, the duke of Parma), or any other Ministers, nor has he given any information.

15. But still he confesses, and it is proved, that he has since then carried on great correspondence about public affairs of the highest importance, he says with the knowledge of the King (Philip); and 13 ciphers were found on him for this purpose. With respect to two of these he either does not know or will not say what they were for. He was also found to possess four separate seals.

16. He confesses that two of the ciphers were for the purpose of corresponding with a brother of his, a priest in England, and with another gentlemen, named Thomas Berne, living in London, and another was for writing to a certain Fernihurst in Scotland. Another was for correspondence with the steward of the princess of Bearn, and another for that with the duchess of Feria's secretary in Madrid. Another was for use with the governor of Montreuil in Picardy, and another for the bishop of Dunblane, a Carthusian, living in Dauphiné, who goes backwards and forwards to the Court of the duke of Savoy. He is a partisan of the bishop of Cassano against Cardinal Allen and the Jesuits.†

And although this Morgan has correspondence with all parts no drafts or replies have been found except some from Cardinal Mondovi, merely thanking him for the information he sends

* Gilbert Gifford's confession will be found in the Hatfield Papers, Part III., p. 346.

† There does not appear to have been any ground for the suspicions stated above with regard to the betrayal of Mary Stuart. The real reason for the prosecution will be found in Morgan's opposition to the Jesuit party.

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continually for his Holiness. He confesses to have torn up and burnt the rest of the letters he has received, and his own notes and drafts. It may, therefore, be inferred that they referred to great matters that he was afraid of others seeing.

There have only been found amongst his papers the last two letters from the bishop of Dunblane, and a note of his reply, although he confesses that frequent letters passed between them, and that their correspondence had continued for several years.

With this sheet there is enclosed a true translation of the contents of this draft reply, as well as a copy of the original in English, and of the cipher, all of which have been acknowledged by the confessant.

He confesses that as soon as he arrived in these parts, he went to the house of the postmaster of Antwerp, because he saw that the letters from England passed through his hands and that the couriers lived there. Although he might easily have learnt from one of his numerous countrymen here all he could want to know about forwarding letters, or have been satisfied with the answer given him at the postmaster's, namely, that if he wished to write to England his letters should be forwarded, this was not enough for him. He must needs worm himself into the confidence of the couriers, and pump them as to whether they carried despatches from the duke of Parma to England, and tried to discover who took them and when.

He confesses that he proposed to an influential Scottish gentleman to capture the king of Scots and take him to Rome, offering him the funds for the purpose, and urging him to write to the bishop of Cassano in Rome, explaining his plans for the purpose. It is evident that this, too, was one of the devices of the English Council, in order to divert his Holiness from supporting his Majesty in his undertaking for the conversion of the Kingdom. He frankly confesses that he would be sorry to see his country subjugated by foreigners, and especially Spaniards.

There are many other circumstances which need not be detailed here, which greatly confirm the strong suspicion that his imprisonments have been feigned, in order to increase his influence with the Catholics, and lull into confidence the poor queen of Scots. But no steps have been taken to submit the prisoner to rigorous examination, as he alleges that everything he did and said was with the knowledge and consent of the King (Philip), and it is deemed best that his Majesty should see this paper first and decide what is to be done.*

These clauses are truly copied from the official examination and information against Thomas Morgan, an Englishman, now a prisoner in the prison of the Provost-General of his Majesty's armies by me, the Auditor-General.

(Signed) DE SALINAS.

* Philip must have known well that Morgan's only offence was that of siding with the Pagets and others against a Spanish domination of England, and that he belonged to the party that desired to convert James VI. and make him king of Great Britain. The King was just and magnanimous enough to continue his pension to Morgan until the death of the latter.

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14 Feb. **578.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

Although, in accordance with your Majesty's orders, I make every effort to send prompt reports from England, I cannot succeed in doing so, as they are very strict about letters leaving the ports, and the danger of the roads on this side is great. This prevents the advices from arriving in time, although the men there in England do their best to send them. I am therefore obliged to depend mainly upon news from Flanders, as ships frequently come to Calais, and from there letters go safely (to Flanders). There are also regular posts from London to Antwerp, whence it is easy to send advices. I have news from London, of 8th ultimo, that Lord Willoughby, who commanded the troops sent from England to this country, had died of illness as soon as he landed at Caen.*

The king of Scotland was still in Denmark. I learn from letters of 23rd ultimo that three ships, with 900 Englishmen, were ready to sail from the West Country (of England) to Brittany. The Africans† were only awaiting a fair wind, and the St. Malo people suspected they were going to that town, as the castle there is held for the prince of Bearn. The townspeople had consequently barricaded themselves against him, and were preparing to oppose the English. If the latter occupy St. Malo they will do a great deal of damage, as the place is one of the most important in Brittany.

It is reported from Havre de Grâce that ships are being armed in England, which confirms the news I sent some time since.—Paris, 14th February 1590.

21 Feb. **579.** BENARDINO DE MENDOZA to the King.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

The only news from England I have to add to that sent in my last, is that five English vessels have arrived at Caen with powder, balls, and other munitions of war.

A Portuguese has arrived here, flying from England in consequence of his having been friendly with another Portuguese called Manuel de Andrada.‡ Don Antonio had secretly ordered the latter to have a Flemish ship fitted out to take him (Don Antonio) across to Dieppe, for the purpose of negotiating with M. de la Chatre for an armed vessel, in which he (Don Antonio) might go to the coast of Brazil; and if he was unable to do this, then to go in a Flemish ship to Hamburg and thence to Constantinople, with two or three men; his intention being only to take five with him to Dieppe.

Manuel de Andrada secretly arranged with the master of the ship, that after he had left England he should make for Gravelines or Dunkirk, upon which he promised to pay him 10,000 crowns.

* Peregrine Bertie, "the brave" Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, son of the widowed duchess of Suffolk and Richard Bertie, commanded the English forces sent to the aid of Henry IV. The news of his death was untrue.

† This expression has been underlined by the King. It is perhaps used as a term of opprobrium for the English.

‡ Manuel de Andrada was the spy David, and one of the principal contrivers of the Lopez plot to poison the Queen or Don Antonio.

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After the arrangement was completed it was discovered, in consequence of the capture of certain letters written by Manuel de Andrada to Calais; although they were written in blank with a certain water. Andrada was therefore arrested and this Portuguese who was a party to the agreement, concealed himself in London for some days and escaped. He says that Don Antonio is staying in London in the house of one Elena Figueira, a Portuguese woman. He is so poor that Dr. Lopez had to give him some money to buy a doublet and breeches of velvet, as those he was wearing were in holes. Diego Botello, Friar Diego Carlos, and Cipriano de Figueredo, were with him, but on very bad terms. He was living on what the Treasurer and Walsingham gave him.

David is in the place where I suspected he was.* He has let me know that if I will provide him with 400 crowns he hopes to get out of it. I have sent him credits for the amount, as I think it will be to your Majesty's interest not to abandon him in his danger and need, for his zeal to serve your Majesty deserves a higher reward than this.—Paris, 21st February 1590.

28 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1572. **580.** DIEGO MALDONADO to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

Five or six sailors have arrived at this place; those that remained after sending away the 20 odd from here on the 9th. They belong to the Indian ships captured by the English. I advised that 10 ships had been captured, but these men say 12, loaded with hides, cochineal, drugs, dyewoods, etc. Some of the men have travelled through a part of England, whither the ships were sent to discharge in the north country, and they confirm what has been reported by others, namely, that it would be extremely easy to effect a landing on the island, which the English themselves fear and admit. They (the English) say that if it be done it will be the ruin of England. Frenchmen assert that they have heard the same thing said by the English corsairs in Rochelle; and that they fear no other sort of vessels but galleys in an attack on England for the purpose of landing troops, because they can approach any part of the shore in a calm, whilst the English vessels would be unable to prevent them. I only report what I am told.

A Portuguese cook of Don Antonio arrived here on the 24th on his way to Tours; and he reports that it is confidently believed in England that a large fleet of 30,000 Spaniards is being prepared in this country. The Queen is therefore putting in order 18 of her

* *i.e.*, in prison. For many weeks Mendoza, in his letters to the King and Idiaquez, had mentioned with concern the absence of news from David; and expressed his fear, either that evil had befallen him or that he was playing false.

In a letter of the same date as the above from Mendoza to the King the following passage occurs:—"I do not dare to give your Majesty an account of a certain negotiation, "for fear of the cipher being discovered. If God should be pleased to allow it to be "effected it would be very advantageous for His service." This doubtless referred to the plot to poison Don Antonio. Vega's loose and boastful suggestions to this end never came to anything; but Andrada appears to have been a really able man. See his letters to Burleigh in Hatfield State Papers, Part IV., and the confessions of Lopez, Ferreira da Gama, and others in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.

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ships, with others belonging to corsairs, and making other necessary preparations, the earl of Essex being in command. They are fortifying the ports, and are in great alarm, saying that the second time the Spaniards will win. They are trying to be ready by April. Don Antonio has only seen the Queen twice since his return. He is very poor, old, and broken, and is living in lodgings taken by the month in the house of a Portuguese woman.—Nantes, 28th February 1590.

5 March. Paris Archives, K. 1571.

581. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I forgot to say in my former letters that they recently martyred in England two priests whom God had specially chosen for that fate. There had been six priests selected from the Seminary at Rheims, who were awaiting in a French port to cross over to England and labour in the Lord's vineyard. The sailors refused to take more than two, and as they all wanted to go, they decided to cast lots. The fortune fell to one young fellow and an older man. Off Dover they encountered a terrible storm, which drove the ship ashore, and they were rescued almost dead. The people on shore fell to pillage, and the priests were taken to the town to be sworn to acknowledge the Queen as head of the Church. They refused to take the oath, and confessed that they were priests. The Queen and Council were informed, and they ordered them to be hanged at once, which meant sending them to heaven, whilst the English took further steps towards hell.

(Gives an account of the fear and danger in which they are in Paris from hour to hour.)—Paris, 5th March 1590.

Note.—In a letter from Mendoza to the King of same date as the above, he mentions that he can get no direct news from England, the ports being more rigorously closed than ever. To this the King adds an autograph note, saying that they (the English) must have some very good reason for this, and that it will be well for the Spaniards to be on the alert.

5 March. Paris Archives, K. 1571. Portuguese.

582. WRITTEN and VERBAL STATEMENTS made to Don Bernardino de Mendoza by the Portuguese, Manuel de Andrada, who left London on the 5th March.

He was arrested in London in consequence of the capture of certain letters he had written to Don Bernardino, informing him that Don Antonio was on the point of leaving England in a Flemish ship which Manuel de Andrada had secretly freighted for him; his object being to go to Dieppe, and see the prince of Bearn, to endeavour to obtain from him 1,500 or 2,000 French soldiers, to join a similar number of Englishmen to be provided by Drake, and to go with him to capture Brazil, or any other Portuguese territory. This design was divulged by Cipriano de Figueredo to one Rodrigo Marcos, who had been left by Andrada secretly in his Majesty's service the last time he came away from England, he, Marcos, being a person of quality, who was in a position to learn by means of Cipriano de Figueredo everything that Don Antonio decided.

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Figueredo reported fully to him all that was discussed and settled in Don Antonio's council; and Marcos was therefore left by Andrada to fill his place when the latter was absent from England. When Don Antonio went from Plymouth to London Marcos followed him, in order to report anything that might happen, and on the arrival there of Andrada from France he learnt that Marcos had not yet written to Don Bernardino as he had had nothing to report; but that events of importance were then occurring of which information should be sent by both of them. Marcos and Andrada consequently wrote, giving Don Bernardino an account of Don Antonio's plans, but at the same time told his Lordship that he need feel no anxiety about it, as by God's favour we would put an end to this farce. With this end we had arranged that, as soon as we were out at sea, we should offer the master and seamen 15,000 or 20,000 crowns to run us into Dunkirk or Gravelines. This, however, was to be left solely in the hands of Andrada, as he had freighted the ship and the master was a Fleming.*

When the said letters were intercepted, and the design discovered, Don Antonio at once abandoned the voyage, and sent to recall his son who was at Dieppe. His intention had been, if the prince of Bearn refused him the aid he sought, to proceed in the same ship to Hamburg, and thence to go to Constantinople. The discovery of this plan by Marcos was therefore of the highest importance in his Majesty's interests, and he deserves to receive great rewards and honours for it. He is, moreover, ready to serve his Majesty loyally and faithfully in all things.

As soon as Marcos learnt that Andrada had been arrested, he concealed himself in the house of a servant of Don Antonio, where he remained hidden for some time. This servant had been gained over by Andrada to his Majesty's service, and is now in England, for the purpose of reporting all that happens in Don Antonio's house, and with regard to English armaments. In order to bring him to consent to do this, Andrada had to pledge his word that he would marry him to his (Andrada's) cousin, the sister of Antonio de Andrada who died in the service of his Majesty during the Portuguese expedition.

Andrada had also used his influence with a brother-in-law† of Dr. Lopez, the Queen's principal physician, and prevailed upon him by promises to consent to forward to Don Bernardino full reports of armaments in England, both by sea and land, and notice of all Don Antonio's movements and intentions; the person in question being in a position to be thoroughly well informed on these points. He being, moreover, offended at Don Antonio's having spoken ill of his father, said that if a person were sent to him in the way which has been explained by Andrada to Don Bernardino, he would kill Don Antonio if his Majesty desired. He did not approve of the

* Andrada spoke Flemish, which apparently his colleague did not. He also spoke, or at least wrote, English well.

† The brothers-in-law of Dr. Lopez are frequently mentioned in the 3rd volume of this Calendar. Their name appears to have been Anes, or some variant thereof; but their father is referred to as Gonzalo Jorge.

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arrangement suggested by Dr. Lopez, as will be explained further on. Although Andrada never, on his conscience, urged the person to do this thing, yet, seeing that, although the heretic Queen had been merciful to him, Don Antonio had tried by every means to have him killed, he, Andrada, in revenge for such cruelty, is now disposed to do everything against Don Antonio that his Majesty may wish—even to have him killed. Nothing will be done, however, without his Majesty's orders.

After Andrada had been liberated he made great efforts to convert Dr. Ruy Lopez, who is a person of great influence with the Queen and the Council. Some days after he had spoken to him, and when Andrada was about to leave, the doctor said that as he had saved Andada's life (which he certainly did, for if he had not interceded for him, nothing else could have rescued him) he would confide in him that he had already been approached by Don Bernardino for the purpose of putting the aforementioned person (Don Antonio) out of the way*; but he had refused, as he was distrustful. He had been the means, he said, of saving from the gallows over 300 Spaniards from Don Pedro's (de Valdes') ship, who had been sentenced to be hanged, and yet for all this he had never received any favour whatever from his Majesty. He said that God had ordained my imprisonment, and made him the instrument of my release, in order that he might be able implicitly to trust me; and since I displayed so much zeal in the service of his Majesty, I might tell Don Bernardino de Mendoza, that if he (Dr. Lopez) received his Majesty's orders to negotiate an arrangement, this was the time. He was sure, he said, that the Queen would concede any terms that were demanded of her, as she was in great alarm. It was not necessary to write about this, but that I should go to Calais, and write to him from there to the effect that, bearing in mind the clemency the Queen had extended to me, I was discussing with Don Bernardino de Mendoza subjects which would redound greatly to the advantage of her country; and that if a passport were sent enabling me to go backwards and forwards freely (which he promised should be sent at once) I could come and stay secretly in his house, where Secretary Walsingham would come and speak with me. He (Dr. Lopez) had no doubt that the Queen would come to terms with his Majesty, and would force Don Antonio to do likewise, on the conditions that his Majesty might think just. She would also cause the Netherlands to agree, and he, Dr. Lopez, on his part would endeavour that everything should be done to his Majesty's satisfaction. No one was to know, however, that he had discussed this matter with me. He would continue to let me know the decisions arrived at by the Queen's Council, and when things were sufficiently advanced towards a conclusion to his Majesty's satisfaction, personages might be sent to make the formal contracts. He hopes that everything may thus be settled speedily and advantageously for his Majesty, and he promises if the matter be kept secret, that he will inform me of everything that happens of interest to his Majesty.

* Lopez had made this assertion before to Vega, but it was indignantly repudiated by Mendoza.

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If an arrangement be not arrived at, he promises that Don Antonio shall be sent away from England, or detained there as his Majesty may desire; and he gave me distinctly to understand, that if the present suggested arrangement fell through, he would continue to protect his Majesty's interests in England.

In very truth, no person can report so well as he can, in consequence of his great influence with the Queen and Council. But that all this should be carried into effect, energy and liberality are necessary. By the aid of these two qualities all will end well.

5 March. **583.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

Frobisher came in a few days ago with five or six prizes, and the earl of Cumberland the same. Chidley has returned but has taken no prizes, most of his men having died.

The earl of Warwick is dead.

There is great alarm here at the fitting out of the fleet in Spain, and men are being raised in all haste to send to Ireland, whither about 3,000 have already gone. They say 10,000 men will go in all, and that Lord Grey will command them.

The Queen has ordered all her ships to be put into commission, and has embargoed all merchantmen on the coast, the rumour being current that the king of Spain will this year send a larger and more powerful Armada than the previous one. They are in great fear. The commanders appointed for the Queen's fleet are said to be the Lord Admiral, the earl of Essex as his lieutenant, Drake, although he is out of favour with the Queen, Frobisher, Master Hawkins, and Sir Thomas Howard; the land commanders being Lord Willoughby, Norris, who is also out of favour with the Queen, and Sir Roger Williams. The persons known to Don Bernardino will not fail to send punctual reports of the ships that sail for the coast of Spain, etc. and of the troops raised to send to France, Flanders, or Spain.

Don Antonio is here in a miserable condition, staying in the house of a Portuguese woman. The Queen gives him 100*l.* every month, but with a very ill grace, as her Council has been informed that he speaks badly of her, and wishes to escape secretly from the country. He is therefore much disliked by the Queen and Council. He is dismissing all his servants, as he cannot afford to keep them.

Horatio Pallavicini left here on the 6th for Germany to raise troops for the Queen.

8 March. **584.** ADVICES from TOURS. (An account of the martyrdom of the Prior of the Dominicans of Paris, captured in the Faubourgs when they were sacked by the prince of Bearn. He was torn into quarters by four horses attached to his limbs. "He was executed on Friday, which is a "most unusual thing in France, as Christ died on that "day.")

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

[EXTRACT.]

At Ninet la Sarta (Noyen sur Sarthe?), a village four leagues from Le Mans, the English were lodged in the church, and there profaned everything they could lay their hands upon, and broke up

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the tabernacle of the Holy Sacrament. Some days afterwards, a man was attempting to clean the Church, and set it in order for the celebration of Divine service, when he caught sight of a (consecrated) wafer in the straw. He was about to pick it up, but his hand refused the office, and on reflection he came to the conclusion that the wafer must have been consecrated, and that he was unworthy to touch it. He therefore informed the assistant curate, who came with many persons, and replaced the Host with all due reverence on the high altar, when, in the sight of all persons present, a part of it turned to blood. The Bishop, who was at Le Mans at the time, was informed of this. He is the brother of Rambouillet, and was sent by the late King to Rome. He replied that it was all nonsense, in order to avoid obeying the King, the prince of Bearn. The English, he said, had killed some cows in the church, and the wafer had got stained with the blood, and they were not on any account to worship it. He himself would shortly come and inquire into the matter. Notwithstanding this, the eye-witnesses declare the truth of it, and say great crowds of people flock to see the miracle.

20 March. **585.** ADVICES from ENGLAND of 20th March.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

The Queen is arming both by sea and land, and is sending 4,000 or 5,000 men to Ireland, fearing that Sir William Stanley may effect a landing there.

The Queen had never so few friends in Scotland as she has now. The English do not know what to think of the stay of the king of Scotland in Denmark. They fear that perhaps ill may come to them from that quarter.

Aldegonde has arrived here with (intercepted) letters from the king of Spain which he has deciphered.* It is said he is going to the prince of Bearn. I am also informed from a trustworthy source that 400 (40 ?) ships have sailed from Holland and Zeeland for Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries. Most of them are well fitted. If his Majesty needs ships, guns, and mariners these may be utilised.†

The Council is much perplexed at the fresh preparations in Spain, but they are somewhat encouraged by the prince of Bearn's victory.‡

Horatio Pallavicini has gone to Germany with another gentleman, a Frenchman, it is said to raise some reiters.

22 March. **586.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

[EXTRACT.]

Manuel de Andrada has arrived here, and I have provided him with sufficient money to go to Spain, as he can be of no further use here unless your Majesty wishes him to go backwards and forwards

* There is in the Hatfield Papers, Part III., p. 82, a very interesting summary of several intercepted letters from and to Philip and Mendoza, etc., dated early in 1589. These may possibly be the series referred to. In the Hatfield Papers, Part IV., p. 6, will also be found summaries of letters written early in 1590, from Thomas Morgan and Yardly to Catholics in England, intercepted in Flanders and sent to Burleigh from Antwerp.

† The King calls special attention to this passage.

‡ The battle of Ivry.

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to England under cover of the negotiations for an arrangement proposed in his statement herewith, so that he may be able to report what is going on there.* I give him enough money for his voyage, but I humbly beg your Majesty will have him fitly rewarded for the services he has rendered so zealously and at so much personal risk. —Paris, 22nd March 1590.

30 March. Paris Archives, K. 1449.

587. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

I approve of the suggestion that Secretary Curle and his sister, and the rest of the queen of Scotland's servants, should make depositions before the Pope's legate, who is so disinterested a person,† as to their knowledge of the mistress' intentions in renouncing her dominions in my favour in defect of her son being a Catholic. But you will have to proceed very dexterously, so that it may appear to everyone that the principal object of the investigation is to prove how firmly Catholic the Queen remained to her death, and to make known her wishes, rather than any other reasons, which do not exist. Report to me what is done in this matter.

I note the great Catholic zeal of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and I will consider what provision can be made for him in his need.— Madrid, 30th March 1590.

3 April. Paris Archives, K. 1571.

588. ADVICES from LONDON sent by David's correspondents (Recounts the names and movements of various Portuguese agents of Don Antonio. To and from Lisbon. etc.)

The earl of Cumberland went on the 2nd April to speak with Don Antonio about going against Terceira, with 4,000 or 5,000 men, under the Portuguese flag, They decided to meet again and discuss the matter on the 15th. I will report. On the coming hither of Amador Esteban from Portugal, all ships were embargoed, and they are being fitted out with all speed.

They have now ready 26 of the Queen's ships and 70 merchantmen, upon which, they say, they will embark 10,000 men with the Admiral, lord Willoughby, and Sir Martin Frobisher.

It is believed that this fleet is for France. There are a great number of troops in the West Country, and on the rest of the coast. Some Frenchmen have arrived here, it is said to ask for men. Don Antonio has dismissed nearly all his servants, and one of these days he, his son, and Diego Botello, will disappear from here and go to Hamburg, as he is not on good terms with the Queen.

* The King, in a marginal note, approves of this course being taken.

† The new Legate had been appointed by Sixtus V. at the instance of Olivares, the Spanish ambassador in Rome. He was Cardinal Gaëtano (Cayetano in Spanish), a Neapolitan subject of Spain; and both his brother, the duke de Simoneta, and his nephew, were in the pay of Philip.

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18 April. **589.** ADVICES from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1571. (Relates movements of various Portuguese agents of Don Antonio.)

The fleet, which is being fitted out with much activity, will consist of 148 ships, of which 30 belong to the Queen. A friend of mine assures me that, to judge from the lord Chamberlain's conversation with Don Antonio, it is intended for the islands (*i.e.*, Azores) and will sail under the Portuguese flag. I will report what is done. Secretary Walsingham has just expired, at which there is much sorrow.*

23 April. **590.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1571. As I have several times written to your Majesty, there are no means of getting letters from England hither, but a man who has arrived here, and left London on the 12th, had been in Plymouth, and affirms that he saw there 30 good armed ships ready for sea, which would sail as soon as those which were being fitted out in the Thames were ready. He says that, just as he was leaving London, two little French vessels arrived from Corunna with oranges and salt. They reported that your Majesty had collected a powerful fleet in the neighbouring harbours, but it could not be ready to put to sea for a long time.

The Queen has had a review of 6,000 infantry, raised for the purpose of garrisoning the ports in case they hear that your Majesty's fleet is being made ready. Otherwise they will be sent to France.

This man crossed over to Calais with a messenger sent by the queen of England to Bearn, to congratulate him on his victory. He is to ask Bearn, even if he comes to terms with the League and this place (*i.e.* Paris), not to make peace with the king of Spain. In order to persuade Bearn to this, the Queen offers to hand over to him all the places she held in Holland and Zeeland. Plessy-Mornay, who is Bearn's closest councillor, and represented him in England when I was there—a great heretic too, who has written many books—said the other day at Montereau Fautyonne that if Bearn and his co-religionists, when they only held a handful of land in France, had always refused to change their faith, much less would they do it now that Bearn was King, with three-quarters of France in his possession, and it was absurd to ask such a thing. No such condition, he said, must be discussed in any negotiations for an arrangement, nor must peace with Spain be made.

On the 21st a Scotsman left Boulogne, one of his ships having been embargoed by the governor of the town. He states that Drake had come out into the Channel, with 15 of the Queen's ships, in consequence of a report that 60 sail of ships had been sighted in Spanish waters. They said that, if any men were landed from your Majesty's fleet in France, the English would land troops also.

This Scotsman also relates that an ambassador from your Majesty had arrived in Scotland, who had been favourably received by the

* The King has written in the margin against this : "There yes! But it is good news here."

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nobility, and had rewarded all those who had sheltered the Spaniards from the Armada. The king of Scotland had not returned from Denmark.—Paris, 23rd April 1590.

Note.—All through the summer of 1590, from April to August, Mendoza's letters to the King are full of heartrending accounts of the distress of the beleagured city. Provisions were at famine price and the population were dying in thousands of pestilence and starvation. The ambassador himself was ill, old, and blind, but, according to his own account, he and Cardinal Gaëtano were the only persons who animated the populace to defend the city. Again and again deputations came to him begging him to induce the king of Spain to take Paris for himself now that the King-Cardinal was dead, and these messages he transmitted to Philip. He was apparently on bad terms with Mayenne, of whom he expressed a very low opinion, and who returned his dislike cordially, refusing (13th November) to have anything to do with so choleric and impracticable a minister. In the meanwhile, for many months he got no letter from Philip in answer to his fervent prayers for release. His own messengers and couriers were caught and hanged by Bearn (Henry IV.), but still some of his letters got through, as we see, and he bitterly complains that his King has deserted him, and has ceased to write at all. In one letter (6th April) he expresses a wish that his death may come from Spain, for then it will be sure to come very slowly. He is all through in mortal terror that he will fall into the hands of Bearn and be sent to England. At length (24th June) the King wrote to him coldly saying that he could not be spared yet, and must still stay. These points are not transcribed fully, as they do not refer to English affairs.

25 April. **591.** DIEGO MALDONADO to PHILIP II.

Paris Archives, K. 1572.

Manuel de Andrada, otherwise David, has arrived here from Paris on his way to your Majesty. He himself will tell the story of his imprisonment and release, and the news from England. He has encountered much difficulty and danger between Paris and this place. He has with him a Portuguese named Rodrigo Marquis (Marcos?), who says he is going on your Majesty's service. Three other Portuguese have arrived, formerly followers of Don Antonio, Juan de Sejas, Lorenzo Correa, and a brother of Domingo Rodriguez. They come to crave your Majesty's pardon, and send enclosed statements of their lives.*

They relate that Duarte Perrin has gone to Barbary with letters from the queen of England and Don Antonio, and is expected to bring back a subsidy of 200,000 crowns. It would be well to capture him at sea. Pedro de Oro, formerly French Consul in Lisbon, has been sent by the Queen and Don Antonio to Bayonne, for the purpose of introducing spies into Portugal and Spain. He has already despatched an English servant of his (personal description of him follows).

* These original documents are still in the same packet.

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The English are in great alarm at the vast fleet they say your Majesty has ordered to be prepared, and the Queen dares not allow one of her ships or men to leave the country. The sending of aid to Bearn, even, has been suspended. The Queen will stand entirely on the defensive.—Nantes, 25th April 1590.

26 April. **592.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1449.

In conformity with his letter of recommendation brought by Thomas Fitzherbert, an Englishmen,* the King has decided to send him to Rouen to serve him there his communication going through Mendoza. He is to be paid 30 crowns a month.—Madrid, 26th April 1590.

Note.—Two similar letters of the same date relating to two other Englishmen. Anthony Standen sent to Bordeaux and Anthony Rolston to St. Jean de Luz, are in the same packet. The pay of both these agents was the same as that of Fitzherbert. Anthony Standen deserted the Spanish interest in 1593 and returned to England. See his letters in the Hatfield State Papers, part 4, and his copious correspondence with his friend Anthony Bacon abstracted in Birch's "Memoirs of queen Elizabeth."

6 May. **593.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1571.

[EXTRACT.]

A Scotsman named Charles Boyd has written to me from Rouen, saying that he has arrived there from Scotland; and that it is important for your Majesty's service that he should proceed to Spain. Although he has not, he says, hitherto had any communication with me, he ventures to ask me as your Majesty's minister to assist him to get to Spain. I have written to Havre de Grace for them to give him a passage in some zabras (Biscay Smacks) that have arrived there. This is all the information I can give about his voyage, as the man is unknown to me.—Paris, 6th May 1590.

25 May. **594.** DON CRISTOBAL† to LORD BURGHLEY.

B.M. Lansdowne, 63. French.

The recollection I have of the goodwill and affection shown to me by your lordship when I left England to come to this country, inspires me with the confident expectation that I shall obtain my liberation if I still retain your favour, and, so long as I possess it, I will not despair. I can assure you that my desire for liberty is not less inspired by a desire to devote my life to the recovery of Portugal, than to serve the Queen; to whom I will always declare that my release is due. I know well that all who are in trouble experience the effect of your goodness, and it is impossible that

* This man subsequently became Philip's English Secretary in Madrid, first as assistant and afterwards as successor of Sir Francis Englefield.

† Don Cristobal was the second son of Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, who, as will be seen in the correspondence, had been sent as a hostage or pledge to the Sheriff of Morocco for the loan promised by him in aid of the cause of Don Antonio. Some of Elizabeth's correspondence with the Sheriff on the subject will be found in Harl. MSS. 296.

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captives should fail to share it, particularly a captive who respects and loves you as his father.—Morocco, 25th May.

1 June. Estado, 839.

595. CHARLES BOYD to the KING.

In order not to trouble your Majesty with many words, and in pursuance of the orders of Don Juan de Idiaquez, I limit myself to handing to your Majesty the statement entrusted to me by one person in the name of many; and I beg your Majesty to give me a written reply for that person, so that he may know that I have fulfilled my mission as a Catholic Christian should do.—Madrid, 1st June 1590.

596. STATEMENT brought by CHARLES BOYD, Scotsman, who left Scotland on the 6th April and arrived in Madrid, 29th May 1590:—

On the 26th March a letter arrived in Scotland from Denmark, which had been written by the king of Scotland to the earl (?) of Lennox, respecting the agreement which had been made between the kings of Scotland and Denmark, by which the latter was to aid the former with all his power in his pretensions to the crown of England. The king of Scots relates that he has sent his prothonotary to the queen of England, to offer her the alliance of himself and the king of Denmark, against the king of Spain, on the following terms:—

First, that the queen of England should at once acknowledge the king of Scots as her heir, and have allegiance sworn to him.

He will then defend her against Spain, and after seeing the result of the Armada which they say is being sent to the north, he will send Scottish and Danish ambassadors to treat for a peace between the allied powers of England, Scotland, and Denmark, and the king of Spain. Lennox is instructed to convey this only to the English ambassador in Scotland, in order that he may represent to his mistress the advantages of such an arrangement both to her and her church. The prince of Navarre (*i.e.*, Henry IV.) will also enter into the confederacy.

When this letter was received, the earl of Lennox had it read to the English ambassador, who replied that he had already advised his mistress that the prothonotary of the King would negotiate well in London; but he (the ambassador) would send another dispatch, setting forth the affection and goodwill of the king of Scotland towards her, and how so good an arrangement had been made about the ministers of religion, which would be very advantageous both to Scotland and England.

The above circumstances have so emboldened the Calvinists of Scotland against the Catholics, that they are devising a new plan for making the latter conform to their sect, by making it impossible for them to inherit or hold property. They especially begun to molest the Earl of Angus, and have ordered him, under pain of imprisonment

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to deliver his eldest son to them; he now being hidden in his house, having recently returned from his studies in France. They have already deprived this heir of Angus, and all other Catholics, of the succession to estates or property of any kind in the kingdom. In pursuance of this they were only awaiting the arrival of the King in Scotland to sign a new decree, enacting very heavy penalties against Catholics, unless they conform to the sect. All Catholics are to remain in the court and are to be kept in the castle when ordered, so that they may give no support or countenance to the Catholic faith. The said Catholics, persuaded of the utter ruin which will befall the Christian cause and themselves, as a consequence of this confederacy, and the oppression they will suffer in person and estate, have secretly but firmly determined to devote themselves and all they possess to the promotion of the only possible remedy for their ills, which must be adopted by your Majesty against the said confederacy. This they swear to fulfil, whether the said confederacy is effected or not; and they wish to be made secretly acquainted with your Majesty's wishes, in order that they may the more effectually put their hands to the task of their deliverance.

They wish to call attention to the danger your Majesty will incur, if this sectarian league be concluded; and I am entrusted verbally with their views on this point, which are as follows:—

1. If the terms of peace proposed by their (the Northern powers) ambassadors be not granted (by Spain), England, supported by Scotland, will endeavour to usurp the Indies or the products thereof, and to injure all parts of Spain, as the Calvinists are already proclaiming loudly their intention of doing.

2. That no provision of any sort will go from Denmark to Spain, such as wheat, wood, oars, and many other things necessary for navigation.

3. That they will help the Prince of Navarre to subject France to his rule.

4. That they intend—which God in His mercy forbid—to wholly extirpate the Catholic faith.

It is again humbly urged upon your Majesty, that the name of the person who sends this statement be not revealed, in view of the injury which would ensue both to your Majesty's interests and theirs (the Scottish Catholics.) An answer is prayed for, to be sent by the bearer, so that they may be able to fulfil their oath; and not have to employ any person who is not a firm Catholic, and apt in the management of such an affair as this, in which are involved the life and honour of many gentlemen. Aranjuez 29 May 1590. Carlos Boyd.

Note.—In another note Boyd gives for the King's information the scraps of intelligence he had picked up on his voyage, at Yarmouth, Havre, and elsewhere, respecting the movements of English ships.*

* A letter accompanies the above papers, in the form of a testimonial from Don Gaspar de Villanova y Perues, saying that Boyd had served as his clerk for many years, was a good Catholic, and a worthy man. He begs the King to favour him in the matters he has in hand.

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S.D. Paris Archives, K. 1572. **597.** INSTRUCTION given to Antonio Rodriguez de Lucerna,* by certain Spanish prisoners in England to treat for their release.

First he is to go to Morlaix, and endeavour to see the Spaniard who, they understand, has been sent thither for the purpose of arranging the business. He is then to accompany him to the duke (de Mercœur) and deliver to him the letters he bears, praying the Duke to make every effort to rescue them, as they are in dire danger. If the Duke be too far off for the messenger to see him personally, the latter is to treat with the Spanish gentleman who has been sent; and find out whether his powers and instructions are sufficient to obtain their liberation. Tell him that they were captured whilst on his Majesty's service, and that all the rest of the Spanish prisoners have been released; only they who are in the keeping of Sir William Courteney remain. This is from no fault of theirs. If the Spaniard in question has been accredited to the corporation of the town of Morlaix, the messenger is to inquire who are the richest members, and urge them to take the matter in hand. If the Spaniard be accredited to some private person, the messenger is to beg him for the love of God to get the prisoners set free, even though he may have to somewhat exceed his instructions in doing so, and if he likes he may keep them in France or elsewhere, until the King is informed and confirms his action.

15 June Paris Archives, K. 1572. **598.** STATEMENT of the Spanish prisioners in England in the custody of Sir William Courteney.

They came on the hulk "San Pedro el Mayor" in the squadron of Don Juan Gomez de Medina. After they had sailed round the islands of England, Scotland, and Ireland, they were pursued by continual tempests; they were in want of food, and the ship was unseaworthy, and on the 6th November, 88, was driven ashore and wrecked at a place called Hope, belonging to Sir William Courteney, who asked the queen of England to allow him to keep them as his prize. She gave him permission to select 15 Spaniards for his own. A commissioner was subsequently sent by the duke of Parma to ransom the prisoners; and he took all of them away from England except the 15 belonging to Courteney. They complained to the commissioner of his not ransoming them as he did the rest. He excused himself by saying that the Queen had given them to Courteney for his profit by their ransom, whereat they were very sad and discontented. Some months afterwards a patache arrived at the port of Morlaix in Brittany with a Bascayner captain named Domingo de Ochoa, who sent a Breton to England to seek out these prisoners, and to say that he had been sent by the duke of Mercœur to ransom them; inquiring especially for Friar Rodrigo Calderon and Alvaro de Castro, in order to learn whether the prisoners

* A certificate of the good conduct of this soldier signed by his sergeant Bartolome Cano accompanies these instructions. A full list of the names of the prisoners from the hulk "San Pedro el Mayor," held by Sir William Courteney, is in State Papers CCXVIII. (printed in Laughton's Defeat of the Armada), with their estimated ransom.

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were still alive, and whether their owner would give them up for ransom.

When Sir William Courteney learnt this from his prisoners, he being as eager to get their ransom as they were to get their liberty, agreed to release one of their number Antonio Rodriguez de Lucerna,* who is the man that has now arrived here at Nantes to see the duke de Mercœur about it, having come from Morlaix and Blois hither. They bring two letters from the Spaniards to the Duke which are enclosed herewith.† The Englishman who accompanied the messenger as far as Morlaix was afraid of coming hither as he thought it would not be safe. Antonio Rodriguez de Lucerna says that Sir William Courteney asks for the ransom of the prisoners whom he has treated well, 20,000 crowns. This is, however, of course out of the question. As the duke of Mercœur is not at present here, Antonio Rodriguez has decided to write to the Englishman at Morlaix that the Duke is away in the field, but he has learnt that the basis upon which he was willing to treat for their liberation was the same as that adopted by the duke of Parma for the ransom of the rest, namely, 100 crowns for captains, 50 crowns for ensigns, and 15 to 20 for other officers and soldiers. As this was the price given for the rest, it was not just that they should be valued higher,‡ since they are no better soldiers, nor of higher rank, nor richer than their comrades. On the contrary, they are poor men, entirely without means to ransom themselves, except the pity and bounty of his Majesty. They beg that if Sir William Courteney should be willing to treat for their release on this basis, he will write to Don Diego Maldonado, who is in Nantes, sending the letter through the governor of Morlaix. Antonio Rodriguez did not write before to-day, 15th June, as there was no opportunity of sending the letter. (Here follow the names of the 14 Spanish prisoners in question.)

21 June. B.M. Lansdowne 63.

599. DON ALONSO DE LUZON AND HIS COMPANIONS TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Having been brought from Ireland to this city, at the beginning of last year, by order her Majesty the Queen, and delivered to the keeping of Sir Horatio Pallavicini, on behalf of M. de la Noue, to whom her Majesty had assigned us, in order that he might, by exchanging us, obtain the release of his son, M. de Teligny, a prisoner in Flanders, we, with the consent of the Council, and at great expense, sent an Italian to our King to beg him to take the matter in hand on our behalf. His Majesty granted us this favour,

* The name of this man is not given in the list at the Record Office. As he was only a private soldier, he is probably included in those (67 in number) who are of too humble a condition to pay any ransom.

† The two letters, one from all the prisoners, and the other from Friar Rodrigo Calderon (who wrote all the documents) are in the same packet as the above. The latter man was the brother of Coco Calderon the chief purser.

‡ In the document already referred to in the Record Office, the offers made by the prisoners themselves in November 1588, were much lower than this. The highest individual ransoms then offered were for Friar Rodrigo Calderon, 80 ducats, and 75 each for the two brothers de Castillo, gentlemen adventurers.

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and sent instructions to the duke of Parma to conclude the arrangements for our release, and also for that of the prisoners in Zeeland. The Council was of opinion that the best way of arriving at an agreement was to give permission to Don Rodrigo Lasso to go to Flanders, and treat of the business. Don Rodrigo having duly returned to this country four months since, continued the negotiations through Sir Horatio Pallavicini. In consequence of the absence of the latter, Secretary Walsingham deputed Dr. Gernes to carry on the negotiations, but during the interim Secretary Walsingham died, and nothing further was done in the matter. We now learn by the letter of Don Diego Pimentel, which your Lordship has sent us, that the duke of Parma had determined to send representatives to Zeeland to negotiate with Count Maurice for his (Don Diego Pimentel's) release. As his affair and ours are practically the same, we beg your Lordship to favour us by sending someone to Zeeland to represent her Majesty the Queen in these negotiations. We should be very thankful if your Lordship would also appoint some other person with whom we may communicate on the subject, and give permission for Don Rodrigo Lasso to go and submit to your Lordship certain particulars of which we believe you are unaware.

From this house, 21 June, 1590. (London).

Don Alonso de Luzon, Don R. Niño y Lasso, Don Luis de Cordoba, Don Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba.*

13 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1571.

600. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In conformity with your Majesty's orders of 30th March, that I was to endeavour to legalise the letters sent by the queen of Scotland to me, declaring her intentions previous to her death, I took the following steps. In order that the affair should be less open to suspicion, and that the religious zeal of the Queen and the proof of her martydom should be the more evident, the Archbishop of Glasgow petitioned the Legate to direct the auditor of the rota to examine the witnesses who could give evidence with regard to the will and last wishes of the late queen of Scotland; and to certify the documents and letters which would be submitted to him in support thereof. The Legate consented, and ordered the auditor, Bianchetto to examine the witnesses and documents. He dealt with the matter, as might be expected from his experience and devotion to your Majesty's service, and issued his report, which I have in my possession. The proceedings were placed in the hands of the Notary apostolic, and copies may be procured from his office whenever they are required. I can assure your Majesty, with all sincerity, that the Archbishop of Glasgow has acted most zealously in your Majesty's interest in this matter, and no vassal of your own could have done more. This leads me to remind your Majesty again of the thousand other good offices he has effected here, and to beg you not to forget him in the distribution of the pensions. He deserves all that can be done for him, but, even if he had not done so much, his need would

* These were the principal gentlemen who had been spared for ransom from the slaughter of their fellows from the "Valencera," in Ireland.

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be a claim or your Majesty to reward him in the way I have suggested before.*—Paris, 13th August 1590.

11 Sept. **601.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
Paris Archives, K. 1571. [EXTRACT.]

I have received news from St. Denis that the prince of Bearn was trying to induce the queen of England to send a fleet to Flanders, *but that the fondo delayed it;*† beside which the Queen wishes to hold some French towns as security for the cost of maintenance of the fleet. Stafford, who was with Bearn, was negotiating about this. Horatio Pallavicini was also with Bearn. — Paris, 11th September 1590.

28 Oct. **602.** ADVICES from BEARN'S head quarters.
Paris Archives, K. 1571. [EXTRACT.]

The Viscount de Turenne‡ has been appointed, by Bearn, protector of the Huguenots, and will shortly go to England with Stafford and Pallavicini, who are here together, for re-inforcements to be sent from England. Bearn has decided to secure the queen of England for the expenses she may incur, by handing over to her certain towns, and M. de la Chatre, governor of Dieppe, is urging the Queen to send him 2,000 Englishmen to hold the Pays de Caux.

Viscount de Turenne is also going to Germany, to request the Protestant princes to help Bearn with troops. His object is (many Catholics having left him, and his forces being small) to have as many Huguenots as possible with him in order to be able to make more favourable terms of peace.§

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29 April. **603.** PHILIP II. to the DUKE DE MERCŒUR.
Paris Archives, K. 1450.

Has heard from various quarters that the English will attempt to seize and fortify a place on that coast (*i.e.*, Brittany). Begs him

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* In the King's hand :—"He says he has written to me before about it. Look it up "and remind me of it." It will be seen by the letters in this Calendar that Mendoza had frequently pressed the King on the subject.

† In the King's hand :—"I do not understand the passage I have underlined." The use of *fondo* in this connection is not clear, unless it refers to the shallow and shoally nature of the Flemish coast.

‡ Duke de Bouillon, who with du Plessy-Mornay, strongly supported the Huguenot cause in the councils of Henry of Navarre.

§ In August 1590, Bearn had been forced partially to raise the siege of Paris, and for a short time supplies flowed into the famished city. Mendoza then thought that surely his time for release had come. His one friend, Cardinal Gaëtano, went to Rome, and Mendoza wrote to the King that he must, and would, leave the city, which was unhealthy and dangerous. But he was without money, even to buy firing, and a bill he had drawn for 10,000 ducats upon Antwerp for his expenses had been protested. He writes urgently —even violently—to the King and Idiaquez, about his treatment, and prays that, even if they care nothing for his life, at least they will save his honour. But before replies could reach him Paris once more was closed, though Parma was outside; and Mendoza, old, ill and quarrelsome, was again a prisoner. Despairing of Philip's permission, he begged Parma to receive him. But Parma was cool, and sent no escort for him. All through the winter Mendoza remained without money, famished with hunger, as he says, and unable even to buy fuel. The English and other dependents upon him in Paris were in worse case still. It was not until the early spring of 1591 that Mendoza at last escaped, and his great diplomatic career came to an end.

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for his own sake and the Catholic cause to resist this by every means in his power.—Madrid, 29th April 1591.

Note.—Instructions were sent at the same time as the above letter to Don Juan del Aguila, the commander of the Spanish forces in Brittany, directing him to continue the fortification of Blavet to resist the English, Diego Maldonado, the Spanish agent with the Duke de Mercœur having advised that 30 English ships were fitting out to intercept and burn the flyboats which were expected with the Spanish reinforcements for Brittany.

4 June. **604.** JAMES VI. to PHILIP II.

Estado, 839. Latin.

Begs favour for two of his subjects, John Mowbray and Christopher Birkhead, now in the galleys in Spain; and complains of the large number of Scotsmen who are thus captured and kept in durance.—St. Cross (Holyrood), 4th June 1591.

30 June. **605.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1450.

Your letter of the 12th May received with enclosures. Although Antonio de Frias Salazar, of whom you speak, arrived before the letter. the latter came in good time to inform us fully upon the matter. He has been given audience, and has been listened to. A decision shall be arrived at as soon as possible, the matter being now under consideration. I have no more to say, as all your letters have been answered, and I do not know whether you have set out upon your journey.—San Lorenzo, 30th June 1591.

8 July. **606.** The KING to DIEGO DE IBARRA.

Paris Archives. K. 1450.

Warns him against two English spies in France, named Hay Walter, who was page to the earl of Northumberland, and George Cotton. Much care must be taken of such folks. Tell the Duke de Mayenne what we hear about these men; let him look at their hands and serve them as they deserve, for the times make it necessary that all precautions should be taken.—San Lorenzo, 1591.

Note.—Juan Baptista de Tassis and the duke of Parma are written to, to the same effect. These men and others of the same sort, must be followed up until they are caught.

3 Sept. **607.** The KING to DON JUAN DEL AGUILA.*

Paris Archives, K. 1450.

[EXTRACT.]

We hear from Captain Echavarri that he learns that there are still certain Spanish prisoners in England who have written to you respecting their release. We are seeking a man in the Armada hospital, who they say will be a convenient messenger to send thither to arrange for their liberation, but if you can devise any better or speedier means, you will adopt it.†—San Lorenzo, 3rd September 1591.

* Commander of the Spanish forces in Brittany.

† These were still the prisoners of Sir William Courtney in Devonshire, from the "San Pedro el Mayor"; the previous attempts to ransom them having been ineffectual in consequence of Courtney's excessive demands.

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B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420.

608. DOCUMENT headed—"The present state of the Catholic religion in Scotland."

The king of Scotland is 25 years old, and has very good parts. He was reared in the religion of Calvin, and consequently professes the same, but he is naturally so deceitful and shifty that the Scottish heretics themselves do not trust him, nor does the queen of England. The Catholics recognise that he is clever, and hope that some day he will open the doors to the light of truth.

The cities and coasts are filled with heretics, and the preachers they call ministers live there. They would like to fortify themselves, but the nobles will not allow them to do so. The nobles are in great part favourable to the Catholic religion, and the country people the same. The nobles all belong of right to the King's council, and cannot be deprived, except for treason. They have, therefore, greater power, and the King less, than in other countries. The ministers meet every Friday; and amongst themselves they call this "*the Church*," which they say is above the King on all religious questions and ecclesiastical government. This is the opposite to the same sect in England, which recognises the Queen as the spiritual head over their Church. The king of Scotland hates these ministers, and fears the power they have assumed; but as the queen of England favours them, they insolently threaten to excommunicate the King himself, and, in fact, do excommunicate other gentlemen when they do not obey their orders. These ministers a few years ago adopted certain heretical articles, nearly all opposed to our holy faith, and they wished the King and his subjects to subscribe to them, this being a public profession of conformity, like that of attending the heretic churches, or taking the oath of allegiance to the Queen as head of the Church is in England.

Many persons in Scotland signed the articles to please the King and ministers, without thinking it was so grave a matter. But they learnt its gravity on discussing it with the Jesuit fathers sent by Pope Gregory XIII., and others, now resident in Scotland; especially with Father James Gordon, uncle of the earl of Huntly, and other priests from the English seminaries, who retired to Scotland against the rigourous edicts published in 1591 in England.

When they learnt how evil it was, those who first declared against the ministers were Lords Balgarys and Fentry, the latter of whom was beheaded by the King, dying a glorious martyr, and the other took up arms and held out against the ministers. He kept in his house for a long time one of the English priests called Ingram, who was afterwards martyred in England. This priest said mass, and Balgarys invited many heretics to hear his sermons, thus doing much good, and converting many to our holy faith. In view of this, the ministers obtained the King's permission to arrest Balgarys for treason, as they had excommunicated him two or three years before. The King thereupon granted them a signed warrant in blank, and left to them the choice of a person to execute it.

It must be borne in mind that it is an invariable rule for all families, especially those of nobles, to support their own people, and any offence offered to a single member of a family is offered to all.

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If blood be shed, not only is the vengeance wreaked on the evil doer, but upon all his kin without exception.

As Lord Balgarys, Walter Lindsay, is the son of the earl of Crawford, connected with the royal house and with many noble families, no person could be found who would venture to execute the orders of the ministers against him, for fear of the vengeance of his kinsmen. The ministers after having excommunicated certain persons who had dined in his house, and threatened to punish them severely; were gathered together for the purpose of choosing a person to execute the royal warrant, when Balgarys went with his people to the place where they were holding their meeting, and made them all beg his pardon and dine with him, they giving for the purpose the meal prepared for themselves; which is usually very splendid.

They had to promise never to molest anyone again on his account. He had gone thither with the intention of killing them all, but he contented himself with this submission at the request of his kinsmen who accompanied him.

Encouraged by his example, other nobles, such as the earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, openly declared themselves Catholics; whereupon the ministers appealed to the queen of England for aid, whilst the Catholic nobles appealed to the king of Spain and the Pope.

George Carr, who was coming from these gentlemen to Spain, was, by the tricks of the English ambassador (in Scotland), captured on board his ship, with the letters which the nobles had written to his Catholic Majesty asking for aid. The ministers at once printed these letters, and many others, from the duke of Parma, &c., which they had previously seized; and called the book "Discovery of the treasons of the Scots papists," for the purpose of making the Catholics hated. They also caused the King to proclaim them traitors, and by the advice of lord treasurer Cecil, they passed a law making it high treason to have mass performed, or to harbour a priest. As, however, the Scots are not subject to their sovereigns as the English are, this turned out to be a mistake; as it caused many more people to rise, declare themselves Catholics, and collect forces to defend themselves.

The ministers excommunicated the earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus, with many other nobles, and the King in parliament declared them rebels, and their estates confiscate. They are, however, in arms, and have sufficient force to defend themselves against the heretrical party in Scotland. They have even entered the cities, and have caught some of the heretic ministers who were preaching against them, and soundly flogged them with ropes. Some of the most insolent and noisy of the ministers have disappeared, and the heretics say the Catholics have killed them. The King has threatened these gentlemen, but up to the present has gone no further. The ministers are much alarmed, and say nothing, wishing they had not begun to stir in a matter which has turned out so badly for them. The nobles daily grow in heart and strength, and the only hope of the heretics is that the queen of England will help them with an armed force.

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Some months ago Pope Clement VIII. wrote to the king of Scotland exhorting him to embrace the Catholic religion, sending him 40,000 ducats, and promising him 10,000 every month, if he would admit and protect the Catholics in Scotland.

A ship arrived in the port of Aberdeen from Flanders with the persons who brought this money, and the Pope's letters, accompanied by Father Gordon, who had come from Rome with him. There were also on board, amongst others, three English priests. The people of the country did not, for the reasons already stated, dare to molest Father Gordon or the Scotsmen in his company, but they arrested the Pope's envoy with the money and letters, and also the three English priests, this being in pursuance of an order of the King that no Englishmen are to enter or leave Scotland without a passport from the English ambassador in Edinburgh.

As soon as they heard of it, the earls of Errol and Angus, with some of their men, went to induce the people of the place to release the prisoners, and at the same time closed all the passes to prevent them from being sent elsewhere. At the end of three days the earl of Huntly and lord Balgarys came with a strong force and ordered the suburbs of the town to be sacked, and the town itself to be fired in four places. The townsmen thereupon, out of fear, released their prisoners, and promised to aid the Catholic cause.

The Catholic lords, seeing how little they can hope for from their King, have made use of this money to pay their soldiers,* and they are now standing on the defensive, publicly exercising the Catholic faith, and permitting the same to all persons who choose in those parts, namely, from the city of Dundee to the north; which comprises more than a half of Scotland. In addition to this a large number of Catholics in the other parts of Scotland are now living peacefully. Several important events, favourable to the Catholics, have happened in Scotland, as well as some heavy punishments from the hands of God, which have fallen upon those who were submissive to the ministers. This has had the effect of converting many, and causing others, who had feigned to be heretics, publicly to confess the faith. It is the custom in Scotland for the Catholics to draw lots to decide which shall be the patron saint for each one during the ensuing year, to which saint each person pays special devotion. The earl of Huntly having made preparations to celebrate the feast of St. Laurence, which saint had fallen to him, and having confessed and received absolution, very devoutly on the same morning, whilst he was at the sermon received news that his enemy, the earl of Argyll, had taken advantage of the plans of the Ministers and the King's warrant, to enter six or seven leagues into his (Huntly's) lands, burning and sacking the towns and villages, and carrying with him great quantities of cattle and other booty. The earl of Huntly finished his devotions, and then mounted with 36 others who were there at the time, and pursued the enemy. He caught up with him near some lagoons, and, in order to prevent the enemy's footmen from gaining with the cattle the soft ground, where the horsemen might get stuck, he dashed into the enemy's

* That is to say, the Pope's subsidy to King James.

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rearguard and killed them right and left, until his men came up and joined him, when they miraculously defeated the enemy, who were 1,500 against their 37. They killed 500, and recaptured all the booty without the loss of a single one of Huntly's men, only one being wounded by a harquebuss ball in the shoulder. The horses were all wounded with arrows and bullets, but they were all brought home, some, however, dying subsequently. This occurrence caused the greatest astonishment to the heretics, and the King caused the story to be repeated to him many times, but even then he would not believe it until he had spoken with some of the men of the defeated force. The earl of Huntly says that, never in his life did he feel to possess such strength; it seemed as if nothing could resist him, and his companions say the same. The effect of this victory was to convert many heretics, and the Earl himself gained great encouragement in the cause of God, and much respect from all persons. Many of his vassals who had rebelled against him, returned to his service.

Another occurrence, no less marvellous, which has also caused great astonishment, was the following: The earl of Morton is a Catholic, but on the persuasion of his relatives he was about to conform with the ministers and sign the afore-mentioned articles against our holy faith, when at 12 o'clock in the day, he being alone in his room, an angel appeared to him in the form of a youth, who said to him "Earl do not as your kinsmen would persuade you, for "if you do you shall lose the hand with which you sign, and your "days shall end with a shameful death." Moved by this appeal the Earl again put on a gold crucifix, and an "Agnus Dei," which he used to wear round his neck, but had taken off when he abandoned his good resolutions. He then told the principal kinsmen who had persuaded him, how remorseful he was for his error, and what the angel had told him; and in order that God's mercy might be for ever remembered by his house he added to his arms the figure of an angel. He also declared himself an enemy of the ministers, and refused to subscribe to their articles. Subsequently, however, he was greatly persuaded by his kinsmen, and the King made him many offers, creating him his lieutenant-general, so that at last the poor gentleman gave way and signed the articles. But he did not long enjoy either his office or his life; for shortly afterwards going to arrest baron Johnstone by the King's warrant, with 5,000 soldiers, he met with the end the angel had foretold for him. When the earl of Morton came up with baron Johnstone, the latter, taking advantage of the ground, posted his 600 horsemen in three squadrons in a triangle, at some little distance from each other. Morton's vanguard was therefore able to enter in the midst of them, and Johnstone and his men, who were on one side, threw themselves upon him with such fury that Morton's men broke, and Johnstone reaching the Earl, at the first blow smote off his right hand, and at the second cut off a leg. He then threw him from his horse and he was cut into a thousand pieces. Morton's men fled, and Johnstone gained the victory. It was thus clearly seen that it was the work of God's hand that punished the Earl. Lord Claude Hamilton, younger son of the duke of Chatelherault, also subscribed the

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articles against his conscience, and at the persuasion of his wife and her brothers, to please the ministers and the King. He was on one occasion dining, and, as is the custom in some Scottish houses, the gospel was being read at table during the repast. The reader came to the words where it says: "He who denies me before men, him "will I deny before my father;" and as he pronounced the words Lord Claude rose from the table and attempted with a knife to cut his wife's throat, crying out that by her persuasion, and that of her brothers, he had denied the faith, and sacrificed his soul. For several days after this he remained in a state of delirium, and it was necessary to bind him. He is still in the care of keepers, not having yet entirely recovered his reason.

The example of this house of Hamilton is a very remarkable one, and may well cause men to fear the just judgments of God; which, although they may come slowly, yet never fail to fall upon those who offend Him. The head of the house, the duke of Chatelherault, was one of the most noble and valiant men the country had produced for many years; equally esteemed in Scotland and in France whilst he served God and the Catholic faith. But the queen of England beguiled him with hopes that she would marry his son, the earl of Arran, and he and his son joined the English party to depose unjustly the Queen, sister of Francis duke of Guise, and widow of James V., the duke of Chatelherault being made regent. He cast out the French, seized, with the aid of his accomplices, the ecclesiastical revenues and property, destroyed churches and monasteries; and then, even in the time of his prosperity, he began to feel the hand of God upon him, and upon his son. Seeing himself tricked by the queen of England, for whose sake they had offended God and ruined their country, the earl of Arran went mad with a bestial madness, and still lives like a brute. As the Duke was of the royal house, he doubtless thought that the projected marriage and the change of religion would render him master of Scotland and England, but instead of this, he shortly afterwards saw himself dispossessed from his government by the very people whom he had made heretics. He was deprived of all his property, he and his house declared traitors. God added to these punishments another from His own hand; for the Duke had the bitterness of living to see all his sons go mad except Lord Claude; and he afterwards lost his reason, as has been related. And thus he ended his wretched life, overwhelmed with shame and trouble and, it is to be feared, accursed both of God and man.

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9 March. Paris Archives, K. 1592.

609. STATEMENT of what I, Gonzalo Gonzales del Castillo, a native of Granada, saw and heard whilst I was a prisoner in England.

On the 7th November, 1588, the hulk San Pedro el Mayor, of the squadron of Juan Gomez de Medina was driven on to the English coast on the territory of Sir William Courteney, where the said ship was plundered and the men on board of her taken prisoners. On the 11th November a commissioner arrived from the Queen, with orders that 12 of the prisoners were to be separated from

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the rest and kept in prison by themselves, fourpence each being allowed to them daily for their maintenance, the other prisoners only receiving one penny a day each.

On the 24th November of the following year, 1589, the Spanish prisoners were liberated by the Queen, with the exception of the 12 men whom she had given to Sir William Courteney. We were kept in close confinement by him, and he demanded 5,000 ducats for our ransom, which sum we could not pay, as we were all poor men. On the 11th August 1590 we were informed by Sir William Courteney that he required 12,000 ducats for our ransom, and as we could see no remedy for our trouble, we wrote to the Queen, praying that, as she had released all the other Spaniards in England, she would order us also to be liberated for a like sum as had been considered sufficient for the others of our countrymen. This letter came into the hands of Sir William Courteney, who thereupon imprisoned us closely, feeding us only on bread, pottage, and water. Seeing ourselves in these straits and in danger of death, we resolved to break out of prison and to appeal to the justices for redress, but they told us that they were unable to help us, as our owner was too powerful a person for them to meddle with. We were therefore sent back to our prison, where we remained suffering great hardship for seven months.

On the 7th February 1591 Sir William Courteney sent one William Blake, an Englishman, to this country of Brittany, to deal with the duke of Mercœur for our ransom, but he could come to no agreement about the same, as the sum demanded was then 25,000 ducats, so that the prisoners still remain there to this day.

On the 24th December 1591 I left Exeter for Brittany, but after we had sailed we encountered contrary weather, and were driven back into Dartmouth, where for seven weeks we awaited a fair wind.

On the 8th February of this year Francis Drake passed through the town by the post, having been summoned by the Queen.

On the 23rd orders came to this port to fit out the five ships belonging to the Queen which were there, likewise six that were in the port of Plymouth, for the purpose of sending them to the coast of Rouen and preventing the King (of Spain) from relieving the place. When the ships were ready to embark the infantry, it was found impossible to do so, as a very large number of those on the muster roll had absented themselves. Intimation of this was sent to court, and orders came that countrymen were to be pressed and embarked; these being the sort of men whom arms do not arm.

I have conversed with many persons of all conditions, men and women, who have assured me of their good wishes for our success in England, and their zeal for the Catholic faith. If they had not openly avowed their sympathy it was only in order that they might not be deprived of their homes and property. Others there are who confess that they are Catholics, for which they have suffered many punishments, but nevertheless openly say that they will remain firm, and will die in the faith. Many complaints had been made of the large number of declared Catholics, and the Queen was petitioned to have them punished, but she had ordered that such

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complaints should not be made against them, and that they should be allowed to live freely as they wished.

They (the English) are in great fear of the galleys and of the commander thereof, whose name is well known to them as that of a good soldier and a skilful mariner. They are convinced that the galleys will some day attack them, as they (the galleys) go to the coast of Brittany, and the English coast is easier for them than that, the only difficulty being the passage across. They say the galleys will utterly destroy them, and there is nothing that alarms them so much.

There is a great lack of soldiers, as they have lost so many. I can bear testimony that of the 15,000 and more men who embarked for the Portugal expedition not 4,000 came back, owing to the pestilence in the ships, and the deaths and captures by the Spaniards.* Of the 4,000, moreover, who were sent from Plymouth to support the Prince† not 500 remain, and all the five ships sent to succour Rouen were lost in a storm with all hands. They are therefore obliged to raise troops from Holland and Zeeland. Whilst I was in that port there arrived a flyboat from the islands (of Holland) with about 80 men. They went with 20 more towards Rouen, and were all lost in a storm within a week.

They were much grieved at the loss of one of the Queen's galleons, called the Revenge.‡ They say that she was the best ship the Queen had, and the one upon which she relied the most.

They (the English) do not speak ill of our King; they only say that if it were not for the Pope he would he the best Prince ever born. They most sincerely desire peace, for they say that if they have it not within two years they will all be irremediably ruined. They fear that his Majesty (*i.e.*, Philip) may take a port in Brittany, and say that when once he gains a footing there he will be in England, because there are so many of his friends in the country that there will be nothing to prevent his conquering it. Francis Drake is very unpopular. The people of quality say that he is but of mean origin to have risen so high, and the people look upon him as the cause of the wars. He is, however, esteemed by the Queen, who favours him highly. They cannot bear to hear the name of Dom Antonio, whom they call king of Portugal, as they consider him the cause of the great loss of life in Portugal. They threaten to stone him, and it is said that the Queen keeps him in a castle which he does not leave. He is incredibly poor, and lacks both money and servants.

Don Pedro de Valdes lives, as hitherto, five miles from London. He was accused of an attempt to escape, and imprisoned for it, but Francis Drake, to whom he always applies, settled the matter, and he now goes hunting and to other pastimes, the same as before. The principal people are not well disposed towards him, as they allege that he was the cause of certain gentlemen (one of the Queen's generals and others of her Council) being executed, they

* This refers to the abortive English expedition of 1589.

† Of Bearn.

‡ The loss off the Azores of the "Revenge," so famous in song and story, took place on the 1st September, 1591, when she was captured by the Spaniards after one of the most glorious fights recorded in the naval annals of England.

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belonging to the party of the King (of Spain). But this is incredible, for Don Pedro would rather have lost his life than mention it.

They (the English) are hourly expecting the arrival of a Spanish fleet, and frankly confess that England must fall into his Majesty's hands; the cause of their downfall, they think, will be the galleys.

I left Dartmouth and was at Plymouth on the 5th February 1592. These are the best harbours possessed by the Queen, and her fleets are usually gathered therein. But at the present time there is no other fleet or warlike preparations there, other than I have said. This is the truth.—Blavet, 9th March 1592, Gonzalo Gonzales del Castillo.

Note.—The above document is printed also in "The Defeat of the Armada" (Naval Records Society). *See also* the English account of the capture and detention of these prisoners, in letter from Anthony Ashley to the Council, State Papers, Dom, CCXVIII.

24 Aug. Estado, 839. **610.** J. DE VILLA CRUCES Y DE LA CUEVA to the KING.

When I was in London I was intimate with a Catholic gentleman called Harepin (Harpur), a man of very great talent, who, in consequence of his knowledge of many tongues, served as a spy to the Queen, and was very friendly with the Lord Chancellor (*i.e.* Hatton). At his request the enclosed letter was written to me by a servant of your Majesty, a Genoese named Aliano Calvo, saying that in the life of his master the Chancellor he (Harpur) had written a treatise, setting forth the reasons why England should seek peace with your Majesty, and the means to bring it about. His master, the Chancellor, had received this treatise so gladly that he had led matters in train for the conclusion of a peace or truce when he died. At his death the treatise had fallen into the hands of the Queen and Council, who were all so pleased with it that he thinks if the business be carried forward a good result may come of it. He asks me to send him my opinion as to whether he should proceed with his intention. I have thought best to put the matter in your Majesty's hands, and await your orders.—Madrid, 24th August 1592.

Note.—A long letter from Aliano Calvo, giving some particulars of the arguments in the treatise, and other information of small importance, is enclosed in the above. Hatton had died in November, 1591.

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18 March. B.M. Landsdowne, 76. **611.** DON PEDRO DE VALDES to LORD BURGHLEY.

I am so grateful to her Majesty for the gracious favours she extended to me before my departure, and to her household and nobility, especially your Lordship, for kindly giving me permission to salute you whenever occasion offered, that for the rest of my life it shall be ever present to me. To the full extent of my power; will serve you in all things; and if my deeds are insufficient to prove my gratitude to you, I will daily remember you in my poor prayers.

When I was in prison I tried several times to write to your Lordship, to give you an account of the cruelty and harshness with

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which I was treated in consequence of my refusal to consent to the excessive and unreasonable things demanded of me by Richard Drake, moved by his greed and ambition. But he always prevented me from writing, saying that he had express orders not to allow me to do so in any form whatever. Now, however, that your Lordship has given me permission to write to you, I do so, in order to acquaint you with the grievance and injury that Richard Drake does me against all justice and reason, in demanding so large a sum of money from me, in violation of the orders given by the Lords of the Council. Your Lordship will learn what this sum is by the letter for her Majesty which accompanies the present, which letter I beg your Lordship will submit to the Queen, in order that she may learn the injustice that is being done to me. I am confident that her own magnanimity, and the advice of one of the greatest ministers that ever served a monarch, who has with so much justice and rectitude relieved those who have appealed to his favour, will lead her to prevent and redress the offences that are being committed against me. As I understand that the letter I write to her Majesty will have to be considered in the Council, I also write to the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain to the same effect. I beg your Lordship kindly to send me advice of her Majesty's decision by the person who hands this letter to you. I shall be content with her decision, whatever it may be, as I am quite certain that she will not allow an injustice to be done to me.—Brussels, 13th March 1593–4.

DON PEDRO DE VALDES.

Note.—Attached to the above letter is an English translation of Don Pedro's letter to the Queen, in which he complains of Richard Drake's demands on account of maintenance charges. The ransom itself was 3,550*l.*, of which bonds for 2,500*l.* had been given by an English banker, and 1,050*l.* by Valdes. The maintenance was fixed at 23 ducats a week for each of the four principal prisoners, or 400*l.* a year in all. Drake, however, on various pretexts, was demanding a larger sum under this head.

There is also attached the English translation of a confirmatory letter sent by Don Pedro de Valdes to Burleigh a few days afterwards, by which it appears that the original letters were transmitted through Alderman Ratcliff, who was negotiating for the release of his son, a prisoner in Spain.

19 Mar. B.M. Add. MSS., 28,420.

612. DON PEDRO DE VALDES to the KING.

On the 9th instant I briefly gave your Majesty news of my arrival in this place. I have now to add that eight days before my departure from England I was taken to Court by orders of the Queen, where I was treated very handsomely, and was visited by the councillors, nobles, and naval officers there. They unanimously requested that when I arrived at your Majesty's Court I would use my best offices in favour of peace, and a return to the old amity between the two countries; and they seemed to desire this more than ever. I was then taken to London, where I was entertained at a banquet by the Lord Mayor and aldermen. The next day I went to visit the Lord Treasurer, who also pressed me to use my influence in favour of peace. I found him very ill, and yesterday I received news that

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the doctors had abandoned the hope of saving him. He will be the greatest loss the English could suffer, as he is the most important man in the country.

On the 1st instant Parliament met the principal objects being two. The first is to raise supplies for the fleet of which I have spoken. This fleet is being equipped with various objects, a part being sent to the West Indies, it is said for the purpose of seizing and fortifying Porto Rico, and making it their sallying point. They have also fixed their eyes on Havana and St. Juan de Ulloa; but I believe they now despair of being able to take any of those ports, in consequence of the news they have received, to the effect that they are now very well defended. I also learnt before I left that they would attempt to occupy the island of Curaçao, which lies between Nombre de Dios and Cartagena, as there is on it much flesh (mucha carne); and they expect to be able to assail from it the ships which pass on their voyage to and from Nombre de Dios. My fear, however, is that their intention may be to meet the flotillas bound to New Spain and Tierra Firme; as they are deeply ladened and unhandy, besides being less armed for defence than ships of war. In either case I pray your Majesty to adopt such timely measures as may be considered necessary. It is said that another squadron is to go to the coast of Brittany, with the intention of attacking Bordeaux and St. Malo, and obstructing such ships of the fleet as may be there and preventing succour being sent from Spain. They are also threatening Dunkirk, which they will try to capture with another squadron of ships. I am informed that the (English) fleet is being equipped very actively, and will shortly put to sea. Our enemies fear that if the port of Brest is faithful to your Majesty it will injure them greatly, as the port is capacious and well situated, and doubtless your Majesty will endeavour to obtain possession of it.

Two sugar ships which have been captured in Brazil have recently been taken into Plymouth as prizes, and the Indian ship they have taken is at Dartmouth, where they are trying to sell her. If your Majesty wishes to buy her, seeing the lack of ships there must be in Spain, it can be managed through merchants, without its being known, and I beg in such case that your Majesty will order instructions to be sent hither to this effect. There is a Genoese named Aliano Calvo there (in England), of whom your Majesty has been informed, who will faithfully serve your Majesty in all things. The two quicksilver ships are also there with the papal bulls that were being sent to Peru. If they be not soon ransomed everything will be lost. As nothing has yet been discharged from the ships, I think a favourable arrangement could be made, if your Majesty will send orders on the matter to this Italian. The bargain can be settled by him on better terms than by anyone else, and with greater secrecy and safety. If your Majesty decides to do anything in this matter, I pray that I may be informed thereof without delay. I again beg your Majesty humbly to grant me the prisoner I have requested, as it is of the highest importance to me for my own release,* and I am under great obligations to his father for his good

* The prisoner was the son of Alderman Ratcliff, who at this time was going backwards and forwards to Flanders to negotiate for his liberation. He had been friendly with Valdes in England, and was apparently aiding him in the financial arrangements necessary for his release.

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offices to me, and to many other Spanish prisoners there. It is also very necessary that he should be conciliated in view of future events, and I hope by his aid to receive full reports of what happens there. —Brussels, 19th March 1593.

29 March. B.M. Add. MSS. 28,420.

613. DON PEDRO DE VALDES to the KING.

By my last letter of 19th ultimo I gave your Majesty an account of the state in which the bulls, missals, and breviaries from the quicksilver ships bound to the Indies remained in England. I learned yesterday, by advices from there, dated 13th instant, that Francisco Spinola, the Genoese, a prisoner in London, who was captured on his way from New Spain, had obtained his liberation and had purchased the missals, etc. He had also bought a vessel, with the intention of again shipping them for New Spain, under a passport granted to him by the Queen. This was being done with so much diligence that it was expected that the ship would be equipped and ready for sea within 12 or 15 days. It appears to me that if Spinola is doing this without your Majesty's permission, he is doing a very daring thing. I shall learn particulars by next advices, and will duly inform your Majesty.

I am also advised that, whilst Drake was fitting out the fleet for sea with great activity, news came from Spain that the treasure ship from the Indies were hourly expected there, and that ships of war had put to sea to escort the flotillas. On the reception of this intelligence all preparations on the fleet were at once suspended, and it was said that the earl of Cumberland only would shortly sail with eight ships well equipped, whilst from various ports private ships, to the total number of about twenty-four, were about to sail; the object being to cruise off the Azores in the hope of something turning up. My reports also say that when Parliament had opened the Queen went to London, where the Chancellor made a great speech to the members in her presence. He set forth the great strength of your Majesty in all parts, and pointed out that now you were beginning to gather forces in Scotland. To resist them, he said, it would be necessary to grant the Queen a large sum of money, and it is understood that this was voted. They had also discussed the further oppression of the Catholics. It is said that those (*i.e.*, the Catholics) who had rebelled against the king of Scotland had become more powerful, and the Queen was sending him (*i.e.*, the king of Scotland) great re-inforcements against them, with the aid of which it was expected that they would be overcome and punished. I am endeavouring to establish means of communication with England, so that regular and trustworthy reports of all that happens there may be sent; and I trust in God that before I leave here I shall be able to arrange for the count de Fuentes to receive such reports as may be necessary.

In a few days I go to Antwerp and thence to Dunkirk. I hope also to see Nieuport, the entrance to Ghent, and the Sluys, if the risk is not too great. I will do my best to learn the condition of those fortresses, and also that of the coast defences, ships, etc.; of all of which I will inform the count de Fuentes. — Brussels, 29th March 1593.

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8 April. Estado, 839. **614.** ARDH O'DONNAILL to VISCOUNT BALTINGLAS and THOMAS GERALDINE.

You will have heard, my dear friends, how I have contrived to escape the jail and fetters in which I lay, and how, after great travail and difficulty, I came to my own lands, where I found an English personage, a minister of the Queen, with many soldiers, whom, by the divine grace, I have killed and cast out of my land in a very short time, and the English have returned no more; not for want of will to destroy me, and do all the harm they can. But I and the others who are joined with me, although we are doing the best we can to defend ourselves, can hardly hold out against the great power of England, unless we get help from his Catholic Majesty. With the common consent of them all, therefore, we have thought well to send the Archbishop of Tuam (much as we need him here) to treat with his Majesty of this, and to carry to you, gentlemen, who are there our letters, to beg you all to come and help us to fight God's battle, and win back our lands. It is meet that we should understand each other well, and help one another in this matter. I, myself, will do my part to the death, with the help of the succour I hope for from his Majesty, and with your presence and help. God be with ye, and pray hurry the Archbishop back with the answer.—Donegal, 8th April 1593.

Note.—A letter to similar effect to the preceding one, but even more fervent in tone, from Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, to Philip II., is contained in the same envelope. It is dated Lisbon, 3rd September 1593. Baltinglas and Geraldine were also in Lisbon at the time.

18 April. Estado, 839. **615.** PARTICULARS of the examination before the Magistrate Valladares of Lisbon of certain Englishmen and Irishmen on the charge of espionage.

(The following were the prisoners: Richard Butler, captain of one of Sir Walter Raleigh's ships, Nicholas Luttrell, John Taylor, Thomas Terrell, and John Ranken. The depositions and examinations are very voluminous, and extend over a period of three years, the King and Council being consulted by Valladares at every stage of the trial. Luttrell was found not guilty on the above date, and Ranken's name disappears from the list of accused at about the same time. The following was the report given to the King with regard to Butler soon after his arrest. Sentence was finally delivered on 23rd December 1596, and will be found under that date in the present volume).

616. REPORT respecting Richard Butler and other prisoners.

The following is what we have been able to learn hitherto of the three imprisoned Irishmen. One of them is called Captain Richard Butler, who says that when he was in London he was in the service of Walter Raleigh, the Queen's favourite, and that he, Butler was a great friend of Cope, the secretary of William Cecil the Lord Treasurer.

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As I knew that the secretary of the Lord Treasurer is a great person in England, I objected that is was very unlikely that Butler would be so friendly with him as he says. He replied that he was in Raleigh's service, and whenever he went to sea he made presents to Cope, sometimes as much as 400 crowns, and these two circumstances explained his familiarity. Last year, 1592, Raleigh sent Butler to ask the Treasurer for a patent he had extended for him. The Treasurer gave it to him with an open letter, which he told him to carry carefully to his master, Raleigh. As he was so particular about the letter, Butler thought he would read it. He therefore entered a tavern with another Irishman named Roche, who had been in Spain, but as the letter was in Latin he, Butler, could not read it. He gave it to Roche, who understands Latin. It only contained a few lines, and Roche told him it was a letter advising the Treasurer that the Portuguese flotilla from the Indies was to call at the islands of Cuervo and Flores; and was signed only with the letter H. Roche said "I know the man. He has "his mother living here in London, and I must go to Spain to "inform the King of this treason."

I said it seemed very unlikely that in a matter so grave H. should have signed the letter at all, and not written in cipher. He replied that H. had so many sure ways of sending his correspondence that he had nothing to fear. Butler says that he has seen his master, Raleigh, when he sent an important letter give instructions to the bearer to swallow it, or throw it in the sea, or get rid of it in some other way.

I asked him how it was that such an important letter was given to him open, to which he replied that he was a captain in the Queen's service, and that seafaring matters were always treated thus unsuspiciously, especially as this letter was in Latin, whilst the patent was in English, and much more secret even than the letter. As the one was given to him open there was no reason why the other should not be.

He was asked what the patent contained, and replied that it was an authority for Raleigh to raise 6,000 men, and take them to the West Indies and fortify a port, the name of which he, Butler, forgets, although he has been there, and can point it out on a marine chart. The port is very important, and the Queen wishes to fortify it as a place from whence to molest his Majesty, and take land in the Indies.

He was asked whether the troops went for the purpose, and replied no, as it was too late in the season, and they were distributed on the Queen's fleet, part of which went to meet the Portuguese flotilla at the place mentioned by H.* But he says, if the Queen fits out a fleet this year, he will stake his head that it will be for the purpose of fortifying the afore-mentioned port. After this he said he had come to Lisbon to save his conscience, and was captured here, but was released. He then spoke with an Irishman named Walter Ley, and told him that he could do a great service to his Majesty by denouncing a person who was betraying him. This Walter is a near neighbour of his in his own country, and he considered him a good

* This is confirmed by Burghley's letter to Raleigh. Hatfield MSS., Hist. MSS. Com., pt. iv., p. 200. The place in question was Havana.

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Catholic; so after some difficulty he told him the name of the person. Butler understands that Walter then at once went and warned H. Whilst Butler and his two companions, who are now in prison, were waiting for the letter they brought for his Majesty, they went to H. to ask him for it. H. shut the doors of the room and remained alone with Butler and Luttrell, who served as interpreter, as Butler only speaks English, which H. does not understand. H. began to speak hesitatingly and confusedly, with an altered countenance; and related to them the many favours that his Majesty and his father the Emperor had done him, pointing out all the fine things he had in the room, saying that he owed them all to his Majesty. He said he was no ingrate, and would not be guilty against the King for the world, nor would he correspond with Walsingham. (He was the Queen's secretary, but is now dead, and it is to be remarked that Butler says he did not know and did not assert that H. had corresponded with Walsingham.) In general conversation afterwards H. said, I know that Mr. Butler is a good Catholic, and it is possible that the devil may tempt him to say something wrong of me, to which Butler replied that he knew nothing, and had said nothing, against him. H. retorted that, even if he had, he would, as a good Catholic, pardon him, if he would take care not to let the devil overcome him again in the same way, and he, H,, would do all he could to favour him. He then wrote a letter of recommendation for him to Juan Ruiz de Velasco, and gave him 20 reals in money with many kind promises. Luttrell was interpreter through all this scene, and fully confirms Butler's account of it.

After I had heard this statement, I inquired of respectable people in Lisbon, who tell me that H. is not of good repute there, and it is rumoured that he greatly favours the English merchants who go thither. He is said to have a secret understanding with an English merchant named Taylor, who lives there, and is held in very evil opinion by the English Catholics of the place. H. has a brother, who is a doctor in England.*

My opinion is that in order to investigate this, his Majesty should order a false rumour to be very secretly conveyed to a quarter where it may reach H., to the effect that ships and men were to be got ready to take Dover Castle, and another castle near Southampton, opposite the Isle of Wight; and it should be asserted that an arrangement had been made with the governors of these castles. If thereafter we see that the Queen removes these governors and sends any special reinforcements to the fortresses, we may reasonably proceed against H. A watch should also be kept in Lisbon, to see whether H. has any special familiarity with Taylor. And generally to avoid the people from England, etc. being received by their countrymen on the Spanish coast, I think it would be well for his Majesty to order that during these wars† no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotsman should reside within 30 leagues of the coast, or in any of the maritime towns of Spain. It is true that many of them are good Catholics, but it is much better to distrust good people

* The person referred to as H. was probably Bernaldo Luis (Montesinos), who appears to have been a brother-in-law of Dr. Hector Nuñez. He had been suspected on previous occasions, as will be seen by several references to him in this Calendar.

† The participation of Spain in the wars of the League.

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than confide in bad. I also think it would be well to order that no viceroy or governor of any of his Majesty's provinces should have a secretary who is not a native Spaniard, as the general opinion is that when the English heretics wish to devise anything against his Majesty, and they have to deal with a Spaniard, they lose hope directly and give it up; whilst if they have a foreigner to approach they are encouraged. I do not think, moreover, that it would be bad for his Majesty to order all letters from abroad to be opened once or twice a year, and the same with the letters sent from Spain. It should not be done too often, and only on some plausible excuse, to as not to arouse suspicion. I know that the heretics are greatly served by such means.

STATEMENTS made by the IRISH PRISONERS with regard to Spies.

Richard Butler states that, he being in company with Cope, secretary of the lord treasurer of England, in his house once, three men entered to speak with the treasurer. Cope said to him, "You "see those three men, they are friars, and do more service to the "Queen of England than all the friars in Spain do to the King." Butler says he only knows one of them, whom he describes as follows:—He is called John Hely, 29 years of age, tall, fair hair with very little beard, and a very beautiful complexion. When he is in Spain he dresses as a Franciscan friar, as do the other two, whom Butler does not know. Butler was asked why he did not inquire about them, so as to give information, and he replied that he did not then think of coming hither. He says there is another who goes about in the character and garb of a trader, who is called William Dean, aged 25 years, tall, with a clear white complexion, with fair small beard, who bends his knees a little—by which he means that he does not stand very straight.

There is another, a Fleming, who deals in jewels, whose name is Spilman, aged 38, who, when Butler saw him at the English court, wore a long chestnut beard. He has a scar on the forehead. He had a conversation with Butler, and complained very much that the treasurer did not reward his services as they deserved, as he had been in Spain and elsewhere, and he was hardly paid the expenses of his journey. Butler asked him in what parts he had been here, and he said in Lisbon, but that he generally went to Seville. There is another, called Francis Salter, 33 years of age, hardly any beard, but a small moustache. He travels as a trader, and has a life pension from the Queen of 20*l.* a year. Butler knows this man from having seen him talk with Raleigh, and, amongst other things, he said he was returning to Spain by order of the treasurer.

There is another, an Irishman, serving as the regular courier between Rouen and England, whom Butler once saw in the palace here (Lisbon), and saluted him. He made signs that he was in a great hurry, and he learnt no more of him. He travels as a Frenchman; his name is Brown.

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July. Estado, 839. **617.** DOCUMENT headed Statement of what happened in Scotland in the month of December last year, 1592, in consequence of the embassy which the Catholic lords of that country wished to send to his Majesty.

God having, by means of the priests, jesuits, seminarists, and others, during the past years, brought a great number of nobles and people of Scotland into the Catholic church, and as the king of Scotland was so uncertain in his faith, and the Queen of England in constant opposition, some of the principal Catholic lords decided to send a man of their own to his Catholic Majesty to beg for aid in their need, as they thought with some assistance they could get the king into their hands; and then, in his name and authority, convert the kingdom, and perhaps keep the Queen of England so busy that she could not disturb Christendom, as is her wont.

They therefore determined to send a gentleman of rank named George Carre,* and the three principal earls, the earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, gave him letters of credence, and other letters in blank signed with their names and sealed with their seals, with orders on his arrival in Spain to write in the letters the message which they had given him verbally; and many other Catholic gentlemen in the country did the same. They particularly instructed Carre to say that they would send their sons hither or to Flanders, as hostages, if his Majesty wished. But the messenger was discovered and arrested in the Scottish port from which he was to sail, and all his letters captured, and sent to the queen of England, who was at once alarmed and sent men and money to the king of Scotland, with orders for him to persecute rigorously all those who were concerned or suspected.

It was therefore necessary for the three earls and many other nobles to retire to the north, but the earl of Angus was captured and escaped miraculously from the castle of Edinburgh, after being sentenced and ready for death. Baron Fentry,† a great Catholic, was beheaded on the same day. The King, with his own forces and those of England (under threat of the queen of England to take away his crown, if he failed), persecuted the said earls and the Catholics all he could.‡ Being unable to capture them he gave up the chase, but still continued to harry the Catholics all over Scotland, until after Whitsuntide, when the persecution began to slacken. The said Catholic lords then determined to send an English priest to Spain, to give his Majesty an account of everything, and to petition to the effect herein-after set forth. But as they dared not send their signatures so soon after the other affair they sent the priest with a token to Father Robert Persons of the Society of Jesus, to whom he was already well known.

The following is the account of the present state of Scotland brought by the said messenger.

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* George Carr (or rather Ker), brother of Lord Newbottle. The contents of this statement confirm Rymer's accounts of the matter. James himself was a party to the plot. *See* Hatfield Papers, pt. iv., p. 214.

† Sir David Graham of Fentry (or Fintry.)

‡ This would appear to be almost literally true. Elizabeth sent Lord Borrough as a special envoy to urge James to severity. This course, however, did not commend itself to his temporising character. *See* Calderwood and Spotiswoode.

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The King is 26 years old, and has been married four years. He has no children, nor is it expected he will have any. He is a man of small spirit, quite given up to his pleasures and the chase. He depends upon the Queen of England, more from fear than otherwise, as he is very timid and hates war. He gives no attention to the Government, is of no religion or fixed purpose, and allows himself to be swayed by those around him. Two or three times he has been captured by the competing factions; and he follows either of them without difficulty whilst they hold him. He does not seek to free himself, and has therefore lost prestige with his subjects, and the object of each contending faction is to capture him, and rule in his name. He does not seem to resent this.

The Queen is sister of the king of Denmark. She is more sensible and discreet than the King, and sees his littleness and poor government. It is understood that she would be glad for him to be in the hands of the Catholics, whom she secretly favours. She has told several Catholic ladies, and particularly the mother of Lord Seton, that she is really a Catholic, and prays by the rosary.

Dividing Scotland into two parts, namely, north of Edinburgh and south of it, the principal Catholics in the northern portion are the said earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, as well as the earls of Athol, Sutherland, and Caithness, and a great number of barons and knights. Indeed, in this part there are few heretics, except the low people and officials in the cities. The southern part is richer and more populous, and there is at present no earl really Catholic there, as the two that remain, namely, Morton, and Glencarne, are heretics; and Bothwell who used to be on the Catholic side, although a heretic, is in exile in England, because twice last year he surrounded the King in his palace to take him.* The other earls—of Argyll, Cassilis, and Eglington—are boys, and almost powerless. Their religion is unknown, but some of their guardians are well inclined. But what is of most importance is that in this part of the country there are many barons and gentlemen who are good Catholics. They are lords Hume, Seton, Sanquhar, Claude Hamilton, Livingston, Herries, Maxwell, Semple, the abbot of New Abbey, and others. Of gentlemen there are Ladyland, Lethington, Johnstone, Eldersley, the three brothers of lord Seton, and many others of the same sort. In the court and around Edinburgh the most powerful man is the duke of Lennox, a Frenchman, and a relative of the King, a young fellow of 23, very well inclined in religion, as his mother and brothers are Catholics. The King loves him dearly and would like to make him his heir, if he could, but the queen of England does not like it, and favours the house of Hamilton. The power of the Duke centres in the court, and he holds the office of Lord Admiral, whilst the earl of Mar is captain of Edinburgh Castle. The earl of Mar is a young man of the same age, married to his (Lennox's) sister. Both of them will follow the strongest party, although on their own account they are enemies of the Queen (of England). Those who now have the King in their

* Francis Stuart, earl of Bothwell, had attempted to seize James at Falkland, and on his failure had taken refuge in England. As will be seen in the correspondence, he afterwards became a pensioner of Spain entirely devoted to Philip's interest.

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hands are the men who were exiles in England, and entered Scotland four years ago with the Queen's support, capturing the King in Stirling Castle. These are the earl of Morton—a Douglas—president, lord Glamys, Treasurer; Maitland, Chancellor, who has now retired from court; Carmichael, Captain of the Guard; and the provost of Glenlouden, all persons of low condition except Morton, who can do but little, as the head of his own house, the Douglases, the earl of Angus, is a Catholic. The rest are powerless, and hated by all but the preachers and the queen of England. The King, it is understood, is anxious to get away from them, although out of fear of the queen of England he dares not say so. There are also the earl of Ross, Sir James Chisholm, the King's Steward, and Colonel Stuart, all of whom are Catholics.

The people generally outside of the cities are inclined to the Catholic faith, and hate the ministers, who disturb the country with their excommunications, backed up by the power of the queen of England, by aid of which they tyrannise even over the King and nobles. They have passed a law by which anyone who does not obey their excommunications within 40 days loses his rank and citizenship. This is enforced by the aid of the dregs of the towns and the English ambassador. The nobles and people are sick of this tyranny, and are yearning for a remedy. They are looking to his Majesty for his support for the restoration of the Catholic faith.

The Demands of the Catholics of Scotland for their deliverance.

First, the opinion of the above-mentioned nobles is, that with 3,000 foot soldiers sent either from Brittany or Spain to the south and west of Scotland, with arms for as many more, and stores for two months after their arrival, besides the funds herein-after mentioned, they would be able at once to take the King, and defend themselves against all the force of England.

The port of debarkation will be in one of the provinces of Carrick, Coyle, or Cunningham, where there are many safe harbours, and all the gentry around are Catholic. The desire of these gentlemen is that with part of the foreign force, and their own men, they should at once go and capture the King, and the two cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, which they think will be very easy. They would then like to reduce the rest of Scotland, and turn out or capture the principal heretics, and fortify the castles, which are all now utterly unprovided. They would then raise men, and make ready to resist the forces of England, which they think will be in Scotland in about two or three months.

The money they will want is 100,000 ducats, which they would wish to be brought by the commander his Majesty sends, or his commissary, so that he could pay for the things necessary from time to time, without distributing any of it to the lords, as has been done on other occasions, without any profit at all. The place that the lords have fixed upon as best for the landing is a bay called Lochryan, in the province of Carrick. The mouth is very narrow and can be easily held, and it is very deep inside, well protected from all winds. There is a town on one side called Intermessan, which may be made impregnable. To this place men and stores can be sent from all parts of Scotland by land and sea, and also from the neighbouring Catholic counties of England. Ireland is less than a day's sail distant.

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To this port also may be sent ships, etc., from Spain or elsewhere, by two routes, one by St. George's Channel, and the other round Ireland, which is quite safe and only two days longer. From Nantes to the port in question ships usually go in five or six days.

The lords think it will be unnecessary to send cavalry, at least at first, as they have plenty there of their own to cope with the English in Scotland.

They think that amongst the 3.000 or 4,000 men his Majesty might send Colonel Stanley, with his regiment of 1,000 English and Irishmen, now in his service in Flanders. They might go without attracting attention to Brittany, and there join the Spanish force; and then proceed to Scotland under the general appointed by his Majesty. The footing his Majesty now has in Brittany will greatly serve to conceal the Scottish enterprise, and it will also serve as a refuge or point d'appui in case of need.

Finally, these gentlemen are sure that, with his Majesty's help, they will capture the King at once, and will deal with him as his Majesty orders. They will convert to the faith the whole of Scotland, and keep the queen of England so busy that she cannot molest his Majesty, either in Flanders, France, or the Indies.

They think it would be very advantageous that the earl of Westmoreland and Baron Dacre, with other English gentlemen in his Majesty's service in Flanders, who are natives of the north of England, should be sent to the east of Scotland, when the Spanish contingent has landed in the west. They should not go with Colonel Stanley, to avoid suspicion. If the Scots soldiers in Flanders are also sent to the east coast they should land at Lord Seton's port, near Leith.

If his Majesty needs more information he is requested to send back to Scotland with the person who brings this some Spaniard of experience to treat with the gentlemen, and see the places in question. But this must be done with all secresy and speed, as the present state of affairs will bear no delay. If his Majesty cannot send the aid requested the greater part of the gentlemen named are determined to leave the kingdom, as they cannot maintain themselves against the devices and strength of the queen of England, who fears her ruin more from Scotland than any other part of the world, and is determined to undo her opponents there.

Note.—The bearer of the above message was a priest named John Cecil, who had been educated at the English Jesuit College at Valladolid. He seems to have been afterwards a spy in the service of Sir Robert Cecil.

31 Aug. Estado, 839. **618.** FATHER ROBERT PERSONS to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Introduces the bearer, a soldier in habit, but a priest by vocation, who brings an account of affairs in Scotland. He is a good man who has suffered for the cause, and full credit may be given to him. With regard to the special business about which he comes, the writer reminds Idiaquez that he has frequently said that the English and Scotch affairs might be advantageously taken in hand jointly. The difficulties which have presented themselves to this will be solved by the message of this priest. The nobles who send him have more at stake than anyone, and they consider the affair

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easy. It is a great thing to have converted so many gentlepeople to the faith in so few years, as he will relate. It is also very important that they can give a good harbour. Brittany being so near, too, is a great advantage. There are several points that have great weight with the writer. First, these lords are in such a condition that, if his Majesty will not help them, they will leave Scotland, which will mean entire English domination there. Secondly, in no place in the world can the queen of England be so much troubled as in Scotland, if these gentlemen can raise the force they say. Nothing has grieved her so much for years as these Scottish troubles. Thirdly, whenever France has been at war with England the French have always sent money and men to Scotland, which caused a diversion. They used to say that every thousand Frenchmen in Scotland were of more avail against England than 3,000 in France. So if his Majesty sends the 4,000 men they ask it will be better than 10,000 elsewhere against the Queen. Fourthly, the King (of Spain) has so many Scotsmen and Englishmen in his service in Flanders, where little is being done, and they can be employed with advantage in this matter. It might be well for his Majesty to send some person with this priest to Scotland, to investigate the state of affairs. He should be an experienced man, speaking some tongue other than Spanish, as otherwise he would certainly be discovered. William Bodenham might do. He speaks many languages, and Don Bernardino de Mendoza used to say that he was a man to be trusted. He only suggests this.

Pray console the Scotsmen somehow, and despatch the bearer without delay with an answer. For secrecy he is dressed as a soldier. For God's sake send him off soon, he has already been delayed on the road, and he has three English students with him, who have spent all they had. You must give him money to take him back to Scotland, and if his Majesty gives enough to take with him another priest it will be well.—Valladolid, 31st August 1583.

619. JOHN CECIL'S Statement.

With the above letter from Persons, introducing the priest John Cecil to Idiaquez, there is enclosed a holograph statement by Cecil himself, to the following effect:—

To the question his Lordship asked me the other day, as to what result would follow if the aid to Scotland were granted, I do not think I gave so full a reply as its importance demanded, my mind being full of other points at the time.

I now put in writing the answer I should have given, as his Lordship's many occupations and the strange garb I wear prevent me from having many interviews with him.

If the aid requested by the lords be sent—

1. It will enable them to seize the King and restore the Catholic faith.
2. It will secure Scotland for ever to his Majesty's interest.
3. There is no means so efficacious as this for troubling the queen of England, and preventing her from carrying out her ideas in France, Flanders, and the Indies.

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4. The great difficulties in the English enterprise always have been the sea voyage, the securing of a good harbour, and the question of the Catholics there joining the (Spanish) King's forces. All these difficulties are overcome by the small expenditure which will be incurred in this Scotch affair. The lords will find a harbour and defend it, the attack on England will be made where the Catholics are strongest, on the Scotch border, and there will be neither sea, fortresses, nor forces to prevent them from joining his Majesty's troops. The Queen cannot send an army thither under two or three months.

My own opinion is that the aid should be sent in the winter, as the land in Scotland is dry and sandy, and more adapted to bear artillery than that of England. In the winter an English force could make but slow progress. In the month of October the land (Scotland) is full of food, the harvest garnered, the fish barrelled, the cattle fat, etc.

I was delighted the other day to see the Prince, and I could hardly take my eyes off him, as I had so often heard heretics talk of his infirmity and imbecility, and the impossibility of his living many years. They found their hopes of the disruption of Spain on the King's death and the Prince's supposed incapacity, and this is the great theme of their books and sermons. Knowing this, my joy was great to see with my own eyes how mistaken these imps of Satan were, the Prince being so healthy, clever, and handsome. I wish a good portrait of him could be made and sold everywhere, so as to upset these heretic delusions.

(Prays for prompt dispatch. If the matter be undertaken he is anxious and ready to risk his life for it; but if not, pray let him go back and work in the Lord's vineyard again as before.)

Signed JOHN CECIL,
Pupil of the Seminary of Valladolid.

The above papers are docketed in Idiaquez's hand—"Father "Persons and the disguised one, and the relation of the latter, as to "the results to be expected from the Scotch affair."

4 Sep. Estado, 839.

620. MAURICE GERALDINE to PHILIP II.

Maurice Geraldine, heir of the earl of Desmond, and the other Irish gentlemen in your Majesty's service here, have received letters by the archbishop of Tuam, who is now in your Majesty's court, from the most powerful Catholics in Ireland, saying that they are concerting a war against the queen of England, and they beg us to supplicate your Majesty to send them succour with the utmost possible speed.

We know that these gentlemen are Catholics, and are at the present time the most powerful people in Ireland, and seeing that voluntarily they risk their lives to serve God and your Majesty, we have decided to beseech your Majesty, for the love of God, and with the utmost earnestness of which we are capable, to favour us all by looking down upon their need, and sending them such aid you consider advisable.

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We also beg to be allowed to go with it, to defend and support the enterprise, and we trust with the divine favour that your Majesty will be victorious, and conquer for yourself the realm of Ireland, and then enter by this means into England. It would be a great pity for these gentlemen to be lost for lack of succour, as the earl of Desmond was lost when he rose like these. We trust in God that your Majesty will consider well the advantage that will ensue to Christendom from this business. The conjuncture is favourable, the cause just, and all disposed to do good service. If promptness be displayed, the Queen must withdraw the contingent she sends to Flanders and France, and there will be fewer Englishmen on the coasts of Spain. We humbly beg your Majesty to favour the enterprise. We ourselves are ready to do anything we are ordered to do.—Lisbon, 4th September 1593. Don Mauricio Geraldino.

Estado, 839. **621.** STATEMENT of the ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM to PHILIP II.

The Irish archbishop of Tuam states that for some years past he has used great efforts, both publicly and privately, to unite the Catholics of Ireland, with the object of their taking up arms for the faith, and in your Majesty's service against the English heretics. His enterprise succeeded, and the most powerful chiefs of the north of Ireland heve now agreed, and have risen against the Queen, with the tacit consent of many other Catholics who would like to do the same. For this reason, in the name of all them, as your Majesty will see by the letters they write, he has come hither to acquaint your Majesty with it, and to beg your Majesty to show favour so good an opportunity as this is to keep the Queen busy in her own house. This your Majesty can easily do, as the gentlemen who have risen have in their own lands troops and good harbours; and also by means of the Irish gentlemen who are in your Majesty's service in these dominions, whose presence there would be most important, particularly that of Don Maurice Geraldine, cousin and heir of the earl of Desmond, and Viscount Baltinglas. The said Archbishop, therefore, humbly begs your Majesty to send some aid in troops and arms for the purpose named, and that an answer be given to him speedily with regard to the whole business, so that he may return at once as he has been ordered to do. If your Majesty will comply with this request, the queen of England will be so busy in Ireland that she will be unable to perturb the dominions of your Majesty, as she has hitherto done. She will indeed have need of the troops she is now employing against you.

STATEMENT made by the archbishop of Tuam with regard to the territories, men and commodities possessed by some of the gentlemen of the north of Ireland for the service of his Majesty, if he will send them succour against the English.

O'Donnell has 60 Irish miles of land from end to end, on the sea coast, with excellent harbours, capable of receiving any fleets sent thither. He can raise 3,000 men of his own vassals; and besides that he has the Scots within eight hours sail, with whom he has close friendship and kinship, and they would help him.

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Macguire has 40 miles of land, and can raise 2,000 men of his own vassals.

Bernard O'Rourke, whose father on his way to Scotland for help was unfortunately captured by the English and decapitated,* can raise 1,000 men, and no more, because the English, after having killed his father, devastated his lands. The lands of these three chiefs join, and together they can raise 600 horse.

The chiefs of the house of Burgh, a great and famous family, are continually in rebellion against the English, and can raise over 1,000 good men. They have also good harbours. Their lands are in Connaught, about 20 miles distant from the above-mentioned. There are many other Catholics of great importance in Ireland anxious to rise against the Queen, as soon as they see aid coming from your Majesty. And finally nearly all Irishmen are against the English, and wish to get rid of such evil neighbours.

Estado, 839. **622.** STATEMENT handed to the King by the archbishop of Tuam, pointing out the favourable opportunities that existed, by means of aid to be sent, for gaining all Ireland at a blow, and keeping the Queen so busy in Ireland that she will have no opportunity of troubling his Majesty's dominions, or aiding the heretics of France and Flanders.

1. Dwells at length on the circumstance that both Maurice Geraldine the heir of Desmond and his cousin Thomas Geraldine are both here (in the Peninsula) in his Majesty's pay, and how the province of Munster will rally to them if they go with a good force.

2. Similar arguments showing how Viscount Baltinglas and Charles O'Connor (both in his Majesty's pay) could raise Leinster with but few men the country being easily defensible, particularly one valley, which a few soldiers could hold against the world.

3. And as his Majesty at present has no other wish than to occupy the Queen in Ireland, and put her to expense and trouble, this could be done with small aid to the insurgents now in arms in the north, as everyone in the land will do his best to help, and in any case shelter and refuge would always be obtainable. Arms and ammunition could easily be sent to the ports, and thus an irregular war kept up, which would tire the enemy and disturb the whole country, as there are men in Ireland very experienced and adapted for such class of warfare.

NOTE in the handwriting of Philip II. attached to the aforegoing letter. It is doubtless addressed to his Secretary, Don Juan de Idiaquez.

"Here are the letters and notes that the Irish Archbishop has just given me. And if what they say is true, it would be a great pity not to help them. What they demand in one of the letters is very much, and would still be so if it were less than it is. You talk to him, and get to the bottom of it all, and then we will see what is the very smallest aid that will be needed. If it be so small that we

* The indictment of Brian O'Rourke will be found in Hatfield Papers, Part IV., p. 170.

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can give it, it will be well to help them. Let Don Cristobal (de Mora) know what you do in the matter."

NOTE in the handwriting of Don Juan de Idiaquez to the King.

"The Irish archbishop of Tuam says that it will be of great importance for the success of the confederacy of Irish Catholics, that your Majesty should write very affectionately to the earl of Tyrone, whose name is O'Neil, to induce him to enter into the confederacy openly. He already belongs to it secretly, and he should be assured that your Majesty's aid shall not fail them. The Archbishop consequently begs your Majesty to order a letter to be written to the earl to that effect."

NOTE in the handwriting of Don Juan de Idiaquez on the wrapper containing the papers concerning the archbishop of Tuam's mission.

"Letters and papers given by the archbishop of Tuam to his Majesty. The substance of them is as follows:—

That a very great opportunity exists to do much in Ireland by sending some succour to them.

That the succour should consist of from five to ten thousand men, or as many as may be convenient.

As they will go to harbours belonging to those who invite them, they will, of course, be well received.

Seven thousand footmen and 600 horse can be raised there, 6,000 of the men being raised by chiefs whose lands join each other, and the other thousand by a chief 20 miles off; and it is assumed that when the aid arrived many more would join than they now say."

Estado, 839.

623. STATEMENT made to his Majesty of the present condition of affairs in Ireland by the Irishman, John Slatimor, a pensioner of his Majesty, sent secretly to Ireland by his master, Maurice Geraldine, heir of the earldom of Desmond, in order to discover the position, and persuade his friends there to take up arms against the English.*

1. The chiefs of the North, who are in arms against the Queen, have 4,000 men in the field, one thousand of whom are harquebussiers. There are many Scotsmen amongst them.

2. The Viceroy recently ordered men to be sent to Ulster against them, but he was badly served, for a dispute arose between four of his principal followers, as to who should command the expedition, and this was one of the principal causes why the design was frustrated.

3. As a means of remedying the confusion thus caused, the Viceroy and council ordered the formation of four squadrons, to be commanded respectively by the four personages referred to; each squadron to go by a different road towards the disturbed country.

* In a copy of a letter in the same packet from an Irishman named Patrick Comerford, who had been sent to Spain as a spy, and had returned to Ireland, the writer states that he gave information of Slatimor's going to Ireland, and was authorised to arrest him.

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But since then the matter has slackened, and they have not gone forward, but have sent to England for reinforcements.

4. The Viceroy and council have ordered that all cities, towns, and villages in Ireland should lend a certain sum to the Queen to prosecute the war.

5. Orders were also sent to all gentlemen in Ireland to bring in their men, armed at their own expense, to aid the Viceroy, but very few have done so, and those unwillingly, so that no effect has been produced.

6. In all the towns of the realm the Maeguires, O'Roukes, Burghs, and Mackennas, and the rest of the insurgents, were proclaimed traitors and enemies of the Queen.

7. The enemies heard of the archbishop of Tuam's coming to Spain to ask for aid, and have taken means to try to catch him on his return if they can. Our people are anxiously awaiting his reply, and are full of hope and energy.

8. The principal gentlemen of Munster have sent to Don Maurice Geraldine and his cousin, Thomas Geraldine, to say secretly that they are ready to rise against the English at any moment, if they will come with aid. They are very firm.

9. A similar message has been sent to Viscount Baltinglas by his friends and allies, especially Feagh McHugh, who can do great harm to the English, as he has some strong places on his lands, particularly one, in a famous valley, where 15 soldiers, with plenty of ammunition, could hold the place against the world.

10. A merchant named Patrick Comerford came to Bilbao last year to spy, and on his return gave notice that the Geraldines were sending one of their men hither to plot with their friends against the Queen, as will be seen by enclosed copy of a letter which I got from a friend.

11. The English have recently discovered in Ireland a silver mine, and have sent to England some patachos loaded with silver, and they are daily extracting more. This mine is near Wexford.

12. The affairs of Ireland are now in such a state that if his Majesty will send prompt and powerful aid, great effect will be produced. The Queen will be kept busy at home with small cost to his Majesty. In order to keep the war alive it would be well to send at once some arms and ammunition, especially harquebusses and powder; and one of the Irish gentlemen in his Majesty's pay should be sent thither to animate them with his presence.

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June. Estado, 839.

624. CHARGES brought against certain ENGLISH CATHOLICS residing in Lisbon, and investigated by the ALCALDE VALLADARES.*

The following were the accused:—

John Pigford, organist of the King's Chapel.

Roger Parker, merchant.

* From an undated document in the same bundle (Estado, 839), these men were apparently denounced by a countryman named Owen Elton, described as sergeant-major. It will be seen in page 599 of this volume that Taylor and Ranken were put upon their trial, in conjunction with an Irishman named Richard Butler.

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Thomas Smithe, eating-house keeper.
Thomas Lewis, painter.
Edward Bars, merchant.
Roger Garland, gunner in Lisbon Castle.
John Redmond, merchant, and others.

(The charges were mainly for espionage, smuggling, harbouring, and consorting with heretics, and indirectly giving information to their countrymen, to the injury of Spain. The result of a long inquiry was that the above and following Englishmen were said to be really heretics, although professing to be Catholics, and are recommended by the magistrate to be treated as such.)

John Taylor, English Consul.
Roger Jeffrey, innkeeper.
Henry Long, innkeeper.
John Harris, broker.
John Ranken, merchant.
William Lacon, merchant.
Henry Guedester, vagabond.
George Bromley, merchant.
William Green, gunner in the castle.
James, a one-legged gunner in Belem Castle.

12 Aug. Latin, Estado, 839. **625.** EARLS of HUNTLY and ERROL to PHILIP II.

Letter of credence for Walter Lindsay Baron Balgarys. In very fervent terms they pray for prompt aid to uphold and establish their Catholic faith, and to extirpate the curse of heresy under which for so many years their country has laboured.—Scotland, 12th August 1594. Signed, George Earl of Huntly, Francis Earl of Errol.

Oct. Latin. **626.** WILLIAM EARL of ANGUS and FRANCIS EARL of ERROL to PHILIP II.

Letter of credence and recommendation to Fathers James Gordon and John Cecil to go to Spain to represent to his Majesty the case of the Catholics of Scotland.

5 October. Estado, 839. **627.** WILLIAM EARL OF ANGUS to PHILIP II.

In order to convey to your Highness the good will I possess to follow you, and to avoid the appearance of ill-breeding, or ignorance of what is due to your Highness, and fitting for myself, I send these few lines to place myself at your Highness's entire service, with all my strength, to be employed ever as you may command. In this unhappy country we have no other hope than the aid of your Highness, and in the name of the rest of the Catholics here, I supplicate your Highness to help heartily a cause so just, meritorious, and necessary, in conformity with the statement which will be made to you by Father Cecil, who is the bearer of this.

As regards my own person, I beg your Highness to favour me by giving me this consolation in all my troubles, namely, to place me

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amongst the number of your favoured and loyal servants, and dispose entirely at your will of all I have and all I am.—Scotland, 5th October, 1594.

Note.—The above holograph letter, like all those of the earl of Angus, is written by him in perfect Spanish, whilst the communications from all the other Scottish nobles are in Latin.

S. D. (October ?) Estado. 839.

628. WILLIAM EARL OF ANGUS to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

In order that you may learn minutely all the need in which we have been placed by our desire to serve God and his Majesty, I think well to take this opportunity of saluting you, and informing you that as the coming of Father James Gordon is doubtful, we have determined, in any case, to send Father Cecil and also to send men from various parts so that if some are unfortunate, others may carry the message. We here in the west have consulted with other Catholics, and have thought well to send with this mission Hugh Barclay, a gentleman of high position, who has fought for the faith until he had the rope round his neck. He is an experienced man, who can give a good account of affairs, and of our wants here, especially on this coast, and consequently we all think it would be very foolish not to send him. We send this to say that you may give entire credit to what he tells you. Personally you may command me entirely as usual.—Scotland, 1594. William Earl of Angus.

October. Estado, 839.

629. DOCUMENTS headed, Heads of the paper of Baron Balgarys, presented in the name of the Scottish Catholics.

That his Majesty should grant him a patent assuring them of their liberties, and that the war should be declared to be undertaken to restore the Catholic religion.

That for the entrance into England the command should be given either to the Cardinal Archduke Albert or to his brother the Archduke Ernest. Either of them would be welcomed by Scotsmen.

That for the war in Scotland itself, his Majesty should be pleased to select for command a Catholic Scottish noble during the time the King remains a heretic, and indeed if he change his opinions, as his conversion cannot be believed in, and that his Majesty should confer some dignity upon the general so selected.

That a fleet should be sent to protect them, and an army which may enter England. That 20 small ships should be granted to them with 1,000 good horses, and money to arm and pay 24,000 Scotsmen, as well as arms for the Scottish priests, for their own—which were their books—have been burnt by the heretics.

That the Spaniards sent, both in the army and the fleet, be pious and willing to mix with Scotsmen, so that they should form one army under a single general. It is left to his Majesty's discretion what steps should be taken to restore the Catholic faith.

That his Majesty should be pleased to found a college, where the sons of the principal Scots might be educated and taught letters, as

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well as the reverence they owe to the king of Spain, which should be obligatory on their successors in Scotland.

That priests should be sent with full authority to check the license of the soldiery as much as possible.

That the money sent from Spain should be destined to certain defined uses, and not applicable to any other purposes, and that should be given as a written undertaking to the King.

That with the exception of the soldiers necessary for the defence of the fleet, the rest of the army should enter England without delay, as otherwise war might break out in Scotland itself, which would embarrass the expedition and render the result doubtful. No delay will arise from the Scots, as they are anxious to obey orders.

Note.—There are two dockets on the wrappers of the aforegoing Scottish papers, in the handwriting of Idiaquez, respectively as follows:—"The dispatches brought by the Scottish barons respecting "the Scottish Catholics. They were despatched in September 1595. "referred to the Archduke" and "The letter and paper given by "the Scottish gentleman to his Majesty at San Lorenzo, October 20, "1594."

November. Latin. Estado, 839.

630. EARL OF ANGUS and LORDS SEMPLE and HERYS to PHILIP II.

The going of James Gordon being doubtful, they are sending Father John Cecil, and in default of him, or to aid him, Hugo Barclay, a worthy gentleman of noble birth and exemplary piety, who has suffered greatly for the Catholic faith, and is exceedingly well informed of affairs, particularly of the parts of the country on the coast. They beg for full credence for the envoys; and earnestly beseech prompt aid in their just cause.—Scotland. Kalends of November, 1594. Signed Angus, Semple, Herys.

1595 (?). May (?) Estado, 839.

631. The SCOTTISH CATHOLIC NOBLES to the KING.

Sire, the Scot nobles who, with their blood, have fulfilled all that in their name was promised to your Majesty by the priest John Cecil, and not alone by their firm profession of the Catholic faith, but also by their devotion to your Majesty's service, have risked their lives, estates, goods, and reputation; and have risen in arms against the united forces of England and Scotland, gaining the glorious victory they did in October,* but over the English troops sent from Ireland, and the Scottish troops paid by the English Queen; on which occasion they captured the King's standard, and his commission ordering the expulsion of all the papists, seminarists, jesuits, and other confederates of Spain:—They humbly pray your Majesty to send them promptly the aid promised to them in your Majesty's name by Sergeant Porres and John Cecil. In full dependence upon your Majesty's promise, the said nobles have

* This was the famous battle of Glenlivat or Balrinnes, in which young Argyll, with his 8,000 highlanders, was defeated by Huntly and Errol, with 1,500 lowlanders. The stirring ballad of the Battle of Balrinnes gives a minute account of the engagement.

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placed themselves in the dangerous position already described, refusing all offers of agreement made to them on behalf of the queen of England, to the effect that they should have full protection and liberty for their faith in their own territories, if they would undertake not to treat with Spain.

It is now about two years ago since your Majesty sent Sergeant Porres and gave them hopes of succour, and Baron Balgarys has been here for the last seven months, pleading for them. They have now dispatched Baron Ladyland and John Cecil, as the last messengers they will be able to send on this business.

Your Majesty is already sufficiently informed of the need for sending aid promptly to these gentlemen, and how greatly such aid would serve the cause of God and your Majesty. In all other things they submit themselves to your Majesty's orders, and only supplicate your Majesty, if possible, to fulfil your royal word. If this be impossible, they pray for a reply and dismissal.

God grant, etc.

JOHN CECIL.
BALTHASAR DE BALGARYS.*
LADYLAND.

1595 (?) May ?
Estado, 839.

632. The SCOTTISH CATHOLIC NOBLES to the KING.

Sire, in the month of June last year his Holiness sent to Scotland Juan de Sapires with instructions to offer the King a subsidy of 4,000 ducats a month to avenge the death of his mother, or otherwise another subsidy of 1,000 a month if he would agree to let the Catholics live in peace according to their own conscience. These offers having been refused by the King, the Catholics depending upon the promises made to them in your Majesty's name, of sufficient aid, promptly took up arms, and are still in force, for the purpose of avenging themselves upon England, and defending the Catholic faith. They now humbly beg, therefore, since they placed themselves in this position in reliance on your Majesty's word, that your Majesty will be pleased to let them know promptly what you can do for them. They also pray for your Majesty to favour them with the Pontiff, and ask him to join your Majesty in the matter of sending them succour, by extending to the Catholics on similar conditions the subsidy be offered to the King. They have every hope (if your Majesty will decide quickly) so to arrange matters that not only will they ensure peace and freedom of conscience, and revenge upon our common enemies, but also that the tranquillity of your Majesty's dominions, and the welfare of Christendom will follow their success. Everything, however, depends upon promptness, which we commend to your Majesty as the life and soul of our pretensions, our estates, and reputations.

JOHN CECIL.
BALTHASAR DE BALGARYS.
LADYLAND.

* His name, of course, was Walter Lindsay, and he was the eldest son of the earl of Crawford. I do not find that he signs himself Balthasar de Balgarys elsewhere than in this letter and the following one.

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August. Estado, 839.

633. DOCUMENT headed, Paper given by the third Scotsman.

On the 5th July, Matthew Semple, gentleman, left Paris for Spain on behalf of the earls of Huntly and Bothwell, and Lord Semple, all of whom had left Scotland in consequence of the confusion in the news coming from Flanders, by which the Catholics were made to believe that his Majesty would do nothing for Scotland, except with the co-operation of the King. The king of Scotland was also kept informed of what was in progress, and he deceitfully contiuued on good terms with the lords. They, however, knew his intention, and paid no attention to his doings, but still hoped that his Majesty (Philip) would not permit so much injustice to be done. But as an answer was so long delayed, contrary to their expectations, they began to suspect that the corrupt management of the Scottish king had upset the plan, as he not only continued this trick in Flanders, but industriously sought to gain the nobles, either by force or chicanery. At last, as no answer came, they made sure that his manœuvres had succeeded, though the king of Scotland wrote to them frequently that he was of the same intention as they were, and was himself secretly planning the means, pending the arrival of aid from Spain. He also said it was necessary that he should maintain a secret correspondence with them. He must, however, he said, still appear severe publicly, and assured them that he only wanted a show of obedience to him by two or three of them leaving Scotland for any other country, except the king of Spain's dominions, for as long or short a period as they liked. This was written secretly, and with many expressions of affection; but there was a public arrangement that many should ostensibly be banished, although only the three named really went. This was agreed amongst the Catholics, in order to test the truth of the news from Flanders, spread by idle people there, who for years have had no communication with Scotland. They left their lands well guarded by the rest of the Catholics, such as Angus, Errol, and Herys, who hold the authority of these others in their absence. Huntly is at Cologne, and Bothwell and Semple in Paris. Semple first passed through Flanders to test the truth of the reports, but could find no impartial person to inform him, and went on to Paris, where advices were received from Huntly which caused them to dispatch the said Matthew Semple to Spain, with letters of credence, to learn the true state of affairs, and to convey the intention of the three lords to his Majesty. We beg that the resolution arrived at may be prompted by the knowledge that the love and determination of the Catholics will not waver, if his Majesty will treat them in accordance with their deserts, and they urge his Majesty to act with more promptitude, either in deeds or resolution in writing, and if promises are punctually fulfilled he may always count upon the fidelity of the Catholic lords.

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May. Estado, 839.

634. DOCUMENT endorsed:—"The Paper delivered in May 1596 "by the Irish Confessor who came with the approval "of the Bishop-confessors. A true relation of the events "happening to the Catholics of Ireland, from the 1st "January 1596 to the 28th March 1596."

At the beginning of January the earl of Tyrone, who is now Prince, and Grand O'Neil, commanding the Catholics, sallied from

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his principality of Ulster, which is the fifth part of Ireland, and entered Munster near Dublin, arriving within eight leagues of the city, where many Catholic gentlemen joined him, especially a great gentleman named O'Reilly, with all his following, his estates being 30 leagues long. They took a fortress called Cavan, and killed all the heretics there. All the Catholic gentlemen of Meath sent word that if the Catholic King would send them help they would join at once.

2. About the same time Bernard O'Neil, cousin of the earl of Tyrone, killed 400 English heretics near an English fort called Newry (?), and as many more near another fort called Carlingford.

3. On the 13th February, in Connaught, where Galway alone remains in English hands, two powerful Catholic chiefs, O'Donaill and O'Rourke, gathered an army of 8,000 foot and 500 horse. They arrived within three leagues of Galway, where they were met by 3,000 English, of whom but few escaped by flight to Galway. For want of artillery the Catholics could not attack the place, but they captured many horses and stores.

4. Three days after this victory, six great chiefs who were on the English side, joined the Catholics, with all their vassals. They are named O'Connor Don, who has 20 leagues of land, O'Kelly as much, O'Connor Roe,* 12 leagues, Macguire (?) as much, Macdam,† 8 leagues, O'Flaherty, 12 leagues, O'Malley, 8 leagues, all of which lands join. The English then fled from that province to the neighbourhood of Dublin. Only 300 English remained in the province, in two fortresses called Killaloe and Roscommon, which the Catholics cannot take for want of artillery.

5. Soon after, O'Rourke, a brave Catholic, killed 100 Englishman near one of the said fortresses.

6. In the same month O'Rourke entered Meath near Dublin, where he was joined by many Catholics. One, named O'Ferrall, whose lands extend 10 leagues by 5, joined with all his vassals, over 600 of them. There also many principal Catholics, now subject to the English, sent to say that if the king of Spain would send help they would join him.

7. In Leinster a great chief named O'More has risen against the English, and burnt 14 towns and villages of heretics, the English in them being burnt and killed. O'Rourke and the Catholics of Connaught sent aid to O'More, though he was 30 leagues from Connaught, and on the way they burnt many English, with their villages and castles.

8. The earl of Tyrone, the Catholic general, pays the soldiery every month, and hitherto has paid them well. It was, therefore, said that there was plenty of Spanish money in the Catholic army. It was suspected that his Majesty was paying them, and it was feared he might send an armed force from Spain.

9. When I left the city of Dublin on the 28th March, the Catholics (although they had made a two months' truce with the English, in the hope Spanish succour arriving), had two different armies, 40 leagues apart; one commanded by Tyrone, with 16,000

* O'Connor Roe was one of the chiefs of the McDermots.
† Probably McDermot.

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infantry and 2,000 horse, within eight leagues of Dublin (where reside the Viceroy and General Norris, who has lost all his men), and the other army, under O'Donnaill and O'Rourke, in Connaught, near Galway, with 10,000 men. When the truce expires they intend to follow the English into Munster, where (and in Dublin) all that are still alive have taken refuge.

10. The Englishwoman is raising troops in England, and it is said she intends to send 20,000 men to Ireland in this month of May, but if his Catholic Majesty will send help, the Catholics do not fear as many more.

11. The Catholics greatly need great artillery, muskets and powder, and they have no doubt that when his Majesty sends aid, with artillery to attack towns and fortresses in English hands, they will have the whole country in their power.

12. The Catholics wish (if his Majesty sends the help, as they hope to God he will) that he will send with it the bishops, priests, and other Irishmen now in Spain, and that they (the Spaniards) should enter Connaught by Galway, or Leinster near Dublin, where the Catholics will at once join them.

13. This is all the bearer, who was confessor to O'Donnaill and O'Rourke, knows of his own knowledge, having seen it. The Catholics having no ships, he came disguised to Dublin, and out of fear of the English, could bring no writing from the chiefs. He may say in addition to the above that all that the bishop of Clonfert has told his Majesty about Irish events is true.

15 May. Estado, 839.

635. CERTIFICATE given by CAPTAIN ALONSO COBOS to the IRISH CATHOLICS.

I, Captain Alonso Cobos, hereby certify that I arrived in this realm of Ireland at the time when the Irish chiefs had almost concluded peace with the Queen, on terms satisfactory to themselves, and that solely on conscientious grounds, and out of affection for his Majesty, they desisted from finally making peace, taking up arms against the queen of England, and sincerely turning their hearts to God, and the King, in whose services as faithful vassals they remain during his Majesty's pleasure. As I know this to be the truth, I give this solemn testimony at the request of the chiefs, under my hand and seal.—Leffer, 15th May 1596.

16 May. Estado, 839.

636. RELATION of ENSIGN ALONSO COBOS of his VOYAGE TO IRELAND. He left Santander on the 22nd April 1596.

(A detailed account is given of his journey, with particulars of the country, from a military point of view, and of the strength of the Catholic Chiefs, to whom he was sent to dissuade them from continuing their peace negotiations with the English. As his account differs in no material particular from that of Captains Cisneros and Medinilla, who went to Spain in the following month, it is not reproduced here.) There is also in the packet a similar relation by Captain Ochoa, with several rough charts and soundings of the Irish coast, and a nautical description of the same.

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16 May. Latin. Estado, 839. **637.** O'NEIL and O'DONNAILL to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Letter sent by Ensign Cobos, assuring his Majesty that they would stand firm, and would follow his wishes. Refers his Majesty for information to the bishop of Clonfert (who resided at Burgos), and Bernard O'Donnaill.*—Leffer (Lifford ?), 16th May 1596.

16 May. Latin. Estado, 839. **638.** O'NEIL and O'DONNAILL to the KING.

Letter also sent by Ensign Cobos, begging for armed force to be sent to their aid in re-establishing the Catholic faith, and that Philip will appoint the Cardinal Archduke Albert to be their Prince. —Leffer (Lifford ?), 16th May 1596.

25 May. Latin. Estado, 839. **639.** O'NEIL and O'DONNAILL to the KING.

Before the arrival of the King's messenger, very favourable offers of peace had been made to them on behalf of the Viceroy, giving to Catholics full freedom and liberty of conscience. They are unwilling to make peace with the heretics, as it may be a subterfuge of the English, but unless aid reaches them soon, they may be forced to do so. Again beg for 6,000 soldiers and arms for 10,000 more.—Donegal, 25th May 1596.

25 May. Latin. Estado, 839. **640.** MACWILLIAM (BURKE) to the KING.

In the name of the oppressed Catholics risen against the tyranny and cruelty of the English, he fervently prays for help to be sent to them. (The terms of this letter are extremely violent, in contrast with the more dignified tone of the letters of O'Neil and O'Donnaill, which, however, seem to have been written by the same scribe.)—Donegal, 25th May 1596.

Note.—Similar letters to the above were written to Philip about the same date by the bishop of Raphoe, Macguire, Donatus MacSuyne lord of Tyrbane, and O'Rourke. All the letters appear to have been sent in duplicate or triplicate. Some are signed in Irish, and some in Latin characters, the body of the letters, in all cases, being in Latin.

May ? Estado, 839. **641.** INSTRUCTIONS given by Count Portalegre to Captains Luis de Cisneros and de Medinilla, as to the questions they are to ask the earl of Tyrone, and the information they are to obtain, with the answers given thereto.

In virtue of your credence you will assure them (the Irish Catholics) of his Majesty's goodwill, which they deserve for their acts and quality, and especially for their defence of the Catholic faith in Ireland. The King rejoiced greatly at their victory last year, and the bravery that won it.

* By the statement, dated 8th December, 1598, made by Bernard O'Donnell to the Bishop of Limerick (State Papers, Irish), this man seems to have been the writer of all these letters.

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To keep the fruits, perseverance is needed, and he exhorts them to stand firm, and to seek means to continue the war against the heretics. The King sends Captain Medinilla to stay with them, and advise and help them, and he has with him two experienced soldiers. Cisneros will return to his Majesty to inform him of what you have seen and heard. You are to seek detailed information as to their present position, the strength of the enemy, the plans of attack, and resistance, and as soon as you have gained all the knowledge you can, you will start homeward. Let them know that your speedy return will be advantageous.

1. You will ask them what they wish his Majesty to do for them. Goodwill will never be wanting on his part in defence of their faith and lands, so long as their demands be regulated by prudence, and due consideration. You will also assure them of my (Count Portalegre's) personal desire to serve them.

   You will discuss with them the question of the aid they request, and after getting from every assurance of sincerity, firmness and means, you will hint softly at the difficulties in the way, to see how they meet them, but do not push the matter far enough to cause distrust.

(*Reply.*—" Arms for 10,000 footmen. Corseletes, pikes, morrions, " harquebusses and muskets, powder balls, cord, &c. One " thousand men should at once be sent with the munitions.")

2. You will thus open the conference, and other points will follow, which cannot all be foreseen here. You must especially urge them to secrecy. If they are willing for Captain Medinilla to stay, he may do so, but do not press it if they seem unwilling.

   First you must ascertain whether real unity exists amongst these chiefs, and whether they will obey Tyrone. Does the latter command by authority or prayers?

(*Reply.*—The earl of Tyrone and O'Donnel are like one man, and the rest respect them.)

3. Is this Catholic league of theirs really for the support of the faith, or for any private ends of their own?

(*Reply.*—They are making war sincerely in defence of the Catholic faith.)

4. Do they admits heretics who for any reason are willing to join them against the Queen, if they grant liberty of conscience to them?

(*Reply.*—They will not do so on any account.)

5. What forces of horse and foot have they, and what means of keeping them together, especially outside of their own lands?

(*Reply.*—They carry victuals with them for the time they arrange beforehand to be away from their lands. They raise 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse.)

6. Are the roads to the territories and ports they desire to conquer fit for artillery?

(*Reply.*—No artillery could be sent from their land to any port to which our fleet could go. It is very marshy.)

7. Are there waggons for the guns? Inform yourself especially about passes, fords, and bridges.

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(*Reply.*—The passes of the rivers are difficult, but mostly fordable. Some are crossed by boats or bridges. Inland the passes are good.)

8. What victuals can be had in the country, bread, meat, beer, barley, flour, hay, &c.?

(*Reply.*—Although the land is desolated by war, they have enough for their own support and no more.)

9. Is there enough milling acccommodation for themselves, and those who may be sent as well?

(*Reply.*—The water-mills suffice for the people here, but there are facilities for constructing many more.)

10. How do they raise their troops. Do they use carts and horses for transport?

(No reply.)

11. Inform yourself well about the quality of the ports in the hands of the Queen; and which of them is capable of receiving a great fleet to attack the Catholics.

(*Reply.*—The ports possessed by the Queen are the town of Drogheda, with an ancient wall, the city of Dublin, also an ancient fortress, and the residence of the Viceroy. The munitions, &c., are kept there and a small garrison. Rosse is an old fortress. Waterford has a tower with a little ordnance, and a port capable of receiving a great fleet. Wexford an old fortress, and Dungarvan a harbour with a castle and a few English.)

Youghal is an ancient walled port.

Cork an ancient port.

Limerick an ancient walled city, capable of harbouring a great fleet. Galway the same. These are all the ports held by the Queen.)

12. You will discuss between yourselves, in view of what you see and hear, the best way to carry out the enterprise.

What sort of ships, and what number of them will be required?

(No reply.)

13. Can they do without cavalry? If not, how many and how armed?

(*Reply.*—A thousand lancers and two or three hundred mounted harquebussiers, for whom horses may be bought here.)

14. What spare ordnance should be sent to be landed, and how many artillery mules? Can pioneers with tools be had there used to the work? Must the tools be sent from here?

(*Reply.*—The pioneers can be obtained, but spades, picks, hatchets, &c. must be sent and a full company of pioneers to teach the people.)

15. Try to learn particulars of the fortresses they expect to gain, as much depends upon that.

(No reply.)

16. Discover particulars of all the Queen's forces there.

(No reply.)

17. How many places has she fully garrisoned, the number of troops and their nationality? How are they victualled, and which of them are nearest to the Catholic strongholds?

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Has she generally ships in the Irish ports, and how many?

Are there any hidden Catholics in the ports and fortresses held by the Queen?

Are they (the Catholics) forced to stay with the heretics or are they content to do so? If a strong force were to be sent, would many declare against the heretics?

(*Reply.*—It is considered certain that, as soon as they saw our fleet, they would declare for us.)

18. Who commands in the island? Is John Norris or any other important officer there?

(*Reply.*—The Viceroy is William Russell. John Norris is commander-in-chief.)

You will endeavour to learn all this very thoroughly and speedily.

You are well aware of the difficulty there was in finding the pilots who are to take you, and even they are not experienced anywhere north of Galway. When you enter Donegal, or any other port, let these pilots examine it thoroughly; and if it be not too far, and is possible, let two of them go ashore and reconnoitre the coast as far as Cape Teelin. At least let Sligo, Donegal, Easky and Teelin be well reconnoitred. Ask the earl (of Tyrone) to give you a couple of pilots, if there are any who know the coast well. Take four, if you can get them, and offer them good wages on his Majesty's fleet.

6 June. Estado, 839. **642.** CORNELIUS BISHOP OF KILLALOE (LAON), to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Reports arrival of Henry O'Ryan, with the two Spanish captains who were sent to Ireland. Refers to the information there obtained by them, and says that the chiefs have written to him (the bishop), to join his prayers to theirs that his Majesty will send them the aid they beg for, and if that cannot be sent this year, that he will send 1,000 men at once to enable them to keep the war alive until the army comes. They pray for the Cardinal Archduke Albert for their prince. Begs for a letter to the Spanish ambassador in Rome, to induce the Pope to translate him from Laon and to send him to Ireland with the fleet.—Lisbon, 6th June 1596.

7 June. Estado, 839. **643.** COUNT PORTALEGRE to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

The captains who went to Ireland arrived here (Lisbon) yesterday, having left Ireland on the 24th May. Near this port, at 10 o'clock at night, they were met by an English ship, which, not knowing they were a war ship, sent two boats to board them. They attacked the ship, which was larger than theirs, and the fight lasted a long time. We had only 14 men, and they discharged the pieces twice. They killed three of our men, amongst them the captain, a fine young sailor, an Aragonese, named Julio de las Cuevas. Our ship got away and entered port in the morning. The Englishmen in the two boats could not get back to their ship again; and having nothing to eat, surrendered to some fishermen in the evening. They

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say that they left London two months ago, and at that time the Queen had 100 ships in the fleet. They do not know the destination of the fleet or anything else of consequence.*

The captains bring a reply from the four lords to whom his Majesty wrote, and they also wrote to me. They have been joined by another chief called the marquis of Connaught, who has taken possession of nearly all that province. The substance of what happened is that they all met in Donegal, after some difficulty, as it was distant for some of them, and although they are in accord, they are not so entirely so as to make it easy to bring them thither.

They were delighted with his Majesty's message and proposals; although two of them had already carried their negotiations for an arrangement so far as to have given hostages, and had consented to conditional terms, which would be difficult to carry out. The reply the chiefs send is to the effect that they place themselves and their forces, &c. at his Majesty's disposal to join the forces he will send. They ask for arms for 10,000 footmen, and 200 mounted harquebussiers. If the fleet cannot go this summer, they want 1,000 soldiers and the 200 harquebussiers, for whom they will find horses. They will keep the war alive with these, until his Majesty sends a fleet with six or seven thousand, when they will conquer the island for him, and completely turn out the English. They say they are sincere Catholics, admit no heretics amongst them, and will die to shake off the yoke of heresy.

The fleet should anchor in Limerick, as the marquis of Cannaught can help greatly there. The rest of them promise to keep the enemy engaged, so that the fleet shall not meet with resistance. There are no modern forts, and little ordnance; but the Queen has 6,000 or 7,000 foreign soldiers, having no confidence in the natives, who will all come over to us, these lords assert, as soon as they see a foreign force in their favour.

If no aid be sent this year, the visit of the captains, they say, will have done them much harm, and for this reason they decided that Captain Medinilla should not stay there. I think they were wise in this; because if they are so hard pressed as to be obliged to come to terms, they can say that they dismissed the captains without any encouragement. The people seemed to the captains very fond of fighting, and very apt for it. They can raise and place in the field as many men as may be wanted, and they offer 40,000 for the English enterprise. They have against them John Norris, who commands. The forces that are sent must take victuals until they get command of the plains. This is all I can say at present. I should have sent one of the captains with the despatches to-day, but the other would have been jealous at his going alone, as he wants to do. I shall manage somehow to patch it up. I am more anxious about the news from Scotland, which is of quite recent date. I send with it the letter of the man who brought the news to Colonel Semple.—Lisbon, 7th June 1596.

* Captain Cisneros' account of this engagement, which took place off the rock of Cintra, is given in a letter written by him direct to Don Juan de Idiaquez, on the 10th June, but as it does not differ in any material respect from the above it is not reproduced here.

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11 June. **644.** COUNT PORTALEGRE to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.
Estado, 839.

By the special courier I despatched on the 7th instant, you will have received the account of what the captains had said and done in Ireland. Cisneros got a knock on the leg which prevents him from travelling, but he had concealed it from me, so as not to arouse my distrust.

I now enclose the despatches they brought, which are doubtless for the purpose of accrediting them. Even if this be so, I do not think there is anything more to be got from the captains beyond what they have told me, nor from the ensigns who left Ireland before them, leaving some of their number behind. I hope to God they have all arrived safe, for it would be very unfortunate for the enemy to take any of those ships. I opened Cisneros' letter to you, to see how he wrote respecting the marquis of Connaught's letter, a piece of trifling, arising out of the jealousy between Cisneros and Medinilla, as I am told by the ensigns. To tell the truth, I think they might well have avoided such conduct.

Medinilla began it by refusing to accompany the marquis of Connaught and Cisneros by land to summon the chiefs to the meeting, although Cisneros and the ensigns were of opinion that they ought to be summoned, and it was so laid down in the instructions. Cisneros got them together, and did very well, but he made a mistake afterwards in refusing to bring an Irish priest named Bernard (O'Donnell), who has been in Spain and is a servant of the marquis of Connaught. I cannot understand why he objected to bring him, as he was requested to do so by all of them, and particularly as the Marquis is so important a person and got the rest of them together. If he was influenced by the idea that the priest might cut him out in the subsequent negotiations here, he was the more to blame. I am vexed at this, as it may cause annoyance there, but the bishop of Laon (Killaloe ?) sends me word that it is of no importance. Perhaps the priest will come in the ship that remained there. The letter from the Marquis to which Cisneros refers was brought to me secretly by Medinilla. Cisneros only suspected who had shown it to me. The rest of this mission was well executed.

Cisneros is a man who may be entrusted with any business. The other is a brave soldier but with less theory.

I also send the answers they gave to certain points in their instructions (*see page* 621), although they are better set forth in my letter of the 7th instant. The statement of the pilot also goes herewith, which clearly shows the difficulty and false information about that navigation. Please consider all these Irish papers, and if the main aid cannot be sent them this year in consequence of the English fleet, nor even the 1,000 men they request, see promptly what answer his Majesty wishes sent to their letters, as their negotiations for an agreement depend entirely upon that.

The ensigns Andrés Leal, Marcos Sanchez, both good soldiers, and Antonio Zangroniz, a very smart, promising lad, all did very well, and you might put them in the list of captains. They deserve it.—Lisbon, 11th May (June) 1596.*

* The original is dated, in error, 11th May, but the context clearly shows that 11th June was the correct date.

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S.D. (June ?) Estado, 839.

645. RELATION brought from Ireland by the Ensigns DOMINGO JIMENEZ and CRISTOBAL MONTERO.

The Irish request arms for 10,000 infantry, corselets, pikes, morions, harquebusses or muskets, powder, balls, &c., and 1,000 men at once.

The earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell are as one, and the rest respect them.

The chiefs are all truly united, their principal reason for the war being their dislike of heretics, none of whom are admitted in their company.

These chiefs on occasion can raise 3,000 men, horse and foot.

They take with them on the march butter, and milk for drink.

This with herbs, and a little oat bread suffices for them.

Their lands will not admit the passage of artillery, as it is very marshy.

There are rivers which are crossed with great trouble, as there are no bridges or boats. We have reason to know this, as we travelled 37 leagues with these chiefs. There is not a tree nor a bit of timber in the north, with which to make bridges.

They have not enough victuals for themselves.

There are many water and handmills, with material for as many as may be required.

The ports are splendid, Killibeg, Tellin (Teelin), Sligo, and others would accommodate a large fleet.

The harbours in the hands of the Qeeen are:—

Drogheda, an old walled city.

Dublin, the residence of the Viceroy, where the arms, &c., are kept.

Wexford, an old-fashioned port.

Rosse, an old walled town.

Waterford, with a tower and some guns.

Dungarvan, an ancient castle and port, with some English.

Youghal, an ancient walled town.

Cork, an old walled port.

Limerick, with a good harbour, castle, and ancient walls.

Galway, an ancient walled seaport.

These are all the harbours held by the English.

If his Majesty sends a force, 1,000 lances, and 300 horse harquebussiers will be required. Mounts for the latter will be found here.

They say they have pioneers, but picks, hatchets, spades, &c., and instructors must be sent.

The Irish serve the Queen if forced, but they do not like it.

The Irish in the part held by the Queen will certainly join us.

The Viceroy is William Russell, and the General, John Norris.

Earl of Tyrone can put 600 footmen and 500 horse in the field.

O'Donnell, Rory his brother, O'Dogherty (and two minor chiefs whose names are unintelligible) can raise 1,000 foot and 150 horse.

Cormack, brother of the Earl, can bring 200 foot and 30 horse.

Maguire 300 foot and 80 horse.

Ardh Magee, brother of the earl, 30 foot and 20 horse.

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O'Rourke, 500 foot and 30 horse.
Macwilliam Burke and his sub-chiefs, 1,000 foot and 60 horse.
—Magee, 200 foot.
—Magee, 500 foot.
Macarty, 200 foot.
O'Cahan (O'Kane), 50 foot and 30 horse.
Maginnis, 200 foot.
Macartan, 50 foot.
Jan Mackay (Maque), 100 foot.
Niel Mackay (Maque), 50 foot.
On Mackay, 50 foot.

A total of 5,900 foot and 1,080 horse. The men are now spread about their estates, and have darts, bows, and arrows, shields, like ours, and like Hungarian-bucklers. They have no muskets, and few harquebusses. Their food is butter and milk, but even this is not to be bought, as such is not their custom; and if people go from one part of the country to another, they receive butter and milk for their sustenance from the natives of the country they go to.

The people are all Catholics, and they show signs of being able to handle weapons well. They seem well-disposed people. It is impossible to travel on the land, as you sink up to the knee, but it is all land that may be cultivated. In the 40 leagues we have travelled, we have not seen a single tree. It is, therefore, impossible to transport artillery. The ports we have seen are Carlingford, which is an excellent harbour, Sligo which is also good, Donegal, not so good, and Limerick, the best of all.

Note.—The above report, evidently written by one of the ensigns, is excessively illiterate, and in some places unintelligible, the names as usual, being disfigured almost beyond recognition.

11 June. Estado, 839. **646.** COUNT PORTALEGRE to the KING.

As your Majesty orders me to send Juan de Fonseca, I am sending him, in the belief that your Majesty wishes to ask him some other questions besides those contained in his declaration, sent in another letter, with fresher news from Plymouth and Scotland, the latter being dated the 31st ultimo.

We are now at the 10th June, and it is getting late in the season, considering how early the English came in the year '89, and I do not see much signs of apprehension of what I am anxious about, more anxious than ever I was in my life about anything. Because, notwithstanding the reasons of state and prudence, which persuade others that it is impossible that that fleet (*i.e.*, the English) should come to the coast of Spain, I have convinced myself that it is extremely probable that it may come to prevent the final union of your Majesty's fleet, by cruising about the route and burning whatever it may find unprotected between Viana and Lisbon. As to this bar (*i.e.*, of Lisbon) they could act according to the intelligence they received of the city and ships, and of the flotillas which are expected from all parts, and even if your Majesty's fleet succeed in gathering, they might embarrass it greatly, and this might perhaps satisfy them for this summer. It would all be frustrated if that which

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your Majesty promised should be provided could arrive here. But before it can be got together, the cause for alarm will have passed. Your Majesty will have learnt from Flanders the grounds of these rumours.—Lisbon, 11th June 1596.

S.D. Estado, 839.

647. REASONS for the establishment of a special Board in Flanders to advise the Governor on English affairs; and the principal matters to be dealt with by the Board.

(The document enters at great length into the advisability of establishing such a Board as that proposed. The arguments may be summarised as follows.)

It is absolutely necessary, seeing the injury the English are doing to Spain, that active measures should be undertaken. Such measures can only be successful if guided by competent expert knowledge, and constant prompt intelligence of events. Many English nobles are willing to enter into understandings as to the future, if they saw some authorised body, in whom they had confidence, with whom to treat.

English officers holding fortresses in Holland, &c., are in the same case, and would treat if they had such a Board to treat with.

The Board would be powerful to unite factions in England, and would more especially to take steps to obtain a general agreement as to the succession in favour of the Infanta. The Englishmen who were against this view, and are said to be introducing disunion and working against Spain, both in Rome and Flanders, are Charles Paget, William Gifford, William Tresham, in Flanders, and Hugh Griffith, Thomas Hesketh, Nicholas Fitzherbert, and others in Rome.

The Board would report to the King and Governor as to the merits, &c. of the English in Flanders and elsewhere, so that they might be treated according to their deserts. It could also find employment for them.

The Board would be constantly active in devising means for disturbing and distressing the enemy.

It is suggested that the Board should be appointed by the governor of Flanders, two or three members to be Spanish and the rest English. The president to be chosen by the members. The following are proposed as fit persons for membership of the Board. Colonel Stanley, Hugo Owen, Gabriel Treherne, and Doctors Thomas Worthington, and William Pierse. In important matters William Holt, jesuit, might assist.

Note.—The above memorandum is not in Father Persons' handwriting, but from the following document he would appear to have been very active in advocating the formation of the Board.

S.D. Estado, 839.

648. FATHER ROBERT PERSONS to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Memorandum headed "Principal points to facilitate the English enterprise.

Considering the importance and difficulty of the business, and that everything depends upon the hands of God, it would be very

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advantageous if, in imitation of the Holy Kings of old, his Majesty were to make some vow to our Lord, such as to promise Him if He gave his Majesty the victory, to restore to the Church of England the liberty and privileges it possessed at the time that king Henry separated from the Apostolic See, and especially that his Majesty would do his best to make some restitution or arrangement with regard to the ecclesiasical property which was taken from the church. This might be done in a moderate way, as is pointed out in a memorial which was written with regard to the reformation of England, which book Don Juan de Idiaquez has seen. It was there proposed that only the ancient value of the revenues should be restored, which would not reach a quarter of their present value, but would still be a reasonable arrangement. The most Godly men of the country with whom I have discussed the matter, agree that in this way alone will God be appeased and bless the undertaking. They think, indeed, that the former neglect to remedy this sacrilege was the reason that religion so soon collapsed in England, and that it would have stood firmer if a good arrangement had been made in the time of Queen Mary. If it became known that his Majesty had made some such vow as this, many good people would join us and conceive certain hopes of success on this account alone.

2. In order to diminish the suspicion which our opponents arouse as to the intention of his Majesty, namely, that he wishes to seize the country for himself, they write to us from England that it is very advisable that a declaration should at once be made by his Majesty on this point, because, although the fervent Catholics, looking to religion alone, will be willing to submit themselves absolutely to his Majesty, a much larger and more powerful majority do not wish the crown of England to be joined to that of Spain. In order to please these, and disarm the other Christian princes, who fear the same thing, it would greatly facilitate the enterprise if his Majesty were to allow his views to be known on this point, in the way he may consider most convenient. One very good way would be for a little tract to be written by some reputable Englishman, who might set forth that for the general welfare it would be advantageous that all should agree to accept the Infanta of Spain. The tract might assume, as a generally accepted fact, that his Majesty does not, and never has, claimed the crown for himself. Amongst the persons who might write such a tract is Sir Francis Englefield, who would be a very fit person for it, if his Majesty likes the idea. As it will be short, the tract might at once to be translated into other tongues, and particularly into Latin, for his Holiness, who is the principal person whose agreement is necessary after his Majesty.

3. That his Majesty should take every opportunity in England itself and neighbouring countries, to weaken our enemies, and strengthen and increase the number of our friends. For this purpose it would be well to support the Catholic nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, for the Queen is more alarmed at 1,000 men in Scotland than at 10,000 elsewhere. It will cost very little to support those Scotsmen, and they will take islands and forts, to the Queen's prejudice. The same thing may be said of the Irish

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savages, who should be encouraged by some trifling help, in the form of money and arms (as they have plenty of men), and thus the Queen might be kept uneasy. The Scots, however, can trouble her most, as the Irish are across the sea and are less strong.

4. What would disturb and trouble her most of all, however, is that the English exiles in Flanders should make constant raids, summer and winter, with those little vessels they have in England. This could be done with little or no expenditure, except the cost of the ships themselves. which are now rotting there, as the expenses would be covered by the prizes taken. This was proved 10 or 12 years ago, when the two brothers Cary maintained themselves for a long time and greatly injured the Queen, until the Flemish port authorities, jealous of the prizes they took, interfered with them.

5. One of the great advantages of such raids by Englishmen on England, (in addition to distressing the Queen, harrying the land, capturing ships, arresting gentlemen in their own houses, and hampering trade), would be that they would bring together a large number of good hardy sailors and soldiers, who would serve his Majesty in those seas. As they would know that if they were caught, there would be no pardon for them, they would be very desperate. Another advantage would be that those who came from England would be employed in this way, and they would therefore not all have to look to his Majesty for maintenance, as they do now. But to begin this business, the Board of which we have spoken in Flanders should be appointed. There should also be some Englishmen in his Majesty's confidence there, to keep his Majesty informed of what goes on. Thus much for weakening our enemies.

6. To strengthen and increase our friends, the best means would be to unite them, and take away the reasons for division, by the above-mentioned declaration of his Majesty's intentions with regard to the succession of the English crown. Another means would be to take away from the Flemish court, or employ them elsewhere, two or three persons who have Scottish leanings, and who cause disunion amongst our friends there. A third means would be that his Majesty should treat with some amount of confidence his adherents and friends. This would encourage others. The nobles and gentry of England, who hold places and fortresses in Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland, might be approached. They seeing the Queen old and childless, would soon think of arranging matters with his Majesty, if things looked propitious, and if they could do so without losing reputation, and were secretly sure of the fulfilment of the promises made to them. For this, and a thousand other reasons, it would be well to convene the already mentioned Board in Flanders, and that some worthy gentleman, especially Colonel Stanley, should be treated well, as he being so noble, and having surrendered everything in the world to his Majesty, is very highly esteemed amongst them.

7. Another way of strengthening our friends is that in any fleet his Majesty sends to England, Ireland, and Scotland there should go some high English ecclesiastic (such as Dr. Stapleton, or some other in Flanders) with authority, both from the Pope and his

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Majesty, to settle matters, and assure the English of his Majesty's intentions, in opposition of the countless lies of our enemies. It is necessary for a person of repute and authority of English nationality to be there to persuade and reassure.

8. If, moreover, the Catholics do not see such a prelate come in his Majesty's fleet, they will be confirmed in their suspicion that the heretics have been telling the truth in saying that his Majesty wanted to conquer the country; and will doubt the Pope's intention, as to absolving them from their oath of allegiance to the Queen. This will cause doubt and division amongst our friends. It is a most important point and must not be lost sight of, as on such an occasion very many influential people will be guided in their course by priests in England who will accompany this personage. To such people it will necessary to write many letters; and declarations will have to be printed. For this purpose it will be necessary to carry a printing press in the fleet, such as was prepared in Flanders for the year '88.

9. The excommunication of the Queen should be renewed by the Pope, and there should some such public printed pronouncement as was to be made by Cardinal Allen in '88, of which, although it was never published, I have a copy here, and it can be reprinted. It is also of the greatest importance that the first proclamation of the general when he lands should be deeply considered here before it is finally decided upon. It should be put into various languages, especially in Spanish and English, and should clearly state his Majesty's intention, upon which the success of the war largely depends, for by sheer force, it is very doubtful if it will succeed.

10. If there is any difficulty in making Dr. Stapleton a cardinal, for fear of the noise such an appointment might make, the Pope could give him the title of one of the great English sees, such as Durham or Ely, which could be done by secret brief, and he might be made Nuncio Legate at the same time, as Gregory XIII. made Dr. Allen in '83, when I went to Rome to urge it, and it was intended to make a movement through Scotland. The brief at that time remained in the hands of J. B. Tassis, the King's ambassador in Paris, and was never used. In the same way a dozen briefs might be got secretly from his Holiness for any gentlemen of Ireland, England, or Scotland, to confirm and assure them, the names being left in blank. I got more than 20 such briefs from Pope Gregory, and doubtless they would greatly influence some great persons in favour of the enterprise. Some private affectionate letters from his Majesty also should be provided. Such letters from princes to private individuals are always very efficacious.

11. If one or two other doctors in Flanders could be joined to Dr. Thomas Stapleton it would be well. They should be energetic, respected, and influential Englishmen, such as Dr. Thomas Worthington and Dr. John Pierse. They might be granted two of the minor English bishoprics, such as Chester and Carlisle. This is in the case of the fleet going at once to England, so that as soon as it arrived in Calais they could be ready to join it, and cross with it. But if the fleet is to go to Ireland, it might be better to give the title of archbishop of Dublin to another grave English priest, who

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lives at Rome, and is a relative of Cardinal Allen. He lived in Ireland many years and has many gentlemen relatives and acquaintances there, and in Lancashire, his native province. This priest is called Richard Haydone, and is well known to the ambassador in Rome as being a firm adherent of his Majesty.

12. If matters be arranged in this way to conciliate people, I trust in God that, in case his Majesty undertakes something promptly to recover his prestige, either by way of Ireland or Scotland first, or to England direct, which must be the main object, all will go well. I write this on the understanding that something should be done quickly to recover prestige, because otherwise, with the common talk there and in all northern Europe, of the weakness of Spain, and the rich plunder captured by the English (*i.e.*, in Cadiz), 20 ships will be fitted out for every one before, and they will come hither like flies.

13. With regard to commencing with England or Ireland, there is much to be said on both sides, but the decision must turn upon feasibility. If England is impossible, then a beginning should be made in Ireland to recover reputation, and to have a *point d'appui* from which to attack England next year, rather than doing nothing. I am aware that if his Majesty attacks Ireland, many (ships) will arm against him this winter to be ready for spring; but they will do so in any case, and it is better for him to gain something than nothing, besides which, in the meanwhile many things may happen in England, much negotiation may be carried on, and much diversion effected in Flanders and Scotland. Above all, matters should be so arranged, if possible, as to send the force to England in September, as was proposed in a memorial to his Majesty. It is undoubted that this would be the best course, and it is understood that this year England could be won with a quarter of the force which would be necessary next year, when the enemy would be fully prepared.

14. In any case, whether we begin this year in Ireland or in England, it will be very advantageous that the earls in Flanders should return to Scotland, and that the Catholics in Scotland, who are awaiting his Majesty's decision, should receive some help in money to raise troops. If we begin with England, it will be a great diversion to force the Queen to keep her army on the Scottish border, more than 100 leagues from London. If we commence with Ireland, it will also be very useful to have the Scots in arms, as they would help each other.

15. If no troops can be sent with the earls from Flanders, I am told that it would suffice to send them to their own houses, with some captains and two paymasters; one with the earl of Huntly in the north, and the other with the earl of Angus in the west, to pay 1,500 or 2,000 men in each place for eight months or a year. There should be sent some confidential persons with the paymasters, to see that no money was used except to pay soldiers in the way usual there. This alone will enable them to put Scotland in turmoil, and the king of Scots, himself, might be persuaded that it was all in his interest, so that he would fulfil, without so much fear of the queen of England, what his representative has promised in his name. Consider (if this course be adopted) whether it would not be better

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for his (James VI.'s) agent to return by way of Flanders rather than direct to Scotland.

16. Finally, the great point which ought to be considered first is to obtain very good information from England of everything that is being done or said by the enemy. For some years the prince of Parma obtained excellent intelligence, as did Don Juan of Austria before him, but recently, partly from neglect and partly for want of money, things in this respect have fallen off. An attempt may now be made to amend matters, as Father Henry Garnet, provincial of the Jesuits, writes that trustworthy men may be obtained in London, who will get their information at the fountain head in the Council, and they themselves will provide correspondents in the principal ports, who will keep advising as to the warlike preparations. Chateau Martin is maintained in St. Jean de Luz as a spy by the Queen, who pays him 100 ducats a month, and one per cent. on all English merchandise entering there.* This is only that he may advise the preparations in Spain, besides which the enemy has in every port in Spain as many spies as there are Dutch, Scotch, Breton, or Irish merchants. It is no wonder she is better informed than we are. This, however, may be remedied, and is a matter which will appertain to the Board in Flanders. To set the matter going and establish communications, Hugo Owen, and Richard Versteghen, are very fitting persons, if money be given to them for it.

17. It would be well for some fitting person also to go to England to treat with those earls who twice sent their agent Stevello to Flanders last winter, and to see what foundation there was for the new offer about Flushing. Matters should not be allowed to drag in this way, but information should be conveyed from time to time to the Cardinal Archduke, and to his Majesty, by the Board, as to the progress being made in them.

649. FATHER ROBERT PERSONS to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.

As you promised to keep in hand the matters I proposed in the papers given to you last Sunday, I beg you will continue to remind those gentlemen (*i.e.*, the Council) of the following points, so as to get some decision about them at once, which is most important in his Majesty's interest:—

1. The declaration about the succession to the crown. 2. The formation of the Board in Flanders on English affairs, as everything else depends upon that. 3. The going of the Scottish earls to cause a diversion. 4. The briefs for Stapleton and the others. If they be not obtained in time they are of no use afterwards. Forgive my importunity, but I see the danger of delay.

2 Sept. Estado, 839.

650. FATHER ROBERT PERSONS to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

As the time is rapidly approaching for the return to St. Lorenzo, I send this special messenger to obtain fresh information, and give an account of what is being done here. Sir Francis Englefield is here with me, having come hither to visit some nephews, students

* This was the case, but Chateau Martin had died early in the year 1596.

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in this college, who have arrived from England, and whom he had never seen before, and alas, cannot *see* now, as you know the good old man will never see anything again, as he is blind.

I am very busy with college affairs, and in turning into Latin the book about the English succession to send to his Holiness. The more time you can give me the better, without prejudice to affairs and to the safety of the galleys. I would rather have time to spare than not enough, especially as I shall have to wait for some days in Madrid before the necessary despatches are ready, so that at least a month will be needed for the journey to Barcelona, and the delay in Madrid. Please, therefore, let me know by this messenger when you think the galleys will be ready, and where. Please let me know also about the voyage of the Adelantado. Although you say nothing, I am thinking that perhaps his Majesty may be sending him to Ireland. If neither of the other roads is practicable,* I told you, and also his Majesty, that this Irish way might be adopted advantageously, with God's blessing. Much will depend upon the Adelantado's taking with him from here sufficient men, arms, and money, and his going thither before the winter sets in or the Queen learns the design. I have put upon paper a few observations which may be useful to him when he arrives. I have also thought well to send forward to Lisbon an English Jesuit father, who was Vice Rector of this house,† with about six priests of this seminary and that of Seville. They are all experienced men, and I have sent them by different routes, under colour of their going to their various missions from Lisbon. The Jesuit father is the only one of them that knows the real design, and he is extremely discreet, and of noble English family. I have given him such instructions as will enable him to direct the rest, in case the opportunity occurs of their going in the Armada. I believe that these priests will be worth their weight in gold when they arrive there (*i.e.*, in Ireland), and I have therefore thought best not to neglect sending them, although I was short of money, and had to borrow it for the purpose. But that is of comparatively little importance.

When I was in Madrid I jotted down some of the principal points that should be included in the proclamation of the general who lands in any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland. I left them with Father Creswell to submit to you. If he has not done so you might tell him to send you the notes, so that everything should be well prepared for the Adelantado.

Although Sir Francis Englefield recognises the great action that may be taken in Rome, with God's help,‡ he is very suspicious and fearful of our opponents, who, he thinks, may cause me to be detained there. But I fear not; nor does my spirit faint within me, as St. Paul said in a similar case. God has brought me through worse passes than this, and I am full of faith and hope that He will give his Majesty victory.—Valladolid, 2nd September 1596.

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* That is to say, the invasion of England or Scotland.

† The English College of Valladolid, which still exists in its ancient form.

‡ Persons was about to start for Rome to negotiate in the Spanish and Jesuit interests.

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September ? Estado, 839. **651.** SUGGESTIONS for the Edict to be issued to the force going to England.*

The prologue sets forth the persecutions suffered by the Catholics and the many affronts and injuries offered to the king of Spain. His Majesty, with his accustomed clemency, has for many years overlooked the outrages of these people, but the recent attack upon Cadiz proves that his benignity has only made them bolder, and he has now decided to accede to the universal demand of the oppressed Catholics, and to take steps to release them from the yoke that oppresses them, without punishing the great majority of the (English) people, whose innocence he recognises.

He promises to maintain the ancient laws and parliament of England, so soon as order be restored.

His desire being to sustain the ancient nobility and gentry in their former grandeur, he will confirm in their position and possessions all those who are favourable to him. In cases where the head of the house remains recalcitrant, he will confirm the title and possessions to the nearest heir who shall aid the Catholic army. In cases where it is impossible for gentlemen at once to proclaim their Catholic sympathies, the King will allow them to remain with the heretics, until a fitting opportunity occurs for them to go over, but at least they must desert the enemy at the time of battle. His Majesty's object being alone the peace and tranquillity of England, and the freedom of the Catholic faith, he has no quarrel with the English people as a whole, and will punish with the utmost severity any man in the Catholic army who molests, injures, or attacks, the lands or people of the country, other than those who resist.

12 Sept. Estado, 839. **652.** THE aforegoing draft Edict is accompanied by a letter from Father JOSEPH CRESWELL to the KING, as follows :—

My superiors having sent me from Rome to Flanders at the instance of Cardinal Allen and Count de Olivares, to serve the duke of Parma in the English undertaking in 1588, his Highness ordered me to write out the Edict that was then printed in English, of which thousands of copies are still deposited at Dunkirk. In conformity therewith, I think well to remind your Majesty of points of the highest importance to your interests, which will be seen partially in the changes I have made in the Edict itself to suit the altered circumstances, and in the discourse I have the honour to submit to your Majesty herewith, which I believe will be in accord with your Majesty's own mind, as to the mode of proceeding. It is for the glory of God that we should abolish some sins without committing greater ones, and that we should establish peace and religion, without injury to the innocent, so that it will be profitable for everyone, and greatly enhancing to your Majesty's reputation, to punish your enemies with prudence and piety, rather than to subject them by force of arms. The glory of the latter course would

* This was founded on the form adopted for the Armada in 1588, and suggested by Fathers Persons and Creswell to be used in the proposed expedition of 1596.

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belong alone to the captains and soldiers, whilst that of the former would be all your own. I say this to your Majesty after long communing with God about it, in single-hearted desire to do right. I find myself, by His divine grace, so free from personal or national bias in the matter, that, if I heard that the entire destruction of England was for the greater glory of God and the welfare of Christianity, I should be glad of its being done. I pray your Majesty to ponder the enclosed memorandum, regardless of the person of the writer.—Madrid, 12th September 1596.

Note.—The memorandum referred to accompanies the letter, and is an ably written paper in the handwriting of Father Creswell, advocating, as a matter of policy, as well on the grounds of moral advisability, that a course of conciliation and mildness should be adopted in the conquest of England. He enforces the necessity of keeping the religious question well in front; and advises the disintegration of opponents in England by attracting waverers with concessions and rewards, and otherwise by persuading the English people that the main object is to restore freedom of conscience to Catholics, and to treat all with magnanimity and generosity.

Note.—In the handwriting of Juan de Idiaquez, attached to the two aforegoing letters of Fathers Creswell and Persons:—

"These letters from the two fathers are good as a help to what you are doing by the order of his Majesty, given to you yesterday. I have given to Don Cristobal (de Mora) the substance of Persons' communication. We must consider Creswell's before it goes, as his Majesty has ordered that we two should do so without delay, and let him know our opinion. If possible, we will snatch a short time for it this afternoon."

This note appears to have been addressed either to the Don Cristobal de Mora or to some other of the principal councillors.

S.D. Estado, 839.

653. ADDRESS of the English Catholics in Spain to Philip II.

We, the undersigned persons of English nationalty, Jane, duchess of Feria,* Francis Englefield, knight, Thomas Stillington, doctor of theology, provost of the English clergy in Lisbon, William Seborn, provost of the English clergy in St. Lucia, together with the other priests and Catholic gentlemen resident in these parts submit.

It is evident from what is occurring that, unless some prompt remedy be found to settle the question of the English succession, such as the nomination of some Catholic by his Holiness and your Majesty, to succeed after the Queen's death, the realm will necessarily fall again into the hands of a heretic prince, and all hope of remedy will disappear.

In the case of all other claimants to the crown, English and foreign, there are many difficulties in the way of accepting them, as will be seen set forth in the paper that accompanies this, and it is well known that the Infanta Doña Isabel descends directly through various lines of the royal house of England, and has more

* She was Jane, daughter of Sir William Dormer. *See* Vol. I. of this Calendar.

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than one claim to the throne, apart from that which your Majesty may confer upon her if your Majesty pleases. The claim of the Infanta also offers much less difficulty than that of any other person, as will also be set forth in the accompanying paper.

We therefore most earnestly petition your Majesty, not alone in our own names, but in those of our relatives, friends, and of all the other Catholics of England, who are as anxious as we are for it, in the interests of the public welfare and the salvation of the country, to take this matter in hand as warmly as it deserves, and to be pleased to accede to the righteous wishes of the Catholics, by giving orders that his Holiness should be energetically approached on the subject, as from him must necessarily emanate the light and guidance which will lead the Catholics. It is meet that promptness should be used, as negotiations are going on to impede this object and to forward the succession of a heretic, which would be the total destruction of the realm, and, as a consequence, of all the northern countries of which the conversion depends upon that of England. This will be a divine work of piety and godliness on the part of your Catholic Majesty.

(Signed) DUCHESS DE FERIA, FFRANCISCO ENGLEFIELD.
EL DOCTOR THOMAS STILLINGTON.
GULIERMO SEBURNO.
EDUARDO CRISPO.

Note.—The above address is accompanied by a lengthy document headed :" Reasons why the English Catholics desire that the Infanta of " Spain should succeed." The principal reasons set forth are :— 1st. That the religious question would be settled finally thereby. 2nd. That the Catholics being united on the Infanta's candidature, the latter would divide the nation the least. 3rd. That the Infanta's various claims, through the houses of Portugal, France, and Spain, gave her a preponderant claim over any other individual pretender. 4th. That she was the only Catholic claimant. The genealogical arguments are all taken from Dolman's (*i.e.* Persons') treatise.

Oct. Estado, 839.

654. BUNDLE of Documents endorsed :—" Despatches brought by Captain Alonso Cobos to the Pardo, 20th November 1596."

(Summary of the statement of Captain Alonso de Cobos of his voyage to Ireland on a mission from his Majesty.*)

I left Madrid 19th August. Arrived at La Coruña the following Saturday. Sailed 16th September. Made for the same port I went to before, Killibegs. Arrived 26th September. This was considered the most convenient port for summoning the chiefs. Sent word to O'Donnell of my coming, and asked him to write to the earl of Tyrone and other Catholics. O'Donnell came to the port on 1st October, and we agreed to call the meeting in the monastery of Donegal, and that I should be duly advised when the chiefs were gathered, so that I should go and fulfil my mission.

* By reference to the Calendar of Irish State Papers, it will be seen that the English Government was fully and minutely informed of everything that passed between Cobos and the Irish Catholic chiefs.

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On 5th October they asked me to go to the monastery, as O'Neil, Cormack O'Neil, his brother, Macwilliam O'Neil, Hugh O'Donnell, Ardh O'Donnell, O'Dogarty, Neil Carew, brother-in-law of O'Donnell, O'Rourke, grandson of O'Neil, Hartoc, son of the late O'Neil and Macsuyne, lord of Tyrbane, as well as the bishop of Raphoe had arrived

We all met on Sunday, 6th October, and I gave them his Majesty's letter to the Catholic chiefs, and the separate letters to O'Neil, O'Donnell, Cormack, Macwilliam, the bishop of Raphoe, and the lord of Tyrbane. I told them that his Majesty in Council had decided to protect them, out of pity for their troubles, and to restore the Catholic faith, and would send them a good force of soldiers. They thanked God and his Majesty for this, and promised to die, if needful, in his service. Each took me aside separately to assure me that he and his folk would be the first to join the Spanish force when it arrived. I spoke to O'Neil and O'Donnell apart, and said that at last the hour they had longed for had arrived, and that before the winter set in the succour they had so often requested would be there. I urged them to set about what raids they could, to show their zeal, and also to make the necessary arrangements secretly for the reception of our force. They thanked his Majesty, and said they were always ready and waiting, like the faithful vassals they were. They would never fail in their promises. Secrecy was as important to them as to us. They had been playing fast and loose with the enemy for a long time, awaiting his Majesty's aid, and a fortnight ago the English came with 1,500 footmen and 600 horse into their lands to force them to make peace, but they had met them, and Norris left off fighting and tried to make terms, but all they would consent to was a truce for a month and a day. All this was only to await your Majesty's succour, whilst they prevented the Queen from sending more forces.

Whilst I was waiting in the port, I learnt that O'Neil had sent to Norris, the Queen's general, the letter I had given him from your Majesty last May, and I told O'Neil and O'Donnell that your Majesty had learnt this, in order to get at the reason why O'Neil had acted thus. O'Neil's explanation was that, as the enemy knew of the arrival of our ships this summer, and they (the Irish) had settled terms of peace, as I related at the time, the enemy accused him of acting falsely in corresponding with your Majesty, and he, therefore, sent them word to deceive them and avoid war, assuring them that he had answered your Majesty, saying he had now made peace and did not require aid. It was only when they disbelieved him and had insisted, that he had sent them the letter, on their solemn oath that they would return it, which they now refused to do, as they had sent it to the Queen. O'Neil is going to write a special letter to your Majesty about it. I warned them to keep their promises better for the future.

I asked O'Neil and O'Donnell what security we should have for the adhesion of the Catholic nobles and gentlemen now serving with the enemy. They replied, that they would be sure to come to your Majesty's side if they saw a sufficiently strong force to defend them,

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particularly the earl of Ormond, who is a great friend of O'Neil, and will do what the latter tells him, as will many others.

I asked them where they thought would be the best place to land troops to be most effectual and safe, and for facilitating the junction of the forces. They thought on the north-west coast, such a place as Galway, where there is a company of English in garrison for the last three months. The town is close to the lands of Macwilliam Burke, one of the Catholic gentlemen. They say the town will surrender the moment a fleet approaches. If weather forces the fleet into St. George's Channel, they think it should anchor at Carlingford, 30 Irish miles from Dublin. There they would be in touch with O'Neil's people. All north of this is friendly. All this is set forth more fully, and signed by them in another statement herewith.

The following are the towns and fortresses where the Queen has garrisons:—Dublin, eight or nine companies of infantry, except when the general takes the field. There are 20 soldiers usually in the castle guarding the Irish prisoners. There are two companies in the town of Pontana (Portarlington?). This town contains 1,000 inhabitants, well disposed. Another town, called Zaradobel (?), of 500 well-disposed people, has one company of English. Ennis (?), 520 inhabitants, one company with a squadron of horse. They say the English general lodges here. A castle on the seaside, called Carlin, has a company in garrison, and in another castle, called Carcales (Kilkeel?), another company. On the straits north of Dublin the Queen has no other garrison than that of Port O'Clarick (?), which has 600 inhabitants, and on the seashore. There are usually two companies there, unless the general takes the field, when it is left defenceless. Limerick has four companies of English infantry in garrison; Galway, one company. The latter city has 1,500 inhabitants, well disposed; there are six guns in the fortress. Athlumney has three companies, one horse and two foot. At Roscommon there is a company of foot and one of horse. There are no more places with English garrisons. The whole force of infantry in fortresses, &c. amounts to 4,000, and 400 English lancers. One of the letters your Majesty gave me without superscription, to be given to whom I thought best, I gave to a gentleman named O'Dogherty, a lord of many vassals, a great soldier, and greatly esteemed. He said he was anxious to prove his loyalty by his acts. I gave the other to a gentleman named James Oge McSorleyboy,* a Scotsman, who holds some ports on this coast opposite Scotland. He is a good soldier and very brave. He was neutral when I arrived previously, but he is now great friends with the Catholic chiefs, and they thought he would be flattered at your Majesty's writing to him. The letter was taken to him by Hugo David,† of whom I have already written to your Majesty, a great soldier and firm adherent of your Majesty. He has served in

* James Oge McSorleyboy McDonnell, *alias* McConnell, of Dunluce, lord of the Route. His father had received kindly and sent to Scotland all the survivors of the Armada who had reached his territories.

† This was Hugh Boy O'Davitt, who was afterwards sent as Tyrone's ambassador to the king of Spain. *See* Calendar of State Papers, Irish, 1598.

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Flanders. He is asking for a pension. He deserves it, and it will encourage the others.

The chiefs left again for their lands, and I for the ship on the 9th October. Two of the free chiefs failed to come, namely, O'Rourke, and the other, Macwilliam Burke. O'Rourke is ill in bed with a shot in his arm, but he sent his secretary. Macwilliam Burke did not come on account of the great distance, and because he was at issue with a relative as to his title to his lands. He sent messages to me by another gentleman, to which I replied. He says that your Majesty has no better servant than he in Ireland.

The chiefs asked me what the English fleet had done in Spain, as the enemy said it had sacked Cadiz and other places, burning the fleet there, &c., and taking much plunder and many prisoners. I replied, that they, being neighbours of the English, should know better than anyone that, in order to bring about peace in Ireland they would invent all manner of lies. I said it was true they sacked Cadiz, in consequence of the weakness of the townspeople there, but they did not wait to encounter any force, and only made incursions and raids on a few unprotected places, and ran away as quickly as they could. I said your Majesty's fleet was distributed in two or three ports, besides the Indian fleet, which is the one which afterwards destroyed the English fleet. I was quite sure, I said, that the English had not told them that, as they came so badly out of it. Roe O'Donnell, brother of Odo (Ardh ?) O'Donnell, who is heir of the chief, sent to say he was determined to come with me to Spain, and accompany the fleet to Ireland, as he greatly wished to see your Majesty. I wrote to him, saying, he would better serve your Majesty by keeping here and pushing forward the preparations.

O'Neil and O'Donnell asked me what your Majesty had thought of those notes they had given to me when I came before, about the persons they had suggested as governors of Ireland (*see page* 620). I said the notes had been approved of, and in due time the matter would be discussed. They were much pleased.

The guardian of the monastery of Donegal, a Franciscan friar, gave me a memorial for your Majesty. It is to the effect that last year the enemy was there for seven days, and ruined the place. He asks your Majesty to give something to repair the monastery, some chalices and ornaments, &c. The friars there are very religious. There are 25 or 30 of them.

The Spaniards I describe as being there since the wreck of the Armada in '88 wished to come home with me before, but I would not allow them, as I was there on a special mission of aid, and it would look bad to the chiefs to take Spaniards away. I told them to remain quiet. When I returned this time, they asked me why I had not brought them some pay or money. I replied, that they had not asked me to do so. They again wanted to come back with me, but I refused to allow them, as your Majesty was going to send a force, and they would be wanted as interpreters and otherwise. They have given me a memorial to your Majesty, begging you to help them.

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Hugo David (to whom he gives a very high character) has given me a memorial for your Majesty asking for a pension.

Note.—The above statement is written by Captain Cobos himself, and is excessively diffuse and illiterate, indeed, almost unintelligible in places. The English and Irish names are so disfigured that they have mostly to be guessed at.

October (?). Estado, 839. **655.** The MEMORIALS or PETITIONS mentioned by Cobos are enclosed in his report with one from himself, asking for a captain's dotation, and a special grant of money. The only memorial which appears to merit reproduction is that of the wrecked soldiers from the Great Armada, which runs as follows:—

The soldiers who were wrecked in your Majesty's Armada against England in 1588, and were cast upon the coast of Ireland, are the following:—Alonso Carmona, who served in the company of Don Garcia Manrique de Lara, and was lost in the "Venetian"; Francisco de Aguilar, who was in the same ship, a soldier in the company of Captain Beltran de Salto, and Pedro Blanco, a soldier of Captain Lopez Arques Salcedo, who was lost in the ship "Juliana"; Bartolome Rodriguez, soldier of Don Francisco de Toledo, lost in the ship "Lavia"; Juan de la Cruz, a soldier of Captain Zarate, Juan Perez Cebada, Anton Fernandez, and Juan Montesinos, all lost in the same ship. These eight soldiers were all wrecked in your Majesty's service, and have since been serving in this country of Ireland as soldiers, as will be seen by the following attestation of O'Neil and O'Donnell. They humbly pray your Majesty to send them some help, in the form of wages, that they may fit out their persons and arms the better to serve your Majesty here as guides, interpreters, and otherwise, as will be needful when the Spanish force lands. (The above petition is accompanied by a certificate signed by O'Neil and O'Donnell that the soldiers have served well.)

6 Oct. Estado, 839. **656.** O'NEIL and O'DONNELL to CAPTAIN COBOS (?).

Having considered the great advantage it would be that his Majesty's fleet should anchor in a good, deep, convenient, and accessible port in this island, we have decided to set forth, for the guidance of the commander, that in case the wind favours him for this side, towards the north, he should do his utmost to enter Galway, and be guided by his pilots after he has entered the port. If the wind be unfavourable for this, and he has to enter St. George's Channel, he should run for the port of Carlingford, which is 30 Irish miles from Dublin, to the north-east of it. He will also need pilots there. He should bear in mind that all the country between these two ports towards the north is friendly, and that there are many good harbours on the coast. The enemy only possesses three posts or earthworks on the coast not far from Carlingford. North of this latter port extend the lands of O'Neil, whilst north of Galway extends the country of MacWilliam Burke.—Donegal, 6th October 1596.

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7 Oct. **657.** O'DOJARTY (O'Dogherty) to PHILIP II.
Latin.
Estado, 839. Acknowledges his gracious letter. Rejoices at the intention to send succour for those who are warring for the faith. Professes fervent loyalty.—Donegal, 7th October 1596.

Note.—Similar letters to the above were sent to Philip by Hugh O'Donnell* (who signs in Irish characters), MacWilliam Burke, O'Ruairk,† Hugh David‡, etc. They are all couched in the most fervid terms. Two original copies of most of these letters are in the archives, as they were apparently sent in duplicate by different vessels.

8 Oct. **658.** CORMACK O NEIL to MARTIN DE IDIAQUEZ.
Estado, 839. Your Lordship has done me great honour, and I now again beg you to favour me as follows, for I have always fought against the English for the Catholic faith, and if God give me health I will devote the rest of my life to his Majesty's service. I have many witnesses who will bear testimony to what I have done against the heretics in all the past time, and I hope to God that his Majesty will remember me for the land of Lacal, Ardulo, Murna with all its villages, also some land which Dialo§ has from the English, also Ballenerick with all its villages, also Ballinacol with all its villages and Dufferin. I beg you to ask his Majesty for all these for me, as I have well deserved them fighting against the English. I also beg you to ask his Majesty to please supply me with 400 infantry and 100 cavalry for his Majesty's service, as I have great experience in this country. I pray your Lordship to obtain prompt succour for us, and you will very soon see the advantage which will result to his Majesty's service.—Donegal, 8th October 1596.

Note.—The above letter is badly written in illiterate Spanish, apparently by one of the wrecked soldiers from the Armada, and is signed in Irish by Cormack O'Neil. The local names are given here as they are written. Several of them are unknown to me.

8 Oct. **659.** O'NEIL to PHILIP II.
Estado, 839. May it please your Majesty. Before Captain Cobos came hither first, I had delivered some hostages to the Queen's Viceroy, to fulfil certains terms we had then made between the Catholics and the Viceroy. When, however, your Majesty's royal and comfortable letters were received, and Captain Cobos' message was delivered, to my great consolation and content, as I wrote by Captain Cobos; the English learnt of the coming of the smacks (Zabras) by your Majesty's orders with despatches for us Catholics, and they artfully tried to discover what was going on. They again asserted that I was asking for aid from Spain, as I had been doing for seven years past. In order to discredit the stories against me, and to gain time,

* Hugh Roe O'Donnell.
† Brian O'Rourke.
‡ Hugh Boy O'Davitt.
§ Probably Donogh McCormack McCarthy, called Donogh Doallo, in consequence of his holding the lands of Doallo.

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so that the English should make no move, I sent them your Majesty's letters on their solemn oath to return them after reading them. This they have not fulfilled and offered money to the gentleman I sent with the letter, to say that it was lost. In the name of God, and my holy baptism, I assert that I did not send the letter to the Viceroy, except for the above-mentioned reasons, and I pray your Majesty to pardon me, without distrust or misgiving.—Donegal, 8th October 1596.

9 Oct. Latin. **660.** O'NEIL and O'DONNELL to PHILIP II.

Acknowledge receipt of his gracious letter, which fills them with joy. The English have been trying to lure them to peace, but they stand firm in faith, and hope that his Majesty will send the promised aid.—Donegal, 9th October 1596.

12 Oct. Latin. Estado, 839. **661.** DONATUS MACSUYNE, LORD OF TYRBANE* to PHILIP II.

Learns with joy by his Majesty's letters of his intention to come to the succour of those who have always defended the Catholic faith. Assures him of firmness and fidelity. Offers him, for the purpose of the landing of the force, his safe port of Killibeg, which he holds under O'Donnell. Refers to Cobos for further information.—Killibeg, 12th October 1596.

23 Dec. Estado, 839. **662.** DECISION of the Commission of Judges appointed by the King to adjudicate upon the case of Richard Butler and others accused of espionage, &c. Sent to the Alcalde Valladares, 23rd December 1596.

The judges whom your Majesty appointed to examine the case against certain Englishmen arrested on suspicion of espionage, hereby state that, having carefully considered the evidence, are of opinion that the following sentences should be passed upon the prisoners.

Richard Butler to be hanged, and his goods confiscated to your Majesty. John Renkins, after having been put to the torture for some of his crimes, should be for others sent to the galleys for four years at the oar, and at the expiration of that time banished from Portugal and from the coast of Spain.

Thomas Terrell to be put in the pillory, and sent to the galleys for four years at the oar.

John Taylor, the English consul, to be banished for ever from Portugal, to that part of the King's dominions which shall be decided upon, which place he may on no account leave. He must pay a fine of 200 crowns, half to go to your Majesty and half for costs of the trial.

His Majesty approves of the decisions arrived at, with the exception to that respecting Richard Butler, who, instead of being hanged, will be sent to the galleys for the period to be fixed by the

* A well drawn map of "Macsuyne's bay" accompanies the relation of Captain Cobos. Donagh MacSuyne was chief of Tyrbane. In 1598 he joined Shane McManus Oge O'Donnell against his chief, the O'Donnell, at the instance of the English, who had gained Shane McManus. The latter was captured by his chief; and MacSuyne had to skulk in hiding until Sir Conyers Clifford came to his aid.

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council of judges. The sentences are therefore confirmed, and may be carried out promptly.—23rd December 1596.

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9 May. Latin. Estado, 839.

663. JAMES KELLY to PHILIP II.

Although it may appear presumptuous for him to write, he is forced by his conscience to do so, as he has not been less sturdy than others in the war. He has been on the English border, where his Majesty's ambassadors have sometimes been. All can testify to the trouble he has incurred, and the suffering of all his country. He will still shed his blood gladly for the Catholic faith and his Majesty. No person knows better than the bearer, his son-in-law, Thomas Lalio,* the state of the country. Lalio has fought bravely against the English many a time. Bespeaks credence for him.—Aghrim, 9th May 1597.

Attached to the above and other credences delivered by Thomas Lalio, there are four Latin documents, signed by Lalio himself, setting forth the object of his mission. The contents have been summarised in another paper by Idiaquez for the King's consideration, and marginal notes are made, apparently at Philip's dictation, of the answers to be given. The following is the summary:—

Summary of the four documents delivered by Thomas Lalio.

1st. He has been sent by the principal men in Ireland to treat with his Majesty on the following subjects.

They (*i.e.*, the Catholic chiefs) are looking anxiously for succour from his Majesty, as the English, not satisfied with the fortresses in the cities they hold, are trying to occupy others, and forces are being concentrated against them (the Catholics) from all parts. If after all their suffering and trials the common people see no succour arrive, they will waver and become desperate.

Macwilliam Burke petitions that the lands he possesses, and those which he may acquire by his Majesty's permission, shall be secured to him in fee; and when the forces arrive in Ireland his soldiers should be received into his Majesty's service, and be treated and paid in the same way as Spanish soldiers. As he is the chief man in Connaught, he asks that he should be made president of the province by his Majesty.

He asked that the Irish merchant ships (in Spain) that do not follow the Catholics should be confiscated, and handed over to Thomas Lalio here, to be used in the war in Ireland.

(*Marginal Note.*—As they are enemies' ships, this may be allowed if it can be done.)

The second paper.—They ask that if the city of Galway surrenders to the Catholic party, it should be secured in all its privileges and immunities granted by the kings of England. There is a great family that promises to deliver the city on good conditions. Thomas Lalio himself petitions his Majesty for the wherewithal to live, as the English have made him great offers, which have now come to nothing. He has also paid many soldiers on the frontiers

* Thomas Lalley, or Lawley, who afterwards stayed in Spain as one of Tyrone's agents.

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of Ireland. His castles have been cast down, and finally on his way hither he was robbed in Brittany, and was obliged to leave his brother and another gentleman with the duke of Mercœur. He also asks to be admitted with his people into the force to be sent Ireland, and that he should be granted some of the lands of English heretics in the province where his own possessions were.

(*Marginal Note.*—Three hundred crowns are now given to him for himself and the others; the lands my be granted to him as requested.)

Third paper.—James Kelly asks that not only he and his people, but also his noble neighbours, should be secured in all their privileges and immunities when the Spaniards arrive. (*Marginal Note.*—This is conceded.

That some of the English prisoners in Spain should be sent to him as ransom for a son of his named Malachi, and a few others that the English have taken.

(*Marginal Note.*—Let him have half a dozen of such of the King's prisoners as he likes.)

Fourth paper.—Refers to the rewards offered to him (Lalio) and his companions, how they have refused them, and have persevered so bravely. They are in great need, both those who have arrived here and those who remain in Brittany, and they beg for prompt aid and reward.

15 June. Latin. Estado, 839.

664. MACWILLIAM BURKE to PHILIP II.

Acknowledges receipt of letter of 14th August 1596. Regrets that circumstances have prevented him from doing signal service in proof of his loyalty, but they are all still firm in their determination to stand by the Catholic faith and his Catholic Majesty.—Maine, 15th June 1597.

(A marginal note directs that this is to be answered, "encouraging them with generalities.")

15 June. Latin. Estado, 839.

665. MACWILLIAM BURKE to PHILIP II.

The bearer of this, Thomas Lalio, who has been an eyewitness of all the tragedy, will bear testimony to the writer's steadfastness and loyalty to the faith and his Majesty. Bespeaks credence for Lalio, who will be vouched for also by the Irish bishops in Spain.—Maine, 15th June 1597.

666. SUMMARY of letter of same date as the above from MACWILLIAM BURKE to the PRINCE (afterwards Philip III.).*

Wishes he were worthy to offer himself and his services to his Highness, but when Ireland is pacified, he can promise to do much in England, under the protection of his Majesty. He prays the Prince to intercede with his father to aid this afflicted land, in accordance with the proposals which will be conveyed by Thomas

* The original of this letter is not in the archives. The summary is in the hand of Idiaquez.

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Lalio. The latter is a very trustworthy man, who has done much against the English. Excuses his importunity, as the times are such that if help be not sent this year it will be much more difficult and costly in future.—Maine, 15th June 1597.

2 July. B.M. Add. MSS. 28,420.

667. PEDRO LOPEZ DE SOTO (to the COUNCIL of WAR?).*

At this season there are usually a large number of German and Flemish hulks loaded with wine, oil, and salt, in Portugal and Andalucia. As the English fleet is being increased, and Spanish produce is very necessary for them (the English), it would be advisable to embargo all the hulks, letting go the Germans, which go round Ireland, and are therefore safe from the fleet, but detaining all the others. The object of this would be twofold, first and principally, to prevent the enemy from making use of the ships and stores, and, secondly, to make use of them ourselves, if necessary. If this be done it must be executed by trustworthy persons, swiftly and resolutely, because the Governors in Portugal, and my master the duke in Andalucia, will not like it, so that persons must be sent specially from here, or the matter must be committed to disinterested and faithful men on the spot.† It is not to be imagined that the English fleet will come to Spain this year, even though they had 20,000 soldiers to land, besides 12,000 soldiers and sailors for the ships, and ample supplies for all purposes. But it is nevertheless very desirable that a show of preparation and arming should be made on our side (which seem to have stopped as soon as the news came that no fleet would be raised in England); and that forces should be collected sufficient, both to gain a footing in England and to defend this country. Thus, if the attack against England is successful, we shall be able to reinforce our men, and if it be not successful we should have a reserve.

* In the B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420, there are a considerable number of letters referring to the details of the preparations on the fleet to be sent to Ireland in the summer of 1597. They consist mainly of the correspondence of Pedro Lopez de Soto, secretary of the Adelantado of Castile, who was to command the expedition, and Esteban de Ibarra, secretary of the council of war. Throughout, Lopez de Soto reveals himself as petulant, discontented and fractious, complaining in most intemperate language, of the want of confidence reposed in him. He insists first upon his receiving the appointment of secretary of the King, or he will serve no more. Then he threatens to retire unless he is entrusted with the destination and objects of the fleet; he will, he says, have nothing kept back from him. Why should not he know as much as others? Mere orders are sent to him and he is never consulted. He then tries to pick a quarrel with Ibarra for not informing him what orders have been given for wheat, biscuits, &c. At last, after weeks of alternate violence and sulkiness on the part of Lopez de Soto, Ibarra loses patience, and on the 28th June 1597, sends a grave and sharp rebuke in the form of a marginal note on one of Lopez's own letters, which is sent back to him. He had been told, says Ibarra, as much as it was meet for him to know and he is to carry out orders without more ado. The answer to this is a fresh series of complaints. 30th June.—Everything, he says, is in confusion, uniforms for the men are lacking and the cavalry unfit for service. There is no money to provide anything, no wine, no meat, no siege artillery, hardly any guns for the ships themselves, and so on. These reports, with clamorous demands for reward continue from day to day.

Only such letters as are necessary to explain the strength and condition of the expedition are printed in this Calendar.

† The duke of Medina Sidonia, who was greatly interested in shipping and selling the produce of his vast estates in Andalucia, would, of course, object to any measure which destroyed or impeded commerce, and the Portuguese merchants and nobles would be similarly affected

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As your Lordships are carrying on everything secretly, no one is sure whether he is fully informed, so that I have no means of knowing whether the opinions I express will be apposite or not. Time is thus frittered away. I, for my part, have taken the plunge, and plainly say what I think, seeking the best way out that I can find. The only way out of all this confusion that I can see, is to gain a footing in England this year. This is striking at the trunk; all the rest is simply climbing in the branches. All difficulties disappear before resolute, courageous, and timely action. The stores and men we can get together between now and the 10th August will be sufficient to effect a landing during that month, and I feel confident that if we go to Wales, which is only 40 leagues further from Ferrol than Plymouth, and is a better place to land, we can manage to avoid the fleet. This is borne out by all practical seamen. Even if 300 (English) ships go to Milford, 15 days after we are established there, and land 10,000 men, they will find the mouth of the port defended, which can be done in two days, and the place ready to repel attack from the sea. It is not to be expected that they, the English, could, on such short notice, land a force capable of battering the place on the land side, as we shall be strongly placed and on the defensive. Besides this, the disposition of the land is in our favour, so that the only thing to be feared is our delay in deciding to take this course.

In any case it will be well to press forward energetically the supplying of the fleet with stores, and to send constant instructions to the places whence the stores are to come. Especially should the guns from the Lisbon foundry be hurried forward, because with the 40 pieces (ordered ?) we can arm the new galleons.

The council of war should consider and decide upon all points that have been submitted about the fleet, and the Council of State should take necessary action to provide the money, the troops, the siege artillery, the cavalry, and especially to resolve upon the point where we should land. This should be kept strictly in the breasts of your Lordships, and that of the Adelantado.

Postscript.—If it is decided to land at Milford, it will be very easy to send two regiments of Germans from Germany during September, without the enemy's fleet being able to hinder us, if proper arrangements be made. Munitions and stores can also be brought from the Sound with great facility, in spite of the English. —2nd July 1597.

Further postscript, dated 4th July 1597.

Don Cristobal (de Moura) told me yesterday, on the occasion of his seeing the Count de Palma, that the Adelantado said that there was no fleet or any possibility of going out and facing the enemy. I promised his Lordship (Moura) to send him a true statement of the fleet as it at present stands. It is sufficient for the purposes I have proposed.

The Adelantado's general statement that he lacks everything, is only his usual style of putting things. I set forth exactly what there is, and what we can do. Of course, if we could re-inforce it (*i.e.*, the fleet) so much the better, but if we cannot, we must make

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the best use we can of what we have got. The Adelantado knows well how to do this, and will do it if he is given what is necessary. —4th July 1597.

Note.—The statement of the Spanish fleet which accompanies the above, contains the following particulars:—

The fleet will be ready to leave Ferrol by the middle of August, and should effect a landing by the 8th September.

There are 93 ships, namely, 23 of 600 to 1,000 tons, 25 of 300 to 600 tons, 26 of 100 to 200 tons, and about 20 galley-pinnaces, &c., of 50 to 100 tons.

Particulars are given of the supplies of biscuit, &c., available, and the total number of men which the writer proposes to send in the fleet, namely, 20,000 soldiers and 4,000 sailors. The total number of ships proposed to be collected before the fleet sails is 110, of an aggregate tonnage of 32,000 tons, with 70 pinnaces to land soldiers rapidly. The writer refers to the accompanying letter with regard to the question of the place of landing, and urges activity in execution, and great liberality of expenditure, which he says will ensure success.

26 July. **668.** PEDRO LOPEZ DE SOTO to the KING.

B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420.

Gives particulars of a new sort of galley which he has invented, capable of making long voyages to the Indies or Flanders, with water for six weeks, bread for three months, and 17 pieces of artillery. They will live through heavy weather as well as high-built ships, which they will be able to accompany anywhere. They will go much faster under oars than galleasses, but less than fast galleys; but as there are no enemy's galleys at sea to compete with us, speed is not of so much consequence if they be as seaworthy as great ships. If your Majesty had 30 of these galleys, you would be entire master of the coast of France and England, as 4,000 men might be thrown on shore unexpectedly at any point, and any place, however large, may be sacked by such a force as that, if surprised. Twenty might be kept at Calais, and dominate the whole Channel, stopping the passing of Flemings, closing the traffic from Boulogne and Dieppe, (*i.e.*, to England), destroying the herring fishery, &c.

The writer offers to construct a specimen galley to demonstrate the truth of what he says, if the King will lend him 7,000 ducats, returnable within a year if the invention be not approved of.—26th July 1598.

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12 Aug. **669.** ARCHDUKE ALBERT to the KING.*

Paris Archives, K. 1,460.

We learn from England that the Queen is desirous of peace, and that much discussion is taking place there on the question for and against. Although the majority of the people are in favour of peace they will not venture to enter upon negotiations, for fear of a refusal from your Majesty, and because of the doubt of the news the French have sent them as to the powers granted by your Majesty for the negotiation of peace. For this reason they will not

* The Cardinal Archduke, Philip's affianced son-in-law and ruler of Flanders.

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make any move, but will give us to understand that they wish the first approaches to be made on our side, in which case they would reciprocate. Having regard to this, and as I am naturally desirous of the general peace and tranquillity, especially that of Spain and these States, I have considered whether it would not be advisable, after I have taken possession of the States, on behalf of the Infanta, to send an envoy to the queen of England on some complimentary mission, in the names of the Infanta and myself. The ostensible pretext might be the renunciation of your Majesty's sovereignty of these States, in favour of the Infanta, which might give rise to the idea that the continuation of the state of war between these States and England would really be the declaration of a fresh war. Such a mission as that which I suggest, might open the door for them (the English) to ask for peace, without your Majesty's dignity being in any way called into question, and the effect desired might be attained without any proposals for peace coming from your Majesty. I think this could hardly fail to give satisfaction to your Majesty, as it is evident from what your Majesty has written to me on several occasions, that your Majesty's own inclinations are in favour of some peaceful arrangement. By the help of God, too, the same course might possibly open up a way for a settlement with the rebels. I have thought well to lay this before your Majesty, but will do nothing until I receive a reply. I would beg, however, that the reply should be sent as quickly as possible, as otherwise it will be too late, my departure now being so near.—Brussels, 12th August 1598.

Note.—It will be recollected that peace had been signed at Vervins between Spain and Henry IV., and that Philip II. was now dying, as his son-in-law doubtless knew. The documents concerning the English participation in negotiations for peace with Spain at this time and in 1600 will be found in the Cotton MSS. Vesp. CVIII.

Draft, day and month left blank. Latin. Estado, 839.

670. PHILIP II. to O'NEIL and O'DONNELL.

Heartily congratulates them on their constancy and steadfastness in defending the Catholic faith, and on the victory they have gained.*—Madrid, 1598.

1599.

24 Jan. Italian. Estado, 839.

671. DOCUMENT headed, From London, 24 January.

The preparations for Ireland are still being pushed forward, but the earl of Essex will not be ready to sail until the midde of March. He is meeting with many impediments and obstacles to the enterprise, and his rivals particularly wish him to sail without his stores, on their promise to send them after him. But he insists upon taking at least six months provisions with him. He asserts that he learns by men recently from Spain and Italy, that the King is making great preparations to aid the Irish rebels, and he (Essex)

* O'Neil and O'Donnell had for some time been besieging a fort called Portmore on the Blackwater. On the 14th August 1598, Sir Henry Bagenal with 4,000 foot and 350 horse sallied from Newry and attempted to relieve Portmore. He was completely defeated and slain with most of his men. The fort then surrendered.

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demands more stores in consequence, but the Admiral greatly opposes this, saying that it is not true, and this year the king of Spain is not making, and cannot make, any preparations against Ireland. They are much at issue about this, and had even arranged to fight a duel, but the Queen interfered and would not allow it.

All the noble youth of England will go with the earl of Essex, and particularly the earl of Derby, with a good following. But the earl of Cumberland will stay at home.

If the king of Spain could be ready to attack England, whilst the earl of Essex is with his troops in Ireland, he would have a great chance of success.

On the day of Epiphany the Queen held a great feast, in which the head of the Church of England and Ireland was to be seen in her old age dancing three or four gaillards.

The king of Scots offers the Queen to restore order in Ireland, and to bring the earl of Tyrone to obedience, in the hope that the Queen will declare him her heir. But the Queen does not like this offer.

30 Nov. B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420.

672. THOMAS FITZHERBERT (to LERMA ?).

As I am an Englishman and a servant of his Majesty, it appears to me that I can in no way be more useful than in throwing such light as I am able on English affairs. I therefore venture to lay before your Lordship such points as seem worthy of note relative to this embassy from the king of Scotland, since the crown of England is the real object he aims at, let his methods be straightforward or otherwise.

The purpose, therefore, of this embassy must necessarily be either to beguile his Majesty with offers of friendship, so as to cause him to slacken in his preparations against the queen of England (which preparations he thinks are as injurious to him as to her, so far as his claim to her crown is concerned), or else openly to ask for the King (of Spain's) aid against her, in support of his own pretensions.

If his aim is simply to beguile or deceive his Majesty, he must either have obtained the queen of England's co-operation or otherwise. But it cannot be believed that such is his object. In the first place, the Queen has gravely offended him in many ways, and especially in refusing to recognise him as heir to the crown; and as she knows full well that it would be very easy for him to avenge himself upon her, with his Majesty's support, and even to deprive her of the crown, she certainly would not countenance anything that might lead to an understanding between the two kings, for fear such an understanding might be turned to her prejudice. On the other hand, it is equally certain that he would not attempt to beguile his Majesty, except with her countenance, unless he wished to claim his Majesty's support against her, since any benefit he might derive from his deceit would be more than counterbalanced by the injury he would suffer. It is certain that it would draw upon him the hatred of the Queen, and all the English heretics, who would hold him as a public enemy, and

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parliament might exclude him from the succession, and the whole nation raised against him. If, therefore, he lost all the heretics without having gained the Catholics, he would be without any party at all, and powerless to forward his claim.

It may therefore be concluded that his intention is sincerely to beg for his Majesty's aid, and the point to be considered is whether it is desirable that his Majesty should accord it to him, and make him king of England. My opinion is that it is not desirable, if it can be avoided, but that his Majesty should make king of England a Catholic whose zeal for our holy faith is more to be depended upon. It is certain that his Majesty has it in his power to make a king of England, and exclude the Scotsman, if he will deign to take the course we have so often begged him to adopt with regard to the Infanta, always on condition that he does it during the lifetime of the queen of England, and before the king of Scotland has won over the English Catholics, as he is now endeavouring to do, and will in future do more than ever, thanks to delays on this side, together with his intrigues and show of favour to the Catholics, whom he leads to suppose that he is in his heart a Catholic too.

But if his Majesty will not, or cannot, execute the undertaking during the life of the Queen, I warn your Lordship that after her death will be too late, as the king of Scotland will attain his object before his Majesty has time to gather his forces and prevent it. It must be borne in mind that most of the English nobles who do not pretend to the crown themselves, and the claimants who have no means of enforcing their claims, will recognise the king of Scotland more readily than any of his competitors who are their equals. An example of similar jealousy was seen in France when the duke de Mayenne preferred the prince of Bearn for king to his own nephew the duke of Guise.

With regard to the Catholics, as it is certain that none of the other claimants to the crown, who are all malignant heretics, will grant them such favourable conditions as the king of Scotland, who is moderate, and now professes to be a Catholic, they will certainly join his party as soon as he enters. Seeing the strength of his claims, the forces he has ready, his facility for entering the country, the support of Denmark, and even of the English themselves, he will not only be stronger than any other claimant, but will carry through his design before his Majesty's forces can arrive there. This is the more certain, because wars in England are usually finished in one or two engagements, which are fought as quickly as possible. There was an instance of a king of England who was reigning in peace, being dispossessed of his crown and expelled in ten days, and regaining it again within three weeks. This is told by Philip de Comines of Edward IV., and cannot be doubted by anyone who thoroughly understands English affairs.

If therefore his Majesty cannot, or will not, attack England during the life of the Queen, I see no way of stopping the king of Scotland from becoming the monarch of both realms; and I submit to your Lordship whether it would not be advisable for his Majesty to take the present opportunity of seeing whether the king of

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Scotland will consent to be a Catholic. If he consents thereto, he might be aided to declare war against the queen of England, on his furnishing sufficient security to fulfil his engagements towards his Majesty, and to remain perpetually an ally and friend of the Spanish crown, to which, moreover, he will be bound by the ties of gratitude, and by the fact that he is the Catholic king of England and Scotland.

In this case, the cause for the alienation of England from the old alliance with Spain (I mean heresy) will have disappeared, whilst at the same time the reason of the close friendship between Scotland and France (that is to say, the constant quarrels between England and Scotland) will also be non-existent, and it will behove the king of England and Scotland, whoever he be, to renew the old connection with Spain and the house of Burgundy; in the first place on account of the English claims to Normandy and Aquitaine (and even to the crown of France itself), and, secondly, because the power of the king of France will threaten both England and Spain, and naturally draw them together. I also submit to your Lordship that, if aid were given to the king of Scots against the queen of England, it would be effectual in frustrating the designs of the king of France against Spain, and keep him fully occupied without breaking the peace that his Majesty has made with him. If the Frenchman sees the Queen of England attacked by the Scots, with support from here, he will employ all his forces in helping her, and defeat the Scots, as it is much more prejudicial to France than to Spain that England and Scotland should be united, for various reasons, and especially as it would deprive the kings of France of the means they always possessed of bridling England by means of Scotland.

If, on the other hand, his Majesty does not wish to aid the king of Scotland to become king of England, but intends to undertake the enterprise in favour of the Infanta, with the necessary speed (which we, the English Catholics, earnestly desire and petition him to do), I still think that great advantage may be derived from these negotiations (*i.e.*, with the Scots), which can be continued or broken off as occasion may require, and will serve to conceal his Majesty's other objects. The communications with the Scots, moreover, will arouse the suspicion of the queen of England against the king of Scotland, and she will not trust him to help her when his Majesty attacks England, and may perhaps in the meanwhile try to disturb Scotland (which she can easily do by means of her many connections there), the effect of which might be to upset both countries to such an extent as to prevent the Queen from injuring Spain, as she usually does. His Majesty will thus fish in troubled water to his own benefit and her disadvantage.

Even if these advantages do not follow the negotiations, the least that may be expected of them is that his Majesty will cause the king of Scotland to declare himself a Catholic, if in his heart he be one, and bring his realm into obedience to the Church (which would be no small service to God and honour to his Majesty), or else strip from him the mask with which he seeks to deceive the Pope and other Catholics, and alienate from him the English

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Catholics. Finally, if his Majesty desires peace with the queen of England, it may be concluded that, in the present state of Irish affairs, she will be so apprehensive of the result of these negotiations, and the evil that may reach her through the back door (as she calls Scotland) as to agree the more readily to some fair settlement.

Bearing all these points in view, I am of opinion that, in any case, it will be advisable to receive well, and publicly honour, this ambassador, and send an envoy to Scotland, choosing a prudent and experienced man, who, with a little ready money and moderate promises of pensions, may gain over many Scottish Catholics, who are now very influential in the country. When these are gained, they will be useful in carrying through any of his Majesty's objects, even to rising against their King if he does not comply with the promises he may have made in favour of the Catholic religion and his Majesty. With this end, I think it would be advisable for his Majesty to obtain the pardon of the earl of Bothwell, who is now an exile in Flanders, and the restitution of his estates. He is one of the principal persons in Scotland, and a near relative of the King.* He has a large party, who follow him in everything, as is the custom of the country, and he and his adherents alone may be instrumental in effecting what I have said. He would be very appropriate to do this, as he is naturally a turbulent man, and greatly incensed against the King, as well as being under great obligations to his Majesty. This reason for gratitude will be increased if his pardon and restitution are obtained and a pension paid to him.

I omit many points, in order not to tire your Lordship, but I know that I have said more than enough, &c.—30th November 1599.

24 Dec. Latin. Estado, 839.

673. PHILIP III. to O'NEIL.

Replies to his letter. The greatest of care shall be taken of his son if he will send him to Spain to be educated, and well brought up in the Catholic faith.—Madrid, 24th December 1599.

1600 ? B.M. Add. MSS. 28,420.

674. MEANS for establishing the CATHOLIC RELIGION in SCOTLAND.†

This enterprise will not require more than 3,000 men, who will have to land on the islands of Orkney. These islands are naturally strong, and may be made impregnable in a short time. They are fertile, and abound in everthing necessary for the sustenance of the above-mentioned number of men. They are very near the strongholds of the principal powerful Scottish Catholics, amongst whom is

* Francis Stuart, earl of Bothwell, was the natural grandson of James V. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to seize James VI., at Falkland, in 1592, and had to fly the country. He returned the following year and succeeded in his attempt, forcing James to dismiss Sir John Maitland, the Chancellor. Bothwell was subsequently proscribed and had to take refuge in England, where he was protected by Elizabeth. On his entering into union with the Catholic lords, the Queen abandoned him and he fled to Spanish territory. As will be seen by the papers in this Calendar, he became henceforward a Spanish pensioner and instrument, and was never reconciled to James.

† Apparently written by the earl of Bothwell in 1600; although the document bears no date upon it.

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my brother the earl of Caithness, who owns all the county of Caithness, which is adjacent to the islands, and can aid us with 4,000 men, who will join us with others at once. After fortifying the islands, they will go to Broughty, Dundee, and St. Johnstown (Perth), all of which places are very easy to fortify and hold, as they are divided from the mainland by the great river Forth, which cannot be crossed by the enemy's cavalry, while the infantry will not be able to harm us, as they will have to enter the country by Mount Athol, which may be made inaccessible by the building of a single fort capable of holding 300 men. Even, however, if we were to give them admission, they would be quite powerless to injure us, in consequence of the multitude of our friends and the strength of the position. If they attempted to attack us by sea they would be unable to raise a fleet so powerful as ours, unless the whole country contributes thereto, which is impossible, unless the Parliament be summoned; and in such case, we, who are concerned in this enterprise, will be in a majority, and the enemy will be forced to grant liberty of conscience to the Catholics, or expose themselves to ruin.

THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED BY THE ENTERPRISE.

Your Majesty will gain great honour and reputation for having done so signal a service to God and His Church. You will drive all your enemies into such straits and put them to such heavy expense that they will have to spend more money in a year than they have hitherto spent in many. The Hollanders will be forced to maintain a fleet, not for robbery in the Indies, as heretofore, but for their own defence, or else to see their fishing fleets in our seas captured, which will mean for them a lack of supplies, ships, and seamen, as well as suffering many other great injuries. In any case we can stop, or, at least, suspend, their trade with Denmark, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, and Embden, without which they cannot live. The men of Dunkirk, Nieuport, and the Sluys, who have now no port in which they may enter, will then have the harbours of Orkney to the great injury of the enemy.

As to the queen of England, if she will not make peace, she will be exposed to dangers quite as great, and if she attempts to obstruct our enterprise she will have to maintain three armies, two at sea, one on the west coast, and one on the east, and a third for land, which cannot do us much harm, as the Scots will not allow an English force to enter Scotland, unless it be too small to be feared. They would always be exposed to danger and expulsion when we chose, in consequence of the enmity which has always existed between the countries. In addition to this, the English Catholic exiles may go thither and easily carry on such plans and negotiations in God's service and your Majesty's as may greatly disturb the queen of England. The Irish may also be aided and reinforced whenever necessary.

As regards the king of France, the proposed enterprise is the only means of frustrating his intentions. He will be forced to send troops to Scotland if he sees your Majesty busy there, and he will

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therefore be the less able to disturb your Majesty's dominions and support your enemies. It must not be forgotten, also, that great evil will ensue to the Church of God and this monarchy (Spain) if the king of Scotland, a heretic, and confederate of all the enemies of Spain, be able during the life of the Englishwoman to establish his claim to the crown of England. If he be at peace when she dies, he will have entered the country and ended his business before he can be prevented by Spain. He will then be a greater enemy to God and Spain than ever, since he will be very powerful by land and sea, aided by Denmark, Holland, and the heretics.

If it be impossible at present to undertake this, it appears that, as the king of Scotland has sent an ambassador to your Majesty, another might be sent from here to him, not so much to receive satisfaction from him, as to render him suspect by the queen of England and other heretics, so that the result will be that he must either throw himself into the arms of your Majesty or run the risk of being deposed or killed by his own people. The ambassador might also bring certain intelligence of what is here set forth, as well as carry on negotiations with your Majesty's friends. There are other points about which I cannot write, but reserve them for verbal communication to your Majesty or your council.

24 April. Estado, 840. **675.** From MATTHEW (DE OVIEDO), Archbishop-elect of Dublin, to PHILIP III.

I came to Ireland by your Majesty's orders to obtain full information from the Catholics, and urge them to continued zeal in the service of the faith and your Majesty. As Don Martin de la Cerda is going to give your Majesty a detailed verbal statement of everything, I need not trouble your Majesty with a long letter. But I can assert that your Majesty has in this island the most brave and faithful vassals that any king can have, such, indeed, that if they were not already devoted to Spain, it would be necessary to obtain their adhesion by all possible means.

As the oft-promised aid from Spain was hourly expected, when we arrived with empty hands, only again to repeat the old promises, they were overcome with sorrow and dismay, especially as they had news of the enemy in force, both by land and sea. Although O'Neil and O'Donnell are full of courage, they cannot prevail over the other chiefs their followers, who fear the long delay in the arrival of succour, and suspect that they are being played with. We have done our best to stiffen them by every possible argument, assuring them of your Majesty's desire to help them, pointing out the many costly attempts that have already been made to do so, and again promising that succour shall be sent by your Majesty with all speed. This has tranquillised them somewhat, and they promise to wait five months, as they think that they cannot in any case hold out longer than that without help, at least in money to pay their men. They have done great things this summer, and O'Neil has overrun all Munster and submitted it to your Majesty, whilst O'Donnell has subjected Connaught. That your Majesty may understand what you possess in these Catholic, I may say that O'Neil

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had almost prevailed upon the earl of Essex to desert the Queen's cause and join that of your Majesty, and surrender all the realm to you. O'Neil in the course of the negotiations promised him, Essex, on behalf of your Majesty, that you would show him signal favour, and as Essex was distrustful in consequence of certain injuries he had inflicted on Spain, O'Neil gave him his son as a hostage. What more could the most loyal Spaniard have done? It is also certain that very lately O'Neil was offered the surrender of the city of Cork, but he had to refuse it, as he knew not how to hold it without Spanish aid.

These and sixty other gentlemen met in this monastery of Donegal, and they discussed matters not like savages, but like prudent men. They received the chains and your Majesty's portraits with great ceremony, saying they would wear no other bonds nor chains than those your Majesty put upon them. They are very grateful for the arms and munitions, &c., and I, for my own part, humbly supplicate your Majesty to bear in mind the great importance of this business, for with 6,000 men you may carry through an enterprise which will bridle English insolence in Flanders, and secure Spain and the Indies from molestation. I refer for the rest to Don Martin de la Cerda, who has acted in this mission with great tact and prudence. I remain here* according to orders, anxiously hoping to do good service to the church and your Majesty. —Monastery of Donegal, 24th April 1600.

26 April. Estado, 840. **676.** O'NEIL AND O'DONNELL to PHILIP III.

Rejoice greatly at the good news brought by his Majesty's ambassadors. They (the Irish) are in the last extremity fighting against so strong an enemy as England. Their estates, men, and resources, are exhausted, and as his Majesty's aid is delayed from day to day, after so many letters and messengers have been sent, they are sure all spirits must fail, and they will have to give way unless the succour reaches them this year. They cannot much longer persuade their friends that aid will really come, and earnestly beg that the expedition may be sent promptly. Without it all is lost. Don Martin de la Cerda is taking a memorial of what will be needed, and the sum of money wanted, if the army cannot come this year. They thank the King for presents and portrait brought by the archbishop,† and place the chains around their necks in sign of your Majesty's favour to them. Pray answer their petition. Their last letter remains unanswered, though they have held out six months longer than they promised. Captain Cobos will confirm this. God knows if it had not been for the service of God and Spain, they would not have undertaken the war at all, as they could have lived in peace.—Donegal, 26th April 1600.

* There are several letters to Philip from the various Irish chieftains protesting their faithfulness as usual and begging for help, which were written apparently under the belief that the archbishop was to accompany Don Martin de la Cerda back to Spain.

† Captain Don Martin de la Cerda had been accompanied on his mission to the Irish chiefs by the Spanish monk, Mateo de Oviedo, who had been appointed by the Pope archbishop of Dublin.

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677. SUMMARY of the REQUESTS of O'NEIL and O'DONNELL to the KING.

That Maurice Geraldine, now a prisoner in Coruña on a charge of participation in a riot, be released. This is recommended to be granted.

That he, Maurice Geraldine, should go to Ireland with the expedition.

That all Irish bishops and men of rank in Spain should accompany the expedition.

That no person from Ireland should be admitted to any Spanish port without a passport from O'Neil or O'Donnell.

2 May. Estado, 840. **678.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on the peace negotiations with England.

The Council has considered all the communications from the Archduke (Albert), Don Baltasar de Zuñiga, and Don Fernando de Carillo. Until the receipt of further advices there is nothing particular to reply, as all points are provided for in the instructions of Zuñiga and Carillo. But as the matter is so very important, and not a single point must be overlooked, the Council think the Archduke should be written to, telling him to be very viligant not to allow anything to be decided, except in strict accordance with the orders given by your Majesty. Zuñiga and Carillo should be written to to the same effect, and they should be told that Carillo's opinion is approved, namely, that we should not exhibit so urgent a desire for peace as to make the Queen believe that we shall be willing to purchase it at any price, but rather that she should see that we will not put up with any unjust or disgraceful terms, and that we are as ready for war as for peace. In case this line of conduct should be unsuccessful, the Council thinks that your Majesty should provide at once against all eventualities, both by land and sea.

4 May. Estado, 840. **679.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on Irish affairs.

The Council has considered the letter of the archduke Albert, of 9th April, respecting certain Irish gentleman to whom the late King wrote in 1596, exhorting them to fight against the heretics in defence of their lands, and promising them his favour. They write to the Archduke that they have continued the war, and by the divine grace, have routed the English army sent against them last year. They desire to continue the same course under your Majesty's protection, and are confidently looking for help, their cause being so just a one. They ask that you should send a person to Ireland with help for them and orders to treat them well, and that the Irishmen serving in Flanders should also be sent to Ireland to take part in the defence. The Archduke says that he has delayed the reply until he hears from your Majesty.

On the one hand the Council rejoices at the good spirit of these people, whilst on the other they grieve to see that, after all the

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promises made, and their own efforts to help themselves in the hope of the promises being fulfilled, they are in greater straits than ever, as war without hope of succour ends in discouragement and despair. But as past failures to help them have not arisen from want of will, and our Lord always helps in the direst need, we must trust to His mercy in this case by infusing fresh spirit into them, whilst your Majesty aids them so far as you can, pending the possibility of undertaking the matter in force. Your Majesty will greatly serve God and your interests by doing so, as in no place can the queen of England be so effectually and cheaply embarrassed. It will also enable us to improve our conditions of peace, and animate the English Catholics. The Council therefore recommend that at least 20,000 ducats and 4,000 quintals of biscuit should be forwarded to Coruña, to be sent with some arms and munitions by quick sailing ships, so that the Irish may see that we are helping them with the things they most want without delay.

That they should be written to kindly, assuring them that in any case your Majesty will continue to protect them, and when God wills that a full force may be sent, to liberate them. The person who is appointed to command it shall have special instructions to treat them well.

The Archduke should be written to, thanking him for his action in this matter, and asking him to reply to the Irish with every demonstration of sympathy and kindness. The decision with regard to sending to Ireland the Irishmen serving in Flanders is to be left to the Archduke.

10 May. Latin. Estado, 840. **680.** POWERS given by the QUEEN to the ENGLISH ENVOYS.

Henry Nevill, ordinary ambassador in France; John Herbert, member of the Privy Council; Robert Beale, secretary of the north; and Thomas Edmunds, French secretary, to confer in Boulogne with the envoys of the king of Spain; with the object of concluding peace between the two monarchs, in union with the king of France and the Archduke, governor of Flanders.—Greenwich, 10th May 1600.

18 May. Estado, 839. **681.** ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO to PHILIP III.

In accordance with royal order that he should welcome and assist any persons sent from Ireland by F Mateo de Oviedo to Spain, he has received in Santiago, Henry son of the earl of Tyrone, who comes accompanied by captain Martin de la Cerda. He has welcomed them spiritually by confession, absolution, and mass, in which they showed themselves truly Catholic, and corporally to the best of his ability. The King is doing a truly pious work in supporting the Irish Catholics, who are suffering for their faith.—Santiago 18th May 1600.

Note.—Attached to the above letter is a document ordering the presidents of the councils of Castile and of the Royal Orders to confer with Don Martin de la Cerda, and arrange for the bringing of the son of O'Neil to Madrid, with all possible good treatment. The document is dated 8th June 1600.

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13 June. Estado, 840. **682.** PRESIDENT RICHARDOT to PHILIP III.

Humbly thanks the King for ordering him to attend the conference at Boulogne respecting the peace with England.—Boulogne, 13th June 1600.

13 June. Estado, 840. **683.** DON BALTASAR DE ZUÑIGA to PHILIP III.

Your Majesty orders me to be very circumspect in the peace conference here to uphold the dignity and prestige of our King. This I will do. We arrived on 28th May, the first meeting having been fixed for the 26th May. I therefore thought well to send and salute the Queen's envoys, before I arrived, to excuse us for arriving a day or so late. They replied courteously. We expected, as they were already here, they would have had the good manners to visit us first, but they did not do so, merely sending a servant to bid us welcome, and ask for a copy of our powers, in exchange for theirs. Although we might well have withheld them until the first meeting, it was thought better not to refuse them, as it was of little moment. Powers were therefore exchanged. Some difficulties were raised about the form of the powers, but they were overcome, and after consultation with the Queen, the title of the Archduke (Albert) altered to Serene Highness at our request. Copies of correspondence on these points enclosed. But they were so obstinate in claiming precedence, notwithstanding our serious arguments, that we closed the colloquy with our "third" reply, to which they did not attempt to retort, and we shall not again enter upon the matter in writing. They have discussed it with the Audiencier and Richardot and propose that we should agree to equality. In their third paper they proposed to cast lots, and other plans, which we refused, as they did not seem dignified. As they should not think we shut the door to courteous arrangement, Richardot proposed that if the meetings were held in my lodgings, we would pay them all due honour. We were moved to this by the example of the King, who is now in heaven (Philip II.), who, when they came to Flanders, offered them the highest place. They refused our offer, and so the matter remains, and we beg your Majesty to instruct us how we are to act, if they remain obstinate in their demand for equality.

We will delay matters for the reply to reach us, trying in the meanwhile to come to the terms we have offered them.—Boulogne, 13th June 1600.

Note.—Another letter of same date from Fernando Carillo, another of the Spanish envoys, conveys similar intelligence with regard to the negotiations with the English representatives.

The correspondence between the English and Spanish envoys on the points specified is enclosed in Zuñiga's letter.

The Council of State considered these communications on the 4th July, and utterly scouted the possibility of even considering the English claim for equality. Such a claim, they say, has never been advanced before and it is not befitting so great a prince as the king of Spain that it should be listened to for a moment. The Council resolved that Zuñiga and Carillo be reprehended for their proceedings in discussing the matter with the English envoys, after

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they (Zuñiga and Carillo) had been so carefully warned not to admit anything derogatory to the King's dignity. They were to be told that the King's grandeur was so fully established and admitted, that they ought not to have allowed or entered into any discussion whatever with the English with regard to precedence, or even equality Several councillors were of opinion that the ambassadors should be written to, that the King's precedence must be unreservedly admitted by the English as a preliminary to any further negotiations.

Note.—The correspondence of the English envoys in these negotiations for peace will be found in the Cotton MSS. Vesp. CVIII.

July (?). Estado, 840.

684. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on the English succession.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders to the Council, in reply to the recommendation that the succession of the crown of England should be secured for the Infanta, the Council has considered the best means to be employed to that end, and has arrived at the following conclusions:—

That your Majesty's decision should at once be conveyed to the duke of Sessa,* and that he should be ordered to inform Father Persons of it, and to say that your Majesty has been moved to nominate the Infanta, both to meet the desires of the English Catholics, who have always proposed her first,† and because his Majesty is of opinion that such a nomination will be the most advantageous one in the interest of God and welfare of Christendom, and of England itself, in view of the parts and virtues of her Highness. The duke of Sessa should confer with Father Persons, who is well versed in the matter, as to the best way to convey this decision to the Pope, in order to obtain, not his approval alone, but also his influence in its favour with the Catholics. This, however, is conditional upon the Duke's seeing no objection to this course. If he thinks the proceeding unadvisable, he should be instructed to inform your Majesty thereof. The greatest possible secrecy is to be urged upon Father Persons, and the latter should also be consulted as to the best means of informing the Catholics of the decision, in order that only those should be taken into confidence who can be trusted to promote the affair. It might be undesirable for it to become known, and the question should be considered whether it will be well to entrust the matter to one of the priests at Rouen (possessing the necessary abilities) who have to go to England. Cardinal Guevara and F. Gaspar de Cordoba are of opinion that the adoption of this course would avoid the need for explaining the matter here to Father Creswell, but the Commendador, Mayor de

* The Spanish ambassador in Rome.

† There is in the library of the Inner Temple, amongst the Petyt papers, a letter dated Genoa, March 15th, 1597, written by Father Persons, whilst on his way to Rome, to Father Holt, suggesting that the Infanta Isabel would be the most suitable claimant to the English throne. Persons was ceaseless in his efforts to promote this candidature, until its hopelessness was acknowledged even by the Spanish Council itself, as will be seen in subsequent papers. The archduke Albert, moreover, the husband of the Infanta, had no desire to risk his sovereignty of Flanders by attempting the impossible task of seizing the English crown.

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Leon, and counts de Chinchon, Miranda, and Alba, see no objection to his being informed, and would prefer that one of the two (Persons or Creswell) should be the means of conveying the decision to the Catholics.

The duke of Sessa should also be advised that your Majesty has informed the Infanta and the Archduke of your resolution, and will be glad that their Highnesses shall be kept well posted as to all that is done in the matter; as also should the ambassador, Don Baltasar de Zuñiga, who has likewise been advised.

Your Majesty should write an autograph letter to their Highnesses, informing them of your intentions, and authorising them to take the necessary steps to promote the affair with all secrecy and through confidential channels. If it be needful for them to open their hands somewhat, they should also be authorised to promise rewards in England, and they should be requested to communicate all they do, and their opinions as to what should be done to attain the object in view.

It was considered by the Council whether it would not be advisable to send some more galleys to Flanders, but it is not clear how this could be done, seeing how urgently the few we have are required here. The best course will be to carry the Irish plan into effect, as has been decided, for the reasons already laid before your Majesty.

The ambassador, Don Baltasar de Zuñiga, should be provided in Flanders with 200,000 ducats, which he should be instructed to hold in reserve against the queen of England's death, so that he may be able promptly to provide troops, and whatever else may be needed, for the successful carrying through of the business, which principally depends on celerity of action at the proper time.

Count de Chinchon pointed out the injury which, in the course of time, might accrue to this country if the States of Flanders should be united to England, and suggested that an arrangement might be made with their Highnesses to the effect that, if they were established on the throne of England, the said States should be re-ceded by them to this country, having regard to the sorrow experienced in Flanders at the separation and the heavy burden which has to be borne by the States to provide for their separate national defence.

The point was acknowledged to be a serious one, and, after discussion, the members were unanimously of opinion that it would be unadvisable for Flanders and England to be united, and that, in the event of their Highnesses being peacefully installed as sovereigns of the latter country, the States of Flanders should again belong to the crown of Spain. It was considered that if England and Flanders became one, the crown might, in time, fall to some unquiet and ambitious person, who might greatly injure this country, and place our Indian dominion in jeopardy; and although there was nothing to fear from their Highnesses themselves, it was impossible to forsee what might happen after their time. There was a difference of views as to the time when this point should be broached to their Highnesses, the Commendador de Leon and count de Miranda being of opinion that, since the eventuality of a juncture of England and Flanders was so distant, the subject might be left until it approached;

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the necessary despatches on the subject being, however, sent to Don Baltasar de Zuñiga with the sum of money above mentioned; so that everything might be ready for the moment when action was required. Counts de Chinchon and Alba, cardinal Guevara, and F. Gaspar de Cordova, thought it would be better to communicate the point to their Highnesses at the same time as they were informed of the King's decision, since nothing unreasonable was being required of them. Besides which, the more distant the prospect might be, the less would they be likely to regret it. F. Gaspar de Cordoba suggested that if their Highnesses were loath to surrender Flanders, they might retain possession during their lives, and the dominion revert to Spain on their death. Count de Chinchon added to this, that if their Highnesses had two children, one might inherit England and the other Flanders, which he thought would be better than for Flanders again to be incorporated with Spain.

Your Majesty will order as you think best.

It was decided that it would be better to say nothing to Father Creswell until after the duke of Sessa and Father Persons had been informed.

Cardinal de Guevara. The Father Confessor. Don Juan de Idiaquez. Count de Miranda. Duke of Alba. Count de Chinchon.

1 July. Estado, 840.

685. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on letters brought from Ireland by Don Martin de la Cerda.

The following is the substance of the letters:—

O'Neil and O'Donnell write that the letters delivered to them by Don Martin had given them new spirit to continue the war against the heretics; but they are forced to say that this long struggle has reduced them to great peril, as their property and vassals are consumed, especially in consequence of the long delay in sending the succour so frequently promised by your Majesty, by letters and messengers. These promises alone have sustained them hitherto, but if it fails them this year, they will despair, and they will be unable to persuade their friends that the aid will arrive in time. The enemies of the Church and your Majesty declare that you are deceiving them, and it is very necessary that your Majesty should help them liberally. The utmost they can do will be to wait five months, and they pray you to send the expedition before the expiration of that time, otherwise their strength will fail them, and they must either forsake their country or accept the queen of England's terms. In another letter, F. Matthew de Oviedo, archbishop elect of Dublin, who went to Ireland with Don Martin, says your Majesty has in Ireland the most faithful and loyal subjects that any king can desire, and, if they were not already well disposed, they would be worth making great efforts to obtain. The chiefs greatly grieve at the delay in the arrival of aid, and although O'Neil and O'Donnell exhibit great reasonableness, they cannot prevail with the rest, as they have news that the enemy is about to attack them in force by land and sea. They suspect that all our promises are only entertainment. He (the archbishop) has encouraged them all he

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can and they are now calmer, on his assurance that aid is coming to them. They can hold out five months, but no longer. At least they expect money to help their people. In order that your Majesty may understand the devotion of these people to you, the archbishop relates that O'Neil had almost gained the earl of Essex, the Queen's commander, to leave her side and join your Majesty, surrendering the country to you on the promise of great favours in your Majesty's name, and O'Neil gave him his own son as hostage. The Earl did not carry out the arrangement, out of suspicion of your Majesty, in consequence of certain acts of his against Spain some time ago.*

Over sixty chiefs gathered to receive the chains and portraits, which they did with great ceremony, saying they would wear no other chains or yoke than those of your Majesty. They were very grateful for the arms and munitions sent to them. He begs your Majesty to consider the great importance of the affair, for with 6,000 men the war might be ended and the insolence of England and Flanders restrained.

Don Martin de la Cerda put in writing some questions to them, about the harbours there, the number of troops needed, the stores, facilities for the transport of guns, &c. They replied that they have harbours capable of receiving your Majesty's fleet, that they had stores for the 5,000 or 6,000 men who would be necessary. They have horses to draw the guns, but no traces, &c. They have plenty of baggage horses for the munitions, but no carts. They have mounts for the cavalry. The Queen's harbours are not strong. In case your Majesty sends the expedition, they (the Irish) will raise 20,000 footmen and 1,000 horsemen, all well furnished.

Don Martin has also set forth in a memorandum the great advantage which would redound to your Majesty's service by the carrying out of the enterprise, but as the fact is obvious, it is needless to trouble your Majesty with his arguments.

The Council reports that it will be very advantageous to send the aid to the Irish Catholics, and do to the Queen what she does to his Majesty by helping the Flemish rebels.

It is impossible at present to send a fleet, but in the meanwhile it has already been decided to collect 20,000 ducats, and 4,000 quintals of biscuit, with some arms and munitions. The marquis of Poza should be instructed to provide the necessary funds without delay; because, although his Majesty has given the orders and the Marquis has been applied to, he had not delivered the money, saying that his Majesty had given no orders to him to do so in any form. The Council urgently recommends that no time should be lost in sending the partial aid agreed upon.

11 July. Estado, 840. **686.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on letters from the duke of Sessa, in Rome, of 11th May and 12th June, containing information and advice from Father Persons.

The queen of England will not live long, and they (the English Catholics) beg your Majesty to declare yourself in the matter of the

* Doubtless the sacking of Cadiz in 1596.

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succession. If your Majesty will take action in time, not only Catholics, but also many heretics, &c., will flock to your side, even the principal councillors, such as the Admiral, the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Cecil.

If this opportunity be lost and the heretics unbridled, all the northern powers will fall upon Spain and the Indies.

Your Majesty's decision may be conveyed in confidence to the archpriest and general of the Jesuits in England,* so that it may be published at the proper time.

As your Majesty will not take the country for yourself, they propose, in the first place, for the succession, the Infanta Isabel; in the second, the duke of Savoy,† who, being a widower, might marry Arabella Stuart, who is a Catholic and has many friends; in the third place, the duke of Parma‡ or his son; in the fourth place, the son of the earl of Worcester, an English Catholic of good parts, who, although he has no claim to the crown, might marry the daughter of the earl of Derby.

They greatly prefer the Infanta, as the forces of Flanders are handy, and if your Majesty would aid the Catholics of Ireland and gain possession of that country, you might do as you liked in England. If your Majesty does not want Ireland for yourself, you might give it to the earl of Tyrone, under tribute.

The Council discussed the matter at length, and agreed as to the advisability of deciding forthwith the course to be pursued on the death of the Queen, and to have everything ready for what has to be done on such an eventuality, for fear the Catholics, finding themselves without a head, may rally to the king of Scotland, in which case things would be worse than ever.

It is agreed that the first thing is to exclude utterly from the succession the kings of Scotland and France. It is needless to trouble your Majesty with the reasons for this, as they are obvious. With regard to the duke of Savoy, the duke of Parma, his brother, the Cardinal, and the English claimants proposed, it appears that it will be inadvisable to admit them, or to exclude any of them expressly. The door should left open, in case your Majesty's own claimant should fail.

The advisability of the crown's falling to your Majesty or the Infanta was discussed, and all agreed (except cardinal Sandoval) with the late King's opinion, that the two crowns of England and Spain should not be joined, but that the Infanta should take your

* In consequence of the discontent of the English secular Catholic clergy at the predominance of the Jesuits in the English mission, considerable friction had occurred; and in 1598 Persons persuaded Cardinal Gaëtano, protector of English affairs at Rome, to appoint an archpriest of England. He appointed the Jesuit Blackwell, who is the person referred to in the letter. A full account of the conflicts amongst the English Catholics to which this appointment gave rise will be found in "The Archpriest Controversy" —Camden Society.

† Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, had married Philip the Second's second daughter Catharine. The eldest daughter, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, sovereign of the Netherlands, claimed the crown of England through her father, and the crown of France through her mother, Elizabeth of Valois, Philip's third wife.

‡ The duke of Parma's claim to the crown of England was derived through his mother, the Infanta Maria of Portugal, who was a lineal descendant of Edward III. of England.

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Majesty's place in England, in union with the Archduke. (The arguments in favour of this course are given in full.)

The duke of Sessa should be unreservedly informed of your Majesty's decision in confidence. He may continue to hint to the Pope the interest your Majesty has in England, the importance of a Catholic succeeding, and the country being converted, &c., and the Duke must use his own discretion as to how far he is to go in this, according to his Holiness' attitude.

The answer to be given to Father Persons may also be left to the Duke. We here are of opinion that Persons may be told, as was before resolved, that your Majesty would nominate a Catholic sovereign, and had decided upon the person, and the Duke might add, as if of his own motion, that he suspected it would be the Infanta, as they desire her, and her virtuous life and gifts render her especially fitting, particularly as the forces of Flanders are handy to England, &c.

As in a matter of this sort, right is the least important element in the claim, although it is necessary, in order to justify the employment of force, the Council is of opinion that financial points should at once be considered, and that a decision should be promptly adopted, whilst the forces of Flanders and the fleet should be made ready, so that on the very day the Queen dies a movement made from both sides simultaneously, in favour of the object aimed at. At the same time the Irish Catholics should be supported, and even in the case of peace (*i.e.*, between England and Spain) being concluded, they should be left out, in order that you might continue to aid them secretly to make war upon the Queen.—Madrid, 11th July 1600.

Note.—In another report of the Council of State, dated 2nd September 1600, on a letter from Father Creswell asking for a decision on the subject of the succession, the Council say that the King replied to the above report to the effect that the affair was so grave as to need very patient consideration. In the report of the 2nd September, the Council again urges the King to resolve.

13 July. Estado, 840. **687.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on Ireland.

The Council have considered your Majesty's reply to the report herewith, and Don Juan de Idiaquez has explained that his reasons for thinking that it would be well to undertake the Irish enterprise this year are as follows.

From the last advices received from there as to the state of affairs the enterprise may be looked upon as easy and safe.

Your Majesty would gain enormously in prestige by conquering a kingdom thus unexpectedly.

The bridle which the possession of Ireland by your Majesty would put upon England and the northern powers, would enable you to divert them from all other points of attack, and prevent them from molesting Spain, the Indies, &c. It would also enable you to make good terms of peace and recover the Flemish fortresses held by the English for the rebels.

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In case of the Queen's death, your Majesty, as master of Ireland, would be in a greatly improved position to nominate a successor to the English crown. The rest of the Council agree with Don Juan, but express doubts with regard to the financial possibility, the time, moreover, being so short, and they fear it will be impossible to send the expedition this year. They think it will be best to encourage the Irish, and keep them in hand, by sending them without delay the money, biscuits, &c., already agreed upon, and, in accordance with your Majesty's instructions, to endeavour to relieve their present distress at once. At the same time preparations should be made, both by land and sea, in Flanders and here, to be ready to execute what may be necessary for the future.

23 July. Estado, 840.

688. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on the Irish expedition.

The Council have considered at length the papers your Majesty has sent them on the Irish expedition, and thank your Majesty for the decision you have arrived at on the matter, a decision such as was fitting to your Majesty's grandeur and Catholicity, &c., &c. The first difficulty that presents itself is that of time, as the fitting out of the necessary ships, the raising and preparing of the men, arms, stores, &c., and the sum they will have to carry with them to pay the troops (150,000 ducats at least) will all have to be done within six weeks at most from this date, as to send the expedition later would be to run great risk of losing it.

The next difficulty is that of money, which to a great extent depends upon that of time. It is greatly to be feared that the sum required cannot be raised within the period named. The affair is, however, of such immense importance in your Majesty's interests that no effort must be spared to overcome the difficulty and to collect the money without delay. The longer we are without the money, the less time for the work. The Council recommends that a copy of the papers brought by Don Martin de la Cerda should be sent to the Adelantado, who should be asked to furnish at once a detailed report of everything that will be needed for the expedition and an estimate of the money necessary for the purpose. The duke of Lerma to be requested to send to Esteban de Ibarra for a statement of the troops, arms, stores, and ships, available in Terceira Andalusia, Spain, Italy, &c.* Officers and captains should be selected and warned for service. Your Majesty had authorised the sending to Ireland of 20,000 ducats and 4,000 quintals of biscuit to enable them to hold out. As they said they could keep up for five months, the Council recommend that this aid be now kept back until the main expedition goes.

If in spite of every effort the succour cannot be despatched this year, the preparations should still be actively continued, so that it may be ready when time comes when it can sail. The Council will in the meanwhile consider who is to go with it.

* Esteban de Ibarra was a member of the council of finance and secretary of the Council of war.

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The King (Philip III.), in an autograph note to the above recommendations, says that "As the expedition is so entirely for the glory "of Almighty God all difficulties to it must be overcome somehow. "The greatest energy and diligence must be exercised on all hands. "I will find money for it, even if I have to sacrifice what I need for "my own person, so that it may go this year. Decide everything "without delay. Get statements of all that will be needed and "send them immediately to me. Do not wait to send to the "Adelantado. I will give orders for the immediate collection of "money sufficient to send a force of 6,000 men. In the meanwhile "send instantly by Don Martin de la Cerda the 20,000 ducats and "the 4,000 quintals of biscuit."

August. Estado, 840.

689. ADVICES from SCOTLAND given by the EARL OF BOTHWELL.

The King (of Scotland) has sent to Rome, Patrick Stewart, a Catholic, and brother to the earl of Athol, to confirm the promise given, in his name, to his Holiness by the bishop of Vaison,* and to ask for the money promised by his Holiness.

The King has also sent Baron Burleigh to Holland, to ratify the alliance which has hitherto existed between them, and to strengthen it by making it for the future offensive and defensive. They (the States) have agreed to this, and undertake to recognise him (James) as king of England on the Queen's death. Burleigh is commissioned to obtain 20,000 cuirasses and as many muskets there to take to Scotland. This baron Burleigh is so faithful a servant of mine that it will be easy to induce him to bring all these arms here, and not send them to Scotland, if they have not already gone. A courier should at once be sent to him with a letter from me, in the form I will submit to your Lordship, if you will allow me. Patrick Stewart is instructed to lay before the Pope the great preparations the King is making to begin the war, as soon as the money is received.

In consequence of great disputes between the queen of England and the king of Denmark, which may well lead to hostilities, the king of Scotland has sent Peter Young, of his privy council, to Denmark to offer the King to declare war upon the queen of England in his favour, if necessary, on condition that the king of Denmark will help him to become king of England.

The Council of State, reporting on the above advices, recommend that Bothwell's offer about the arms be accepted. They remind the King that this man, Bothwell, is in great want in consequence of his not having been paid the 2,000 ducats ordered some time ago.

* William, Bishop of Vaison, in France, nephew of Chisholm the Carthusian Bishop of Dunblane, of whom mention is frequently made in this Calendar. Calderwood calls the Bishop of Vaison, Drummond. The letter carried to Rome by Patrick Stewart was divulged to Elizabeth by the Master of Gray, who was in Italy at the time serving as a spy for the English. She was extremely indignant at James' tergiversation, and dispatched Bowes to Scotland to reproach him for conduct unworthy of a Protestant. James solemnly assured Bowes that the letter was a forgery and the whole story an invention of his enemies. It was asserted some years afterwards, with a show of truth, that James had signed the letter in ignorance of its contents. The blame was thrown upon Elphinstone, his secretary, who was found guilty of treason but pardoned.

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He has already taken leave of the President of Orders, and is leaving in depair. This would have an extremely bad effect in discouraging Catholics, both in England and Ireland, and the Council strongly recommends that he should not be allowed to go away in such a condition. They think he should at once be paid the 2,000 ducats he has already spent, and 4,000 more for his present needs.*

13 August. Estado, 840. **690.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on letter of 14th April, from O'Neil.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders the Council has considered the above letter, of which the following is the substance:—

He thanks your Majesty for allowing his son to come hither. He presses that no Irish ships should be admitted into Spain without a license from himself and the archbishop of Dublin. He begs that Maurice Geraldine should be sent with the succour from your Majesty. Although he is a claimant to the earldom of Desmond, and might be supposed to be at issue with the present holder of the title, he, O'Neil, thinks that no dispute will arise. The Council is of opinion that a kindly reply should be sent, praising him highly for his bravery and steadfastness, and saying how glad your Majesty was for his son to come. He should be told that Don Martin de la Cerda will give him an account of what has been done with his son.

It would be advisable, in order to please O'Neil, to accede to his request about the passports. Advices will have to be sent to all the ports. All ships from Ireland not bringing these passports to be confiscated to your Majesty.

Geraldine should be released but not allowed to leave, and when the expedition is ready it can be decided what course shall be pursued with him.†

15 Sept. Estado, 840. **691.** THOMAS FITZHERBERT to SECRETARY PRADA.

Five years ago the late King appointed him to serve here in place of Sir Francis Englefield, deceased, and fixed a salary of 40 ducats a month to be paid to him. It was insufficient for the proper maintenance of his position, but he was unwilling to ask for an increase until he had served some years. He served six years in France before coming to Madrid, as can be testified by the duke of Feria and Don Diego de Ibarra, and he asks for an increase of salary as a reward for his 11 years' service. He asks for the same amount as Englefield received, namely, 300,000‡ maravedis a year, paid in three instalments, as he does the same as Englefield did, and he cannot serve his Majesty fittingly on less.

The Council of State reports in favour of Fitzherbert's petition.

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* The earl of Bothwell writes, apparently about the same time as the above document was penned, petitioning the King "for some post conformable with his rank, or failing "that, a pensioned knighthood of Santiago, in order that he may be in a position to serve his Majesty more effectually."

† Maurice Fitzgerald, the direct heir of Desmond. He had got into some trouble in a riot at Lisbon and was under arrest. John, the second son of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, had recently been proclaimed earl.

‡ About 98*l.* 14*s.* sterling.

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19 Sept. Estado, 840.

692. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on Baltasar de Zuñiga's letter of 30th November, respecting the negotiations for peace with England.

Zuñiga encloses a letter from the English envoys, clearly showing that they were now hopeless that the rebels would join in the treaty. He suspects the reason for this to be the breaking out of war in Savoy. He replied to them coldly, but without entirely breaking off the negotiations, in order that the rupture should not come from our side. It is, moreover, possible that if the Savoy business is settled they may soften somewhat, and in any case it would be advantageous to co-operate with the English to secure a suspension of hostilities. It is quite understandable that the English should dislike the idea of complete submission (of Flanders) whilst willing to consent to a long suspension of hostilities, as they fear greatly the union of the States with your Majesty's dominions. Although the Queen's councillors may fear what we hope for, namely, that the communication and familarity that would follow a suspension of hostilities would bring about the submission of the rebels in the long run, and that the English might lose their alliance, it is improbable that the Queen will look at it in the same light, and will prefer present advantage rather than provide against future danger.

The English Catholics and the Jesuits there (in England?) are pressing greatly for the invasion of England to be undertaken, which they say they will facilitate by means of the Catholics there (in England). This will be effected by opening negotiations in your Majesty's name with some leading personages, and Don Baltasar de Zuñiga says that they desire above all that some decision should be adopted with regard to the succession, as they are very distrustful as to whether your Majesty will take the matter up. He is keeping them in hand as well as he can, but arguments are no longer of any avail. The Catholics tell him that the Irish enterprise will not be of much use in the English affair, because although they are all Catholics, they are not to be trusted in this matter owing to their ancient enmity. He himself is of opinion that no money can be better spent than that employed in the support of the earl of Tyrone. He reports that the English and rebels are making preparations in the Channel to molest the 'Infanta' on her way to Flanders.

The Council is of opinion that Zuñiga writes very sensibly. There is no doubt that the Queen and the rebels will go at the pace dictated by the king of France since his recent success. No doubt also that the friendly intercourse between Spain and the rebels will cause them to raise difficulties to the object in view. But negotiations should not be broken off. Although on other occasions it has been considered that a treaty of peace with England, with the rebels left out, would do us more harm than good, if the Queen likes to treat on her own behalf, the negotiations may be proceeded with, as if peace be made with her, it may subsequently lead to a long suspension of arms with the rebels, which will be easier to arrange than a peace with them, as in the latter case they would insist upon the foreigners remaining in the country. Zuñiga should be written to, to this effect.

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With regard to the English enterprise proposed by the Catholics, there is no need to discuss it, as experience has shown the impossibility of conquering the country from here, even under better circumstances than at present; but in order to keep hold of the Catholics, it will be advisable for your Majesty to take some resolution respecting the succession. If this be not done in good time the Catholics may join the king of Scots, or some other claimant. With regard to Ireland, there is nothing to add to the reports already furnished to your Majesty by the Council, excepting again to urge your Majesty to have the reports considered, and come to a decision with the promptitude which the importance of the case demands.

Don Baltasar need only be thanked for his other advices.

Note.—The negotiations for peace referred to above as being in the hands of Don Baltasar de Zuñiga are fully set forth in the documents from the English commissioners in Cotton Vesp. CVIII.

26 Sept. B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420.

693. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE on a letter of Thomas Fitzherbert, begging a Cardinal's hat for Father Persons.

Thomas Fitzherbert, an English servant of your Majesty, states that, having learnt by letters from Rome that the duke of Parma is endeavouring to obtain the cardinal's hat for Arthur Pole, an English gentleman, his Holiness having promised to appoint six cardinals at the Duke's instance, cannot refrain from laying before your Majesty the prejudice which may result to God and your service therefrom, unless the project is stopped in good time. The said Arthur Pole is a son of the nephew of cardinal Pole, and of the blood royal of England. He is a youth of 25 years of age, and was brought up from his childhood in the house of the late cardinal Alexander Farnese, in company with the cardinal Don Duarte, who is still alive, and is on very kind and friendly terms with him. Pole is also much liked by the duke of Parma, but he is as entirely foreign to all English affairs as if he belonged to another nationality. He has therefore neither the age and experience, nor the other qualities, necessary in one who will have to be the principal intermediary in the reform of God's church in England. In addition to this, it may be assumed that he will not be a fit instrument to aid in the object desired by all good English Catholics in your Majesty's interests, as the most intimate English friends he has had have been two or three of those who are opposed to your Majesty. From this it may be inferred that Arthur Pole will lead their party, and if he becomes a cardinal will draw to his side the good Catholics who are now adherents of your Majesty. The only remedy for this is, that your Majesty should use your influence with the Pope to raise Father Persons to the cardinalate, as your Majesty has long experience of his zeal and prudence in the service of God and your Majesty. If this be done, even if Arthur Pole be made a cardinal, he will be able to do no harm, as Father Persons will lead all good English Catholics, in consequence of his well-known virtue and wisdom, and will be able to manage everything for the greater glory of God and your Majesty's service. He will also be able to exercise his influence in repressing

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the French party in Rome, and upset the plans of the kings of Scotland and France, as a faithful servant and creature of your Majesty.

He (Fitzherbert) therefore begs your Majesty to instruct the duke de Sessa to speak to his Holiness on the matter, and to beg him in your Majesty's name to make Father Persons a cardinal as speedily as possible, because if he raises the other to the rank first he may try to prevent the promotion of Father Persons; and also that your Majesty will overcome Father Persons' principal difficulty, by displaying towards him the same liberality as his late Majesty showed to cardinal Allen, with a similar object. The interests of God and your Majesty will thereby be served, and the English Catholics will be very grateful.

The matter having been discussed in the Council, it has been decided that Father Persons being worthy, on account of his virtue, learning, and piety, of the dignity of cardinal, his elevation would be welcome, but it is unadvisable to deal with the matter in opposition to the promotion of Arthur Pole, as such a course would be more likely to result in injury than advantage. The duke of Sessa may be written to, with a copy of this document, instructing him to take such steps as he considers desirable in favour of Persons, on the ground of the advisability of encouraging the English Catholics and promoting the conversion of the country to obedience to the Holy See.

28 Sept. Estado, 840.

694. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to Philip III. on a proposal conveyed to the ambassador Juan Bautista de Tassis by Charles Paget.*

Charles Paget, who with his brother lord Paget, was for many years an exile from England, receiving a pension from your Majesty. After his brother's death he grew tired of his banishment, and became reconciled to the Queen through her ambassador in Paris. He writes to Tassis that he is already undeceived, and is again desirous of serving his Majesty. He offers to give Tassis a piece of information of the highest importance if he is given 30,000 ducats. The information he says is worth millions, but he refuses to declare what it is, until Tassis is authorised to pay him the 30,000 ducats, after he has ascertained the truth of the intelligence.

The Council is of opinion that the authority may be given to Tassis, as, if the information be really true and as important as is asserted, the money will be well spent, whilst if it is not true it will not be paid.—Madrid, 28th September 1600.

3 Nov. Estado, 840.

695. The COUNCIL OF STATE to DON BELTRAN DE CASTRO.

The King has ordered the Council to consider the capture of Richard Hawkins, whether the capture was in fair war or not. It

* The Pagets, after adhering for many years to the Spanish interest, had, on the development of Philip's political plan to subjugate England, and place a member of his own family on the throne, separated therefrom, and had become principal upholders of the "Scottish" interest, like the Bishops of Dunblane and Cassano, Thomas Morgan and most of the other influential Englishmen and Scots who were not Jesuits or pensioners of Spain.

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is necessary for de Castro to send them at once a sworn affidavit of the instructions he received from the viceroy of Peru, and an account of exactly what passed when he captured the corsair Hawkins. He is reminded that the King's orders were that no enemy should be allowed to live in those seas.

Report of Don Beltran de Castro on the capture of Richard Hawkins.

The only order I received from the Viceroy when I left Callao, in chase of this Englishman, was, if my memory serves me, that I was to effect the capture with all care, and to do my best to come up with him, which, by the grace of God, I did.

As to what passed when I had caught him, I may make the following statement:—From Thursday, at four in the afternoon, when I first attacked him, we continued fighting all that evening and night, as well as all Friday, and Friday night. On Saturday, well into the day, I found my flagship very much damaged, as most of the crew were killed, and the mainmast shot away, my own ship being also in a very critical condition, many of my spars being carried away or injured, and my ship pierced, and full of water. Thinking it unwise to risk further, I ordered the offer to be made to Hawkins of fair terms of war if he would surrender—in order to suspend the fighting, as I was as likely to sink as he was, and I was content to have got hold of him at any rate. He accepted the offer, and I think my course was the wisest one under the circumstances, in his Majesty's interests. Shortly before he surrendered, I learnt that he had ordered two men to stand by with lighted torches, to set fire to the powder magazine if we boarded him. But one of our shot carried away both of the men, although there were others who would have taken their places. If his Majesty ordered that no enemy who entered those seas was to be taken alive, I never heard of such an order. But even if I had, I am of opinion that a commander is at liberty to act as he thinks best for the service under the circumstances, and I believe I acted wisely in doing as I did, always with submission to the opinion of these gentlemen, who will know best.

Your Lordship calls Richard Hawkins a corsair. He was not so, as a corsair, as I understand it, is one who makes war on his own account upon those with whom his sovereign is at peace, without any authority from his sovereign. But Hawkins bore a patent from the queen of England (which I still have in my possession), ordering him to do all the damage he could to our King and his allies. This being the case, and war having existed between the two countries for so long, I do not think that Don Richard merits the name that you apply to him.

The Council of State in their report to the King on the above subject, approve of Don Beltran de Castro's action, and agree that Hawkins was not a pirate but a prisoner in fair war, and, consequently, might be ransomed.

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28 Nov. Estado, 840. **696.** REPORT of the Council of State to PHILIP III. on the communication from the Irishman Richard Owen, giving advice as to the best way to effect the war in Ireland.

The Council has considered the enclosed memorial of Richard Owen, a confidant of Earl O'Neil, which contains many points of interest. These points, however, all depend upon the resolution to be arrived at as to the matter itself; and the Council thinks best not to consider in detail Owen's advice prematurely. The Council has, however, gone through all the reports that have been furnished to your Majesty on the matter, and finds that the undertaking, in principle, has been authorised, the strength decided upon, and everything ordered to be got ready without loss of time. But your Majesty's absence has so delayed matters that the vessels and galleys in Andalusia are still very much behindhand. Out of the 16 needed, only 8 have been fitted out, and the raising of sailors has not even begun. As promptitude is of the very first importance in the business, as your Majesty has shown by ordering great speed to be exercised, and in your own prompt resolve, and every day brings further confirmation of the desirability of harassing the Queen at that point, the Council urgently begs your Majesty to order greater expedition to be used, and that the rest of the galleons should be got ready at once, as also the provisions, biscuits, &c. Out of the 30,000 quintals of biscuits expected, there are only now 12,000 in Lisbon, of which it was arranged to send 4,000 to Ireland.

The Council also recommends the King to have the needful money provided and encashed without delay.

Richard Owen's long memorial resolves itself into the following recommendations:—

That Prince O'Neil should be appointed Captain-General, as no Irishman will consent to be governed by one of lower rank than himself.

That O'Donnell be made Governor of Connaught, and Desmond Governor* of Munster.

That the Irish should be taken by his Majesty, either as subjects, allies, or protegés.

The best time for the war is from September to December, as the English are always in strength in spring and summer.

The 30 or 40 Irish gentlemen in Flanders, etc., should be sent with the force.

The Pope should be asked to excommunicate the Irishmen who aid the heretics.

All the arms and munitions sent should be kept in an arsenal.

For the battery of towns will be needed eight cannons and four culverins.

Harness and all accessories should be sent, but not horses.

Six field pieces will be sufficient, and if fortifications are to be erected, tools should be sent.

No Irish ship should be allowed in a Spanish port without a license from O'Neil.

* This was Tyrone's earl of Desmond, John FitzThomas FitzGerald.

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The Catholics are tired of war, and if aid be not promptly sent it may be feared they will make peace with the English.

The Englishwoman offers them liberty of conscience, and to each Chief the possession of his lands, with many new privileges. The Catholics have hitherto refused them out of affection to his Majesty. The king of Scotland has offered O'Neil to make good terms for him with the Englishwoman.

Most nations dislike Spain: the Irish love it. It is just, therefore, that they should be succoured. Aid should therefore be sent at once.

The cheapest way to send the aid will be as follows:—

Every October a large number of Irish, Scotch, and Breton ships go to Spain for wine. Take these ships, pay them good freights, and load them with men, arms, etc, Send 10 small warships to convoy them. Let some Spanish pilots go in each of the foreign boats for security, If any disaster occurs your Majesty would lose less than if you sent your own galleys.

To take Ireland, and cast out the heretics speedily and cheaply, the force should enter Carlingford, in O'Neil's country, where there is great abundance of provisions, good horses, and everything necessary. It is only 40 miles from Dublin. Operating from Carlingford, four out of the six English garrisons in O'Neil's country can be expelled in three days, and more can be done there against the English in six months than elsewhere in many years.

If the force goes to Munster the war will last for many years.

Owen describes himself as having served over 12 years in Flanders. and as being in command of all of O'Neil's infantry.—Madrid, 20th November 1600.

2 Dec. Estado, 840.

697. SUMMARY of a MEMORANDUM from FATHER CRESSWELL to the KING, with regard to the answer to be given to the English Catholics.

1. The answer should include some general reference to the pretensions of the earl of Essex, so as to open the door to an arrangement by which he may be gained to the service of God and your Majesty.

2. The answer should be so worded that even if it fall into the hands of enemies, it would help rather than injure the cause of the claimant favoured by your Majesty. This may be effected by setting forth, with full arguments, the reasons why it is considered desirable here that the Catholic Sovereign of England should proceed with mildness and without violence, the fault being not so much personal as national. That it will be unjust, therefore, to treat heretics as they are treated in Spain, or as they were treated in England by queen Mary. Conversion may best be forwarded by caring well for working people, and by winning the people by suavity and mildness. Philip II. saw this, and his advice moderated the zeal of queen Mary and her Council.

3. Such an answer will banish many difficulties and attract many adherents.

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4. The answer should state that it has been considered by the Council and approved by your Majesty.

5. In addition to the above general answer, there should be another particular answer, communicated to few, nominating the Infanta Isabel for the succession. This will open the door for her and the Archduke to take similar steps to push their claims to those being carried on by the king of Scotland.

6. To satisfy powerful people, who would rally to the Infanta, it will be necessary to let it be known privately, that your Majesty will acknowledge her claim; and, if possible, support her by a large force when the Queen dies. This is necessary, in order that they make due arrangements for welcoming such a force.

7. It is most important that no time should be lost, as otherwise these powerful people will rally to the king of Scotland, and he will succeed. Delay alone is responsible for making Vendome king of France.

8. Any new Sovereign of England, unless he is under obligation to your Majesty, will be worse for you than the Queen, because by granting freedom of conscience he will conciliate a certain faction in Rome, and will prevent the Catholics from looking to your Majesty. This has happened in France.

9. My own opinion is that God has hitherto preserved the Queen's life, in consequence of the prayers of so many faithful ones that your Majesty should be prepared before she dies.

10. If God grant children to the Infanta, the submission of England to Spain will be perpetual, by means of family alliances, etc. This is what the Catholics aim at, to re-establish religion, and a permanent brotherhood between the nations, Spain being always the elder brother.

11. Even if the Infanta die without children it will be no small thing to have taken the Crown out of the hands of heretics.

12. On all accounts it is most necessary to succour Ireland.

13. The acknowledgment of the Infanta, and the preparations mentioned, will do much to bring honourable peace to your Majesty and the Catholics.

— Dec. **698.**

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The above memorandum is accompanied by a draft of the proposed answer to the English Catholics, written and signed by Father Cresswell. It embodies the points detailed in the memorandum, only that, as an alternative to the Infanta, it hints at the acceptance of one of the daughters of the earl of Derby, or Arabella Stuart; and promises to hold in readiness certain forces (in blank) to be used when needed in favour of the Catholic party.

Father Cresswell concludes by again begging the King for a prompt resolution.

The Council of State reports to Philip III., with regard to Father Cresswell's communications, that an answer should be now sent without further delay. They generally approve of his suggestions, but are of opinion that no other candidate than the Infanta should

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be mentioned; and that the forces to be held in readiness should not be enumerated.

1601. S.D. Estado, 840. **699.** STATEMENT of the KING'S FLEET in LISBON.

(The document commences with a long account of the reasons which have rendered necessary the levy of a large number of infantry in Spain for service in different parts. Two thousand of these had just been shipped in Lisbon to send to Flanders, when it was decided that, matters being now settled in Italy, troops should be sent from there to Flanders, and that the voyage of the men from Lisbon should be suspended.)

Things being in this condition, the Archbishop of Dublin and Don Martin de la Cerda came from Ireland to represent to his Majesty, on behalf of Earls O'Neil and O'Donnell, the troublous state of that country, the imminent peril in which they and the rest of the Catholics stood; and the danger of the entire extinction of faith and obedience to the Church, which they had hitherto upheld with so much bravery and bloodshed. They submitted the grave prejudice which would thereby be suffered by Christianity at large, and expressed deep sorrow that, after they had exposed themselves to so much jeopardy in the service of God, and so many promises had been made to them, they should be thus abandoned by a powerful and Catholic Monarch upon whom, after God, they had founded all their hopes. They nevertheless promised full success at all points if his Majesty would speedily send them assistance. As the Council of State was not with the King at the time, he ordered a committee of certain members who accompanied him to meet for the purpose of discussing the question.

As the troops were already mustered, the preparations were continued, and there is now a fleet of 35 vessels quite ready to sail in Lisbon (19 belonging to his Majesty), 6,000 fully armed men being now on board in two regiments, under the Maestres de Campo Antonio Centeno and Don Francisco de Padilla, with all necessary stores for the voyage, and 6,010 quintals of biscuit for landing, 6 pieces of battery artillery, 600 quintals of powder, 600 quintals of fire match, 300 quintals of lead, spare armour, saddles, bridles, and a large number of swords and lances for the natives, picks, shovels, spades, &c., and 180,000 ducats in money. The fleet and its navigation are under the command of Don Diego Brochero, and the soldiery and land operations under Don Juan del Aguila.

There is a difference of opinion as to the destination of the expedition amongst the Irish themselves. Some desire that it should proceed to the northern part of the island, where most of our friends are, this being a long voyage, and inconvenient for the ships and large galleons, whilst others wish it to go to the coast opposite Spain, in the neighbourhood of the ports of Cork and Waterford. This would shorten the voyage for the arrival of the first reinforcements, and for subsequent aid, but it would leave a large extent of country between them and our friends, and it would

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be difficult to effect a junction from there for a long time. Others, again, suggest that the expedition might go to Drogheda, near the earl of Tyrone's country, when the forces might join and fall upon the enemy at once, before reinforcements could reach him. This would enable the Catholic cause to recover prestige, which is very important, but the voyage would be a longer one, and the objective point nearer to England and further from Spain.

The forces are now ready, and only await the final decision.*

Estado, 840. **700.** MEMORANDUM by the EARL OF BOTHWELL, ADMIRAL OF SCOTLAND.

My zeal and devotion for the service of his Majesty, and not my presumption, my desire for his welfare, and not my own profit, have moved me, knowing as I do the state of affairs in Scotland, England, and Ireland, to write this brief discourse, dealing both with peace and war, the choice between which I leave to his Majesty, and to the deliberation of his wise council.

With regard to war, I wish to say that no point is so important to his Majesty's interest as to keep the queen of England occupied in Ireland, but before the enterprise is undertaken it should be maturely considered, for the following reasons:—

1st. The country is not capable of feeding an army. This is proved by the fact that the queen of England has never been able to maintain her ordinary troops in the garrisons, except by means of stores sent from England. For us (*i.e.*, the Spaniards) it will be much more difficult, considering how distant we are from Ireland.

2nd. It will be difficult to send fresh reinforcements, considering the strength of the enemy at sea. For this reason it would be advisable that the first force sent should be so strong that no reinforcement would be necessary for a long time.

3rd. Our troops must, apparently, either land in the west or the east of Ireland. If they land in the west I do not understand how it will be possible for them to carry cannon, whereas if they land in the east, opposite the English coast, where the country is flat, I cannot see how our infantry can resist the enemy, who has as large a force of infantry as we have, besides a large number of cavalry.

4th. Finally, if his Majesty ever sends troops thither, he will necessarily have the king of Scotland against him, in consequence of the claim of the latter to the crowns of Ireland and England. This opposition will cause more trouble than that of the queen of England, because he will, at any time, be able to send 20,000 Scots, and Irishmen who in speech and manner of of life exactly resemble them.

5th. In order to avoid this difficulty, and divert the forces of both kingdoms (England and Scotland) from harassing our men

* Full particulars of this unfortunate expedition, with plans, &c., will be found in "Pacata Hibernia."

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in Ireland, it will be neccessary to provide a force of 8,000 foreign troops for Scotland, and money to keep all our (*i.e.*, the Scots) Catholics, who may join them. It will be needful, however, for these 8,000 men to be separated into two bodies, to land in two different ports. Four thousand of them should be shipped from Flanders in galleys, and go to the Orkney isles, to join the Catholics there, whose names are given in the adjoined memorandum. Before the expedition sails, however, it will be advisable for the King, my master (*i.e.*, the king of Spain), to send an ambassador to the king of Scotland, who, under this pretext may be able to deal with the Catholics, both those in the north and those in the west, where the other force of 4,000 men from Spain will arrive. To reach the port of Kirkcudbright they will lay their course for the Atlantic, sailing towards the Orkneys, and then passing our western isles, by which route they will arrive at the said port without risk. Kirkcudbright is a day and-a-half distant from England; and this will enable them (the English Catholics) to join them (*i.e.*, the Spanish force) without delay. Before this, however, all the English gentlemen in his Majesty's service should be sent from here to join the fleet, and some of them should also be sent to treat with the English Catholics, and induce them to join our fleet. The names of the (Scottish) gentlemen with whom the ambassador will have to negotiate, and who will join the fleet on the west coast of Scotland are those contained in the list referred to.

6th. With regard to the places that might prevent a junction between the northern and western forces, such as Broughty, St. John's Town (*i.e.*, Perth), Stirling, Dumbarton, etc., measures will be taken to cause them to submit.

7th. With respect to the expense to be incurred by his Majesty on this fleet for Scotland, means may be found for reimbursing him.

The war we are waging is for the re-establishment of the Catholic faith, and when that is effected it will be only reasonable that, as we are exposing our lives, the ecclesiastics should pay what is spent on the war. It will therefore be arranged that no ecclesiastic shall be admitted into his charge until he undertakes to give up the third of his revenue for three years, as a payment to his Majesty, and this shall be duly guaranteed to his Majesty when he decides upon undertaking the war. Thus far I have spoken only of war; I will now proceed to deal with the question of peace.

1st. If his Majesty approves, it will be necessary to send an ambassador to Scotland to complain to the King of the constant injury done to his Majesty by the sending of forces to the aid of the rebels in Holland and Zeeland, which has been done without any cause being given by his Majesty; and the King should be requested to recall the (Scots) men who are there, and to prevent any others being sent.

As the earl of Bothwell is exiled and all his estates lost through serving his Majesty, the King might also be asked to restore his estate to him, on the condition that he will never again return to

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Scotland during his life. The Earl will remain in his Majesty's service. This clause is left to the clemency and benignity of his Majesty, and the earl is certain that the decision will be such as the loyalty and goodwill of his humble servant deserves. The following representations might be made to the King (James):—

3rd. He (James) is well aware of the innumerable injuries his Majesty has suffered from the queen of England, and that they can no longer be borne; but before his Majesty undertakes anything in that direction, he considers, having regard to his (James') claims to the crown of England, that it will be judicious to inform him thereof, and request his aid as a good friend and brother; and he (*i.e.*, the king of Spain) will promise to assist and establish him on the throne of England, if he will accede to the following conditions:—

4th. That his (James') son shall marry the daughter of the duke of Savoy, and his daughter with his (the duke of Savoy's) son. That the prince (of Scotland) shall be sent hither and remain until his marriage, and his sister to Savoy, and in case he (the Prince) should have to return before, that his brother should be sent hither in his place. They will thus live as subjects of his Majesty; but this last clause must not be mentioned until the prince is here.

5th. Finally, as the king of Scotland will complain of the bad treatment of his subjects here of late years, it will be necessary that he should be informed of the ingratitude and infamy with which they have repaid his Majesty for his favour and sympathy towards them, and for the freedom given to them to trade in all his dominions, until his Majesty recognised that they took advantage of the liberty accorded to them by treasonably consorting with his enemies, introduced into these countries their merchandise, and carrying Spanish produce to them; which gave them the greater profit and his Majesty the greater injury.

6th. I conclude by saying that there is no other alternative for his Majesty's advantage, than, either to make a peace and and firm alliance with the king of Scotland, before the queen of England dies, or else to commence a determined war which will utterly ruin and destroy him, which will be easy for his Majesty.

(Signed) The earl of Bothwell, Admiral of Scotland.

Estado, 840. **701.** MEMORANDUM of the EARL OF BOTHWELL.*

Names of the Catholic gentlemen of the north who will join our fleet coming from Flanders—

Earl of Caithness, Viscount Murehill } my brothers.
Viscount Mackay.
Earl of Sutherland.

* From the contents, this document appears to be a complement of the foregoing one.

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Viscount Mackintosh.
Marquis of Huntly.
Earl of Errol.
Earl of Athol.
Viscount Inchaffray.
Earl of Gowrie.
Viscount Ogilvie.
Viscount Gray
Baron Burleigh.
Baron Balcarres.

Names of the lords of the west and border who will join our fleet—

Duke of Lennox.
Viscount Semple.
Baron Fleming.
Marquis of Angus.
Baron Buchannan.
Baron Rastellerse (?).
Viscount Livingston.
Viscount Seton.
Viscount Paisley.
Viscount Sanquhar.
Viscount Maxwell.
Viscount Herries.
Viscount Hume.
Baron Ferinhurst.
Baron Roslyn.
The earl of Bothwell's horsemen.

S.D. Estado, 840.

702. REPORT of the Council of State on the aforegoing letter of the earl of Bothwell.

The Council has considered the memorandum and papers of the earl of Bothwell, and is of opinion that there is no present possibility of the expedition he proposes being undertaken. With regard to the sending of an ambassador to the king of Scotland, the Archduke has already been written to on the subject, in consequence of another memorandum which was presented by Colonel Semple. It will therefore be well to await the Archduke's reply. The earl may be thanked for the zeal which moved him to write this memorandum, and with regard to the question of the pensioned knighthood for him, which his Majesty referred to Francisco Gonzales de Heredia, his Majesty might be reminded thereof.

The Council is of opinion in the meanwhile, since the earl has nothing to live upon except the allowance granted to him by his Majesty of 250 ducats a month, that it will be a very gracious act for his Majesty to order the earl to be paid at once the amount now due, and that the future payments should be duly made. If the earl desires to go and serve his Majesty the allowance might be increased by 50 ducats and permission given to him.

S.D Estado, 840.

703. SUMMARY of DISCOURSE written by Don Martin de la Cerda from Ireland to Philip III.

"The moment your Majesty's forces gain a footing in this country your traffic with the Indies will be safe, and a great saving will be effected in Spain." He dwells at length upon the great advantages which the possession of Ireland will give to Spain from a political,

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religious, and financial point of view, the comparative ease and cheapness of the enterprise, the ardent loyalty of the Irish to the king of Spain and their sturdy catholicism.

S.D. B.M. Add. Mss. 28420.

704. DOCUMENT endorsed "Statement given by Father Persons to the duke of Sessa with advices from England and France."

Reports from England of 8th October and from Flanders of 17th with regard to the new proposal to reduce the realm of England by means of the king of France, and to induce certain English Catholics in Flanders to leave the service of his Catholic Majesty and enter that of the king of France.

An English gentleman named Henry Constable, who in recent years was in Rome and went afterwards to live in Paris upon an allowance from the duchess of Vendome, sister of the King, has continued to write to his Holiness and Cardinal Baronio proposing plans for the conversion of England by means of France. These plans were discussed by the Cardinal with Father Persons last May, and as the latter assured him that there was nothing in them, the Cardinal said that his Holiness would not entertain them. Constable, however, continued to urge his ideas, presumably in union with other Englishmen of his own way of thinking in Flanders; and has, it is said, gained over M. d'Epernon and M. de Sancy, two great "politicians" in France, who have persuaded the Pope's Nuncio in Paris and others. Taking advantage of the recent occurrences at Amiens, the going of Dr. Stapleton to Rome for his promotion, and the universal discontent of his Majesty's English pensioners in Flanders who have not received their pay, they have not only written, but have sent an English doctor named Robert Tempest, whose brother is one of the most seditious priests in Rome, to endeavour to gain over the earl of Westmorland and his brother-in-law, David Ingleby.

The latter is a gentleman of rank, and a confidant of his Majesty, and immediately divulged the plan to Father Persons. Henry Constable also wrote to three English doctors in Flanders, namely, Stapleton, Professor at Louvain, Barrett, rector of the English seminary at Douai, and Gifford, dean of Lille. With regard to the latter, his close connection with Paget in Flanders, and his continued correspondence with M. de Mauvissière in Rome, render it certain that he will be quite ready to embrace the idea.

The details of the plans they have formed for the present are not exactly known, but the general object is to bring England into the hands of the king of France and alienate it from the king of Spain by means of negotiations for the granting of a certain amount of liberty of religion to be obtained by the action of the king of France during the life of the present Queen; and after her time the English will continue to enjoy the same freedom, if they can obtain no more, under the rule of the king of Scotland, who is said to be mixed up in the business. He has already begun to make an arrangement, both with his heretic and Catholic nobles, and has appointed the archbishop of Glasgow to be his ambassador in France, he having

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been his mother's ambassador there for many years, and, being entirely devoted to the French, will aid the object with all his power.

It is reported that the matter is so far advanced that the promoters have their agents in England with the earl of Essex and other members of the Queen's Council for the purpose of settling the affair.

Lord Dacre, who left Flanders discontented, is now in Paris with the archbishop of Glasgow, and it is said is to go to Scotland to discuss the matter with the King. It is also intended to send Constable to Rome on the same business. Stapleton has resolved not to go (to Rome), and it is thought that Gifford may be sent, as he is no less favoured by M. Mauvissière than is Stapleton. Concurrently with this new French plan the older design with regard to Scotland is being continued. This is promoted by Paget, Gifford, and others in Flanders, and by Mauvissière and many others in the Roman Court, jointly with priests and unquiet students in the English College. It is evident that the faction will become very powerful unless some efficacious means be adopted for putting a stop to it. This may be effected in two ways: first, by keeping the English in a better humour and paying their allowances, at all events, in part; and, secondly, by raising the faithful persons and somewhat degrading the others, so that they may not venture constantly to enter into these new leagues and combinations.

1 Feb. Estado, 840.

705. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on a LETTER from the DUKE OF SESSA in ROME, containing information given to him by Father Persons, respecting England and Ireland.

The following is a summary of the letter, &c.:—

An English Catholic named Constable, a great confidant of the king of Scotland, has arrived in Rome, it is believed with the consent of the King, and has tried to persuade the Pope that the King may be converted; and that if his Holiness and your Majesty will help him to the English succession, both countries—England and Scotland—may return to the faith. Constable promises to promote this. Father Persons had been of opinion that this man might be sent to sound the king of Scotland. His Holiness would not consent, but gave him leave to go on his own account without any authority. He enforces the great importance that your Majesty should arrive at a prompt decision as to whom you wish to succeed on the Queen's death, as it is feared otherwise that the chief men may agree with the king of Scotland.

Everything proves that the real claimants are now reduced to two, namely, the Infanta and the Archduke, and the king of Scotland. The earl of Tyrone has requested his Holiness to send a fully authorised person to Ireland, and the Duke (of Sessa) has requested that an Italian jesuit in the service of your Majesty

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should go.* He is one of three that the general has proposed to his Holiness. The Duke took an opportunity of saying to his Holiness that if your Majesty did not make peace with England, it would be very advantageous for you to invade Ireland, his Holiness granting the investiture of the kingdom to your Majesty. The Pope seemed to approve of this, but did not speak clearly about England. But the Duke (of Sessa) believes he will not refuse his spiritual aid to your Majesty.

He states that this Irish business would be very easy, seeing the number of Catholic friends there. It would be a complete bridle upon the English in Flanders, and be a good point from which to attack England itself; or at least to bring it to favourable terms of peace.

The Council approves of the Pope's refusal to give a brief to Constable authorising him to treat for the conversion of the king of Scotland. Last advices here state that he is of the same religion as the queen of England. It is probable that Constable might come back with feigned professions of conversion (like those of the king of France) in order to gain the Pope, to the great injury to Catholicism there. The Duke (of Sessa) should be instructed to watch keenly what is done in this matter, and act accordingly; so that his Holiness may know how little dependence can be placed in the king of Scotland. It is important that a Catholic King should succeed on the death of the Queen, and this can best be effected by your Majesty's promoting the claims of the Infanta, as the English Catholics have petitioned you to do. The Duke of Sessa has been instructed to lay this before his Holiness. It will be very advantageous to gain the English councillors mentioned in Persons' letter. The Duke should confer with Persons about it, and send advice as to the course to be pursued to secure this end. He should also send the information to Flanders and to the ambassador Baltasar de Zuñiga.

The Duke did well in speaking to the Pope about the investiture of Ireland. Everything shows the advisability of persevering in the Irish business with great expedition and activity.—Madrid, 1st February 1601.

* In a document, which appears to be lost, as it it not in the packet, a representation seems to have been made to the Council with reference to this point, that it would be inadvisable for an Italian Legate to go to Ireland. The Council thereupon report as follows:—

S.D. Estado, 840. The contents of the accompanying document are well considered; but if the Pope be openly requested not to send an Italian, he will not only ignore the request, but he will also be offended. The Council is therefore of opinion that a copy should be sent to the duke de Sessa, and that he should be informed, in accordance with the contents of the document, that for the present there is no occasion for the Pope to make a definite appointment, because the person appointed would not be able to exercise his functions with the authority and decorum necessary. His Holiness should therefore be dissuaded from sending anyone thither until the business be brought to a more favourable position. In the meanwhile the archbishop of Dublin should be entrusted with the despatch of such affairs as may be necessary, in accordance with the contents of the memorandum. The Duke should be requested to promote this end in the way which may appear most advisable.

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9 Feb. Estado, 840.

706. REPORT of the Council of War to Philip III. on the Irish expedition.

Eight letters to your Majesty, and three to the Duke of Lerma, have been considered in the Council. They were brought by Don Martin de la Cerda from O'Neil, O'Donnell, and the other principal men in Ireland, who head the Catholics and resist the queen of England. The substance of them is to say that the succour sent with la Cerda arrived in good time, as they had thought they were forgotten by your Majesty, and had decided to send O'Donnell hither, although they would miss him much. As the queen of England had devastated their lands last summer with 16,000 footmen and 2,000 horse, they are reduced to the last extreme of misery. But still they stood firm, and swore before the Archbishop of Dublin to await the succour until July this year. They refer your Majesty for further information to the Archbishop and Don Martin de la Cerda, whom they highly praise. They pray that the succour may be sent before that time (July) and that it may consist of not less than 5,000 footmen, and they also beg that your Majesty should propose to the Pope the persons suggested by them for two Irish churches.

As your Majesty's obligation to support these Catholics is obvious, and it is the best way of distressing the queen of England, against whom they have held out so bravely, the Council need not enforce these points. But it is necessary that the succour sent should be sufficient. Hitherto we have talked of 4,000 infantry, they ask for 5,000 at least. We are of opinion that 6,000 may be sent, as peace has been made between France and Savoy, and the men raised here can be sent into garrison whilst the old soldiers can go on the expedition. Stores and munitions should be made ready for shipment at once, for in Ireland they have not even bread. Everything should be done with great secrecy, and the men should be quietly sent to Lisbon, where everything must be collected—an increased quantity of biscuit being ordered in addition to that now being made in Coruña and Lisbon.

For the pay of the 6,000 men, enough money should be taken for six months, amounting to 200,000 ducats, more or less, which sum it is expected they have in Lisbon, in place of the 200,000 your Majesty lent for the maintenance of the crews of the Indian flotilla, 105,000 ducats more will be required, in conformity with the estimates of Estevan de Ibarra, which are enclosed. The Council thinks that Don Cristobal de Mora might be instructed to send for the troops that have to be brought from Terceira, some freighted caravels, as Estevan de Ibarra sets forth in its estimate. Don Martin de la Cerda thinks Frederico Spinola's galleys should be increased to 20, but we do not see how this can be done; but he might have two of those from Lisbon. Frederico Spinola should be ordered to come for them, without being told yet the object in view. The request of the Irish with regard to the church presentations is important, as they act as your Majesty's subjects. An Irish bishop should be sent with the succour. They should be written to at once giving them hopes of the aid.

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The following note in the handwriting of Philip III. is on the margin of this report:—

I quite approve of 6,000 infantry being made ready for this expedition to Ireland; and I entrust the matter to my confessor, as it is so much in God's service, in order that he may see that everything recommended here is carried out with all possible speed. See whether the making ready of the men, stores, and ammunition, should be entrusted to Estevan de Ibarra, and act in this as appears best. Consider also where the 100,000 ducats are to be got, so that they may be sent at once. Send to Rome the nomination for the Irish churches, and answer the letters from Ireland as is considered best. I have considered the estimates and return them.

9 Feb. Estado, 840. **707.** SUMMARY of the estimated cost, and details of the expedition to Ireland.

	Ducats.
Maintenance of 4,500 men for two months - -	40,000
One payment for 4,000 new soldiers to be shipped -	20,000
Two payments for veteran cavalry - - -	12,000
Shipping and maintenance of the men - -	17,000
To pay two payments to the native infantry - -	16,000
As it is most important that the troops should be kept in good order and prevented from molesting the natives, they must be paid punctually. For this and all other needs these must be taken - - -	200,000
Total estimated cost of the expedition - -	305,000

(It is explained that although this estimate only provides for 4,500 men, whilst the expedition was to consist of 6,000 soldiers and 500 sailors; the other 2,000 soldiers have full supplies, etc., provided for two months in Lisbon, where they were to embark. It is also explained that the biscuit has been ordered separately, and is not included in the above account. The smallest details are provided for in these accounts which were presented to the Council of State.

Twenty caravels were to be freighted, decked, and stored, to bring troops from Terceira, at a cost of 140,000 ducats, the maintenance of seamen, their wages, and cost of water casks amount to 17,000 ducats, whilst the stores on the fleet were estimated to cost 40,000 ducats.

17 July. Estado, 840. **708.** The COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III.

The Admiral of Scotland has given a memorandum of advices. containing the following:—

That Raleigh, knight, and Gilbert, knight, with their companions, have asked the queen of England for permission to take and fortify the island of Santa Margarita, Raleigh to be viceroy, and that they have arranged with the governor of the island to obtain a footing there.

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That there are two Flemings who for the last five years have been in Teneriffe in the interests of the English.

That the merchants of London have dispatched 12 ships for the East Indies, four of which have already sailed with victuals and pieces of eight struck by the English silversmiths.

That three English ships were being loaded with cloths for the island of St Michaels. That there is a person who offers to capture Raleigh and bring him hither, if he is guaranteed half the ransom obtained. The same person offers to take and surrender the above-mentioned ships if he be given half their value.

That the (Flemish) rebels are building ships with the Scottish arms on them, that they may come to Spain in the guise of Scottish ships. The Admiral of Scotland will be informed of those that come, and if he be so instructed, he will deliver them, if he be given half of their value.

The above having been considered in Council, it was resolved that your Majesty should be informed that reports had already been received and due measures adopted with regard to the island of Santa Margarita, the Flemings in Teneriffe, and the ships for the East Indies. With respect to the proposal about Raleigh, and the capture of English and rebel ships, the Council is of opinion that, although the execution seems to present some difficulty, it will be advisable to grant what is requested, and even to hold out hopes of still greater rewards, as gain would result in any case.

Your Majesty will decide as you think best.

22 Nov. Estado, 840. **709.** Document headed—STATEMENT made by a spy of the Adelantado of Castile, who on other occasions has given true reports.

He left Bristol, 22nd November, 1601.

He left the port of Santa Maria about 10 months since, and has been to Waterford in Ireland, Bristol and London in England, and to Calais in France. Thence he went to Zeeland; his intention being to learn what he could in each place; but he found nothing of importance until he again returned to London.

From London he went to Barnstaple, an English port opposite Ireland, where he learnt that the Spanish fleet had arrived in Ireland, and in order to discover what preparations the Queen was making, he then returned to London. The better to carry out his object, he went to lodge in the house of the Scots Ambassador, and accompanied the ambassador when he went to the palace. He then heard that the Queen had received news of the arrival of the Spanish fleet in Ireland a fortnight before, and she and her council had immediately ordered 5,000 soldiers, and 400 horses to be sent thither. He thereupon went to Rochester, where the Queen's navy lies up for the winter, in order to learn whether there was any talk of fitting out a fleet, but he only found there five small vessels, the largest of which was 400 tons, besides five merchantmen taken forcibly, the largest 200 tons. He remained there, to be quite certain, until he saw these vessels sail with only seamen on board. These ships then sailed to Dover, where they embarked the infantry.

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This man himself saw them to the number of 1,000 men, all raw recruits, and says that no arms nor uniforms were served out to them before they sailed, so that they might not run away. No more than this were shipped, as the vessels would hold no more.

He then went by land to Bristol, where he found another thousand men being shipped in a similar manner, in small merchantmen. 200 horses were also embarked there, with the earl of Thomond, who also had command of a company of infantry given to him by the Queen for life, in return for loyal service. Their orders were to land at Cork or Waterford, or in any other port they could.

Whilst he (the spy) was at Bristol, he received news from a pilot of his that he had seen 600 infantry and 60 horses being shipped at Barnstaple, twenty leagues from Bristol. They (the English) spread the rumour that there were a thousand, but the real number was that stated above. He also learnt that 500 infantry were being embarked from Chichester (?) for Dublin.

He received intelligence that the Viceroy had surrounded the Spaniards with 5,000 men, and had posted another body of 3,000 in a pass through which the Earls must go to join the Spaniards. The English had 500 horse, part with the Viceroy, and the rest in the pass. These troops were commanded by an Irish gentleman.

He also states that it was asserted that the Earls were coming down with 7,000 footmen, and 1,000 horse, but that the English occupy the pass and cut them off from the Spaniards. There had already been some slight skirmishes.

He asserts that for the first few days the Viceroy was suspicious, as he was ignorant of the strength of the Spaniards. He entrenched himself a league from Kinsale, but when he learnt how few Spaniards there were, he became confident and approached them. The Viceroy had arranged with two or three Englishmen for them to join the Spaniards in the guise of Catholics.

The English were saying that the Spaniards had very little stores, and were entrenching themselves, by digging a ditch behind the walls.*

He was asked whether our people were fortifying themselves on the coast, so as to prevent the enemy's ships from entering the port. He replied that he had heard that they were doing so, but that they had not sufficient artillery to defend the harbour.

He says that after the Spaniards had arrived, two French ships came in, one loaded with wine and the other with salt codfish, for which the Spaniards paid liberally and the Frenchmen were contented.

Eight weeks since the Queen dispatched from Dover two vessels of 200 and 80 tons respectively, very well armed, and carrying good bronze cannon, their orders being to cruise between Cape St. Vincent and Barbary, to intercept some ships from the Indies. When he was in England he learnt through the Scots ambassador, that the king of France was in treaty with the queen of England, with regard to the inadvisability of allowing the Archduke to gain possession of Ostend; and was urging her to make an effort to

* Full particulars of the defence and surrender of Kinsale will be found in "Pacata Hibernia."

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prevent it. The Queen replied through an English gentleman that she was now an old woman, but would do her best. If the king of France would help against the king of Spain she would contribute 8,000 men free. The king of France thereupon immediately sent M. de Biron to negotiate with the Queen about it, and he was received in England almost with royal honours. When he went to salute the Queen and to the audience the whole of the court and nobility accompanied him.

The Scots ambassador asked Secretary Cecil what was the meaning of this embassy, he replied: "Nothing can be said about it at present, but before a year passes you will see what it means." He (the spy) was asked whether he had heard anything about the rebels, and replied that he only knew that fresh troops and stores were being sent to them at Ostend every week from London, and all the sick and wounded are brought away at once. Although the Archduke looks upon the port as his, the rebels have made certain flat-bottomed boats, in which, although with difficulty and risk, they manage to put men on shore at high tide. The people in Ostend, he says, make their lodgings underground and in cellars, to protect themselves from the Archduke's artillery, which has battered all the houses in the town, as he has made a mound outside which commands the place. The very paving stones in the streets have been removed as the canon balls scattered them and they killed people. Amongst others M. de Chatillon lost his life in this way. He had taken thither 2,500 Frenchmen, the best troops the States had in their pay, and on the night he was killed they had intended to make a sally and massacre the men in the Archduke's trenches.

He (the spy) was asked what he had heard about Scotland, and replied that the King had sent his kinsman, the duke of Lennox, to France, to beg the King to maintain the ancient friendship, and when the time came to aid him in his claim to the English throne. When the Duke submitted this to the king of France, it appears that he did not reply a single word to the purpose, although it was the main object of the embassy. The Duke was therefore much annoyed, and the king of Scotland offended.

He (the spy) was asked what he had heard about the marriage of Arabella (Stuart) with the prince of Condé. He replied that although it was spoken of at first, he had heard no more about it.

Whilst the duke of Lennox was on his embassy in France, news came that the Queen was dangerously ill. The king of France being with some of the princes, one of them said that once upon a time on a similar occasion a bastard of Normandy conquered England; whereupon the King replied, "We have better bastards now than then" This having reached the ears of the Scots ambassador, he understood the evil intentions of the king of France. The king of Scotland on learning that parliament had been convoked in England, ordered the Duke (of Lennox) to go straight from France to London. He arrived there the day before parliament met.

He (the spy) was asked whether the English nobles and merchants were contented and rich, to which he replied that there is not a single rich man in England; and that most people are discontented, particularly the merchants, who have paid so much to support the

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wars that they are exhausted. It was understood that parliament had been summoned to obtain money for the war in Ireland, and the king of Scotland had been assured by his friends that there was nothing intended to his prejudice.

So great was the distress that the Queen had been obliged to send to Ireland copper money, plated, with hardly any silver in it.

By this means she is enabled to withdraw ten pounds in silver for a pound in copper. She has ordered that none but this new money shall be current in Ireland, and all (old) silver coin is to be taken for exchange to one of the three places appointed for the purpose. Any person, of whatever rank, who neglects to bring his silver for exchange, is to forfeit his life and estate. The foreign merchants complained greatly of this, and said that they would not come and sell their merchandise if they were to receive payment in the depreciated coinage. They were therefore told that if they would go to one of the three places mentioned, and deliver the copper money, they would be given in exchange bills on the Queen's officials in London.*

But they understood that these bills would be very badly paid considering the Queen's poverty. It was said that she had adopted this device, so as to denude Ireland of all silver and gold coin, whilst availing herself of the money. The spy adds that a confidential courier of the Archduke opens his despatches on the road, transcribes the letters, and sends them to the Queen. He has false seals with which he again makes up the packets. The Queen pays him a salary, and she is thus made acquainted with all that passes in Flanders before the news reaches Spain. The spy was asked whether he knew the name of the courier, if there was any particular place where he opened the packets, and if the Queen had any person to await him at a particular point to take the copies and re-seal the packets. He replied that he was ignorant of the name of the courier, but he was a Fleming who spoke Spanish and German. He cannot answer the other questions. He heard about this courier from the Scottish ambassador.

He says also that a ship belonging to the earl of Cumberland, and four merchantmen, have gone to trade in India, and to plunder what they meet on the way. They are carrying money and merchandise, the greater amount being in paper. They are going to an island where the rebels carry on a trade, and where they (the rebels) have seven or eight vessels.

He (the spy) says that before it was known that the Spanish fleet was going to Ireland, they (the English) intended to send a fleet to capture Santiago de Cuba, and the island (*sic*) of Habana. Flemings and Englishmen are going together on this expedition. This he also he learnt from the Scottish ambassador.

* The proclamation establishing the depreciated coinage alleges as a reason for the measure that good sterling money falls into the hands of the disaffected Irish, and by them is sent out of the country in payment of warlike stores to the double detriment of the Queen, by impoverishing the country and arming her enemies against her. The places provided for the exchange of the new money into sterling by *bona fide* merchants were Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carrickfergus.

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10 Dec. Estado, 840. **710.** The ADELANTADO OF CASTILE to PHILIP III.

Amongst others, I have a spy who left England 16 days since; and I enclose the intelligence he brings.* I have hitherto found him truthful, but still I am cautious, because no spy can be trusted implicitly, although war cannot well be carried on without such folks.

This man is making ready to return to Ireland and England, with the intention of coming back again in three or four months. I pray your Majesty will let me know if there is any point which need specially be enquired about, so that I may instruct him. I am, however, not of opinion that the reinforcements for Ireland should be stayed for his return. I refer both to men and stores, for I do not consider as a reinforcement the expedition now being sent under Zubiaur. The reinforcement needed is one that will end the business for once and for all, and not dribblets like sips of broth, that will only prolong the agony, and allow the invalid to die after all. Little reinforcements will only cause the loss to be greater, and will give the Queen an opportunity for sending with ease larger aid than can go from Spain. If the Irish do not see the Spaniards the stronger party, even for a week, they will not declare themselves against the Queen. Unless they do so declare themselves, we shall not be able to finish our task with so small a force. The landing of the men where they were landed was a great drawback,† as I have already stated. If with God's help the Earls be able to effect a junction with Don Juan del Aguila, a good result may still be hoped for, but there is a fear that they may be defeated on the way, which would be a grievious thing, for the loss of all these good Catholics would have been brought about in consequence of the succour sent being so small and landed in an inconvenient place. I have been much grieved for some years past to see that, from motives of economy, expeditions are undertaken with such small forces that they principally serve to irritate our enemies, rather than to punish them. The worst of it is that wars thus become chronic, and the expense and trouble resulting from long continued warfare are endless.

It will be seen by the enclosed report, that the Queen has now in Ireland, including the last reinforcements, 13,000 foot soldiers and 900 horse: and if affairs there are not settled during the winter, she will probably make a great effort next summer both on land and sea, to prevent any aid from reaching Ireland from here. If the reinforcements we are to send do not go before the spring, your Majesty will not be able to send them except at a great expenditure of money, as the number of troops for the operations on land will have to be very large, and another strong force of soldiers and sailors must be kept on the fleet unless we are to run the risk of losing it.

The fleet itself will also have to be very powerful, and able to give battle to the enemy. If this be not so, the injury to us will be greater than would be the loss of the troops we now have in

* *See* the preceding document dated 12th November.

† At Kinsale. The Spaniards had landed on the 23rd September.

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Ireland. But still I consider it difficult, if not impossible, for us in so short a time, at whatever cost, to fit out the fleet and forces which would be necessary for such a purpose.

If there be any truth in the statement that the French are contemplating a war with us (which there may well be, seeing the King's fickleness) I would urge your Majesty to seek means of offence and defence against the enemy. God will surely not abandon your Majesty, much as we may fear the sins of our country.

The easiest and least costly means which I can suggest is that which I have submitted on another occasion, namely, the collecting of all your Majesty's galleys at some convenient point, and embarking in them all the best troops we can get, taking the veterans from the garrisons, and, if necessary, putting recruits into their places. This will be equivalent to letting them (the veterans) out of captivity, and the new men will be good serviceable soldiers by next year. When your Majesty has your galleys mustered, and filled with the large number of good troops suggested, you will be in a position to send aid to both Italy and Spain, if needed, with but very little cost, as the galleys, and most of the troops, would have to be maintained in any case. If the Turkish fleet comes down also, your Majesty will be strong enough to scatter it. If we were to send an army to every point where danger may be apprehended, no treasure or troops in the world would suffice. I therefore beg your Majesty, as I have often previously done, to embody a force which will defend you at all points at small expense. Otherwise it will not be necessary for our enemies to make war on us; they need only threaten to do so, and our expenditure itself will crush us without their drawing a sword. Puerto de Santa Maria.—10 December 1601.

11 Dec. Estado, 840.

711. COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III.

The three points contained in Colonel Semple's paper, to which the Council desires to draw your Majesty's attention, are the following:—

1st. In order that the Irish affair may be successful, it is desirable that the reinforcements already sent should be brought up to 6,000 men, effective strength, as Semple has no doubt that the queen of England will send both land and sea forces next year, if not before, and obstruct your Majesty's action.

2nd. In addition to the troops sent to Ireland, it is of the utmost importance that some person of intelligence and confidence should be sent to Scotland, openly accredited to the King, as a return to the embassy he sent hither last year. This envoy should be secretly instructed to assist the Catholics, and endeavour to induce them to obtain possession of the little prince. If this be done, and he be married to the daughter of the duke of Savoy, the Catholic faith may thus be restored in Scotland. It might also be arranged at the same time for the Scottish highlanders opposite the Irish coast to side with your Majesty in that war, as they are greatly devoted to the Spaniards, from whom they boast their descent, and are

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consequently enemies of the English, against whom they have aided the Irish on other occasions.

3rd. He recommends that the (Netherlands) rebels should be deprived of Spanish trade. Experienced persons should be stationed in the ports, able to distinguish friends from enemies. The latter in the course of their trafficking learn your Majesty's intentions, and make use of their knowledge to go to the Indies and elsewhere to plunder. Colonel Semple has now advices of a number of enemies' ships coming to Portugal with this object. He also proposes that 15 or 16 medium sized ships should be stationed in the Orkney Isles, where there are good harbours, to prevent the rebels from profiting by the fisheries and trade with Denmark—which is their Indies, whence they draw their resources to keep up the war in Flanders. In the event of your Majesty desiring to conquer the Orkneys, it could be done when the Irish business is effected, and the Scottish negotiation carried through. For this purpose your Majesty would have to avail yourself of the earl of Bothwell, whose brother the earl of Caithness is near the islands. Semple is of opinion that by this means affairs in Flanders may be remedied speedily and at less cost than otherwise, and other important ends attained.

Note.—There is in the Biblioteca Nacional, at Madrid (H. 50) a long document written by Semple to the King (Philip III.), in 1620, setting forth his services to Spain, in which he mentions the advice given in the above document, and points out that if it had been adopted it would have saved the situation. He had given similar advice in 1587; and in 1588, when he was in Scotland, he had made all arrangements for carrying it out. In the same book (H. 50) there is a certificate dated 24th April 1601, from Bernardino de Mendoza, recounting at length Semple's great services as an intermediary between Spain and the Scottish Catholics. These MSS. have never been published.

17 Dec. Estado, 840. **712.** DOCUMENT headed "Memorandum of all that has occurred "with relation to the reinforcements for Ireland since the "fleet left Lisbon, when the last report was submitted to "the Council."

Don Diego Brochero left Lisbon at the beginning of September, with 33 vessels, great and small, 20 of which belonged to his Majesty, and 13 to private persons. They took in them Don Juan del Aguila, with 4,464 footmen, six pieces of battering artillery, 6,000 quintals of biscuit, 600 quintals of powder, 250 quintals of lead, 550 quintals of firewick, 2,000 pikes, 500 harquebusses, 1,600 swords, 150 saddles, 300 lances, 1,500 planks, 2,500 picks, shovels and spades, all of which stores were to be landed.

He (Don Juan de Aguila ?) took despatches for the Earls and other gentlemen on the Catholic side of Ireland, and he was accompanied by the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop . . .* to negotiate with the natives of the country.

* Unintelligible.

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When they were near Ireland the flag ship, w
vessels, were separated from the rest of the fleet
were driven out of their course, taking refuge in Cor
ships were General Pedro de Zubiaur and the Mae
Centeno; and according to the report sent by the i
Lopez de Soto, 650 foot soldiers also returned in the

Letters have been received from Don Juan del A
recent of them being dated 31st October, which w
captain Josef de Morales, who is now here. He arri
Diego Brochero, and can, if desired, give fuller de
as he was with Don Juan del Aguila for some day
left.

Don Juan (del Aguila) writes that in consequen
with Zubiaur being missing, and many soldiers hav
he was very short of men, and that his stores and vi
low, as Zubiaur's ships had a quantity on board.

He says the harbour is good, but difficult to gua
is constructed on a point at the entrance forming a
has some men on the point, but he did not dare to l
enemy might cut it off, and he had not enough men
reinforce it, and to hold the town. He was, howev
best measures he could devise.

He says the town (Kinsale) is well built and
walls, but there are hills commanding it on all side
favourable for fortification.

He had advised the Earls of his arrival, and alth
replied, he feared that there would be some delay
him, as they were far off and the road is rough; be
enemy was beginning to get between them.

As soon as the queen of England's viceroy learnt
he came within four leagues of him, to a place calle
since come nearer, being at the time he wrote on
distant. The Viceroy had already collected nearly
a considerable number of horses. Before captain M
of the enemy were sighted very near some trenches
opened outside the town, but Don Juan had not beer
them, as they are only horsemen and retire at on
however, a little skirmish, in which two or three of
killed, a sargeant and a soldier being wounded on ou

Don Juan learns that the Viceroy had sent to
for reinforcements, and he had no doubt that they
sent.

He reports that he found very little victuals in
that he was making use of all he could. Those that
would last him at most 50 or 60 days.

He requests that victuals shall be sent him, and
he begs for bread, wine, oil, and vinegar. He also
warlike stores, and above all, that reinforcements o
sent with the greatest speed. He presses most of all

Zubiaur has again sailed from Corunna, with
829 footmen, 2,100 quintals of biscuit, 2,000 fan

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1,300 fanegas of rye, 130 pipes of wine, 100 arrobas of oil, 100 quintals of powder, 44 quintals of firewick, 60 quintals of lead, 200 harquebusses, 1,000 pikes, 4,000 horse-shoes, and many artillery stores, and 1,000 picks, spades, and shovels. All this is to be landed. He is also taking 10 portable ovens.

Zubiaur is instructed (with the approval and desire of Don Juan) to leave there some of his ships, completely armed; and if Don Juan requests, he himself is to stay there. Don Juan is informed that he may make such arrangements as he thinks desirable in this respect, and that Zubiaur has orders to follow his instructions.

Five ships are ready in Lisbon, only awaiting a fair wind to sail. They have on board 4,500 quintals of biscuit, 600 arrobas of oil, 150 pipes of wine, 100 quintals of powder, 80 quintals of firewick, 25 ovens, 190 foot soldiers from those who came from Terceira, and some from the forts of Lisbon.

Don Juan del Aguila was to have been accompanied by the Maestres de Campo, Don Francisco de Padilla, and Antonio Centeno.* Don Francisco did not embark because he was sick at the time of sailing, and Centeno returned with Zubiaur. As Don Juan was thus left alone, and Centeno requested leave of absence, his Majesty gave the command of Centeno's regiment to Esteban de Legorreta† who arrived at Corunna after Zubiaur had sailed, and he will have to wait for the first opportunity for going thither.

Don Martin de la Cerda, who was also to have gone with Don Juan del Aguila, remained in Lisbon in consequence of being unwell, but he is now on board one of the five ships ready to sail from Lisbon.

Don Francisco de Padilla has been ordered to embark, but he has not appeared, and no answer has been received to the second order sent to him.

Three companies of light horse have also been ordered to embark in Lisbon. They belong to the guards of the Count de Puñonrostro, of Don Pedro Pacheco, and Don Sancho Brabo respectively, and they are at the present time mustering and receiving their marching wages. They will take 220 effective lances, according to the statement furnished by Don Bernardino de Velasco.

His Majesty has also ordered that captain Duarte Nuñez should go in command of the above cavalry, and should have charge of the whole of the cavalry collected in Ireland.‡ Don Juan del Aguila has been again instructed to raise in Ireland two companies of mounted harquebussiers. His Majesty has appointed as lieutenants of the above cavalry Alonso Caro and Juan de la Camara.

Money has already been placed in Lisbon to pay for the transport and maintenance of the above cavalry, and orders have been sent that no time is to be lost.

* He had been an officer on the Armada. The names of all the officers who ought to have accompanied the expedition are given in Pacata Hibernia as having landed at Kinsale.

† Legorreta had also been a captain on the Armada and had been wrecked with the chief of the hulks Gomez de Medina on Fair Island, where they remained for a considerable period, finding their way home at last through Scotland.

‡ Captain Duarte Nuñez had also taken part in the Armada, and was on Martinez de Recalde's flagship "Santa Ana" wrecked on the coast of France.

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Orders have likewise been sent by his Majesty for the raising of a regiment of 2,000 Portuguese foot soldiers, these being the troops that it appeared could most easily be sent to meet the present need.

The letters of the Viceroy of Portugal dated 11th September set forth the difficulties encountered in the raising of these men, and the shipping of the horses. Nine thousand ducats have been supplied in Galicia for the purchase of wheat, wine, and vegetables, and for freighting ships to carry them to Kinsale. A similar provision will, if possible, be made from Santander and Laredo.

Intelligence comes from various quarters that the queen of England is raising large forces for Ireland, and we now learn that a Dunkirk ship on the 30th ultimo, met 13 ships in the channel on the way to Ireland. An English ship captured by the Dunkirker reported that these 13 vessels belonged to the Queen, and carried 4,000 English infantry. Valladolid.—17 December 1601.

End of December. Estado, 840.

713. REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on the following documents submitted to it by the King.

1st.—A statement of Secretary Esteban de Ibarra, of 17th instant, of the men, munitions, stores, etc., taken by your Majesty's fleet to Ireland, the arrival of the fleet at Kinsale, and the report received from Don Juan del Aguila, to the effect that, in consequence of General Pedro de Zubiaur and eight ships having gone astray, and many of his own men being sick, he was very short of men and victuals. [*Here follows a summary of the preceding document.*]

2nd.—A document from the president of the Chancery of Medina del Campo, sent on the 15th instant to the duke of Lerma, containing the statement made by the Venetian sailors, who had gone to Medina, as they could not enter this city (Valladolid), to the effect they had been carried as prisoners of the English to Plymouth, and had there heard that the queen of England, offended at the presence of Spaniards in Ireland, was arming 20 galleons with the intention of sending them to Ceuta and Tangiers. There were two captains in Plymouth, one a Portuguese and the other a Frenchman, both heretics, who were going with these ships.

3rd.—A memorandum of Juan de Contreras Gamarra, late commissary general of the light horse in Flanders, urging that the Irish affair should be fomented, and that as many as 14,000 infantry, 1,200 cavalry (800 of them lancers and 400 harquebussiers) should be sent thither. As the infantry cannot be all Spaniards, there should be 3,000 Germans and 3,000 Walloons, who could be raised on the pretext that they were for Flanders; but that money for them should be sent separately from here, so that no delay shall take place. These men might be employed in guarding the artillery and stores, whilst the Spaniards were landed for the main object. These 6,000 might be sent from Dunkirk in the ships there, in bodies of 600 or 1,000, the greatest secrecy being observed, and the sailors, who are very well acquainted with those coasts, should be well rewarded. The French will aid the Queen to expel the Spaniards from Ireland, and if they do not succeed they will break with Spain.

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It will therefore be advisable to drill and make up the strength of the Castilian cavalry guard, which it badly needs. 3,000 muskets, carrying 1½ ounce bullets should be provided, 20,000 sets of infantry armour and 4,000 sets for light cavalry should be sent from Milan; and also 12 armourers to live in Toledo, and make armour when needed. There will also be required from there 4,000 pistols in the French fashion, for the cavalry, but these need not cost anything, as the amount can be deducted from the men's wages. If men be raised in Spain, it will be advisable to put them in quarters as soon as they join, as otherwise they will take to their trades again and live as usual. In order that reinforcements may be sent at once to Ireland, it will be well to obtain 4,000 Spaniards from Milan, Naples, and Sicily. These troops, with the 6,000 Germans and Walloons, will be sufficient to conquer the island. If there be a lack of wheat in Spain, it may be brought from Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and Juan de Contreras offers his services.—[*The above document, in full, dated 15th December, is in the same packet.*]

4th.—A letter dated 10th instant from the Adelantado de Castile, giving the report of one of his spies who left Bristol on the 22nd November, to the effect that as soon as the Queen learnt of the arrival of the Spaniards in Ireland, she gave orders that 5,000 soldiers should be sent thither this winter, and over 3,500 were then going. The enemy was very confident in Ireland, since he learnt the small number of the Spaniards; and was approaching the Spanish force, and intercepting the Catholics. There was some scarcity in England, but they were making every possible effort in the matters of Ireland and Ostend, with regard to which the Queen has an understanding with the king of France. The latter exhibits but small intention of continuing at peace with Spain. A ship belonging to the earl of Cumberland, and four merchantmen, have gone to India to trade, plundering what they meet on the voyage. They (the English) think of sending a fleet to capture Santiago de Cuba and Habana, Flemings and Englishmen going together for that purpose. The Adelantado says that it will be desirable to send a great reinforcement to Ireland. To dole out the succour like sips of broth to a sick man will only prolong the agony, and the invalid will die after all. If the Irish do not see that the Spaniards are the stronger, they will not declare against the Queen. In addition to the men the Queen has sent this winter, she will make a great effort next summer, and if our men do not go before the spring, the reinforcement will cost a vast sum of money, as a large number of men will be wanted on land and also at sea, unless we wish to risk losing the fleet, which will have to be very powerful. The Adelantado considers that it would be impossible for your Majesty to get such a fleet together in so short a time, even if there were plenty of money. In order to guard against danger from the French and others, he proposes that your Majesty should muster all your galleys in some convenient place, and put on board of them the largest possible number of the best troops you have, the veterans being taken from the garrisons and recruits being put in their places. By this means both Spain and Italy will be reinforced with but little expense, because the galleys in any case have to be paid for, as well as

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most of the troops who would be put on board of them, Turkish fleet should appear, your Majesty will be str to scatter it. If, on the other hand, we had to send an a point where enemies threaten us, no treasure and no world would suffice, and the important thing is to have a will be able to protect us everywhere. Otherwise our enem no need to make war upon us; they need only threat own expenditure will crush us without our enemies draw

The above documents having been duly discussed, agreed that there was no doubt, as your Majesty h enemies who were opposed to your becoming master of port and entrance of the northern parts, and a tight re nations—that both the declared heretics and others every effort to prevent it. It is, therefore, advisable th ments should if possible be sent to Don Juan del Ag Irish Catholics; and also to take such measures on our o as shall frustrate any attempt upon them. As the queen has her troops so handy for the reinforcement of Irela sorts of ships, this will not prevent her from being a help of her allies, to send forces elsewhere, not only th spoken of by the Venetian sailors, but very much la divert and harass your Majesty.

Although it would no doubt be very desirable t recommendations of the Adelantado and Commiss Contreras, the state of your Majesty's treasury and th between now and the spring, render it impossible; a therefore do what we can, attending first to what is and trusting that our Lord will make up for the shortco

The Council therefore recommends the following:—

As the Irish affair has been undertaken, every po should be made to continue the promotion of it; but hope to fit out a great fleet, because the difficulty and would occur would involve the grave risk of losing what have in Ireland. The force now ready in Lisbon shou sail immediately the weather permits.

The Portuguese regiment should be raised, and sent wi money for the purpose being provided from here. The should be followed with the cavalry of the guard, Majesty has decided shall be sent thither. The Const that it will be unadvisable for entire companies to b many of the men are married, and anxiety for their children will prevent them from going with good spirit. to be sent should therefore be chosen from the unm This should be left to Don Bernardino de Velasco. Th of the companies should be left here with the married n strength of the companies filled up. By this means troops will be sent to Ireland, and the companies w available here.

As there are not enough Spaniards to go everywhe advisable to adopt the suggestion of Contreras, and

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regiment of Walloons from Flanders to Ireland, and also a regiment of Germans. The Archduke may appoint the officers, and make necessary arrangements, the portion of the money necessary for the levy and provisions being furnished from here. His Highness should instruct the officers that if there be any difficulty about landing in the place where Don Juan del Aguila is they are to disembark in any other port held by the Catholics; giving due advice to Don Juan and to the earls O'Neil and O'Donnell, whose orders they will follow.

Don Juan del Aguila and the Earls should be written to, saying how earnestly we are endeavouring to aid them. If they have not already effected a junction, they should be urged to do so, and to try to hold out, taking the places which seem most fitting for that purpose, if the enemy be so strong that they cannot fight him with an assurance of victory. But still it may be hoped with God's blessing, since the Irish Catholics alone have been able for so many years to withstand the queen of England, that they will the better do so now that they are aided by the forces of your Majesty.

The authorities in Ceuta and Tangiers should be instructed to be on the alert, and discover whether the Sheriff is making any move: because if the 20 galleons mentioned by the Venetians go thither it will be with the Sheriff's connivance. The duke of Medina Sidonia and the Adelantado of Castile should be instructed to hold themselves in readiness to aid the fortresses mentioned, if needed.

The Governors of Puerto Rico, Cartagena, Panama, and Habana, should be ordered to put the fortresses into a condition for defence, and keep a keen look out for the enemy.

The militia in Spain should be embodied and held in readiness.

The infantry levies should be expedited, money being provided for the purpose. A statement should be obtained of the armed forces of the landed proprietors of Andalucia, and the number of horses, so that in case of need they may be employed, as they have been on previous occasions.

Intimation should be sent to the prelates and nobles that in case of need they should at once overhaul their arms, etc., and devise how they may best be of service if the occasion should require. They should send reports, so that such orders as may be necessary may be given to them, in accordance with the advance of the enemy. But this will only be in the event of extreme pressure, as his Majesty does not wish to put them to the expense otherwise.

The marquis of Castel Rodrigo* should be instructed to make ready and put in order everything in Portugal and the islands.

The frontiers of Spain should be placed in a position of defence, as has on several occasions been signified to your Majesty, these frontiers are so utterly unprepared that it is enough to encourage the enemy to attack them; which he would not attempt if they were in a proper condition. We cannot depend upon the peace with France, because, in addition to the open support she gives to the

* Don Cristobal de Mora (or Moura), Philip II.'s favourite Portuguese Secretary of State, had been recently made marquis of Castel Rodrigo, and Governor of Portugal.

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rebels, it is unquestionable that she will break with us, at the juncture when most harm can be done to your Majesty.

The preparation of the fleet of galleys, as recommended by the Adelantado, is the most important point possible, both for offence and defence, and orders should be given in Spain and Portugal for the most extraordinary energy to be employed in fitting out the existing galleys, and also in building and arming others. With the infantry that can be drawn from Milan, Naples, and Sicily, and a regiment of Neapolitans that can be raised, we shall be able to man and arm all the galleys we can obtain, and this will be a good bridle for the French and others. Although Contreras says that Spanish infantry could be drawn from Italy for Ireland, the majority of the Council are of opinion that it will be more desirable for it will be sent to the fleet. It would be unwise to supply men for one place by denuding others of greater importance.

F. Gaspar de Cordoba,* whilst deferring to the opinions of the rest of the Council with respect to warlike affairs, which are alien to his profession, said that full credit should be given to the reports, and preparations be made against the worst that can happen, because his Majesty's enemies are so numerous and powerful, that they will certainly offend him at every possible point. He therefore approved of the measures proposed, and all others that may be necessary. But since your Majesty's treasury (of the state of which he gave full details) cannot meet all the demands upon it, and all our preparations will be insufficient, it will be necessary that God, with His Almighty hand should come to our aid. The first and most important of all preparations will be to appease His anger, provoked by the vices and sins so prevalent in this country. We must, therefore, earnestly seek a remedy by mending our ways of life, and by constant prayer. With this object all the prelates should be written to, begging them to use efforts in their respective dioceses to this end, adopting such measures as may seem most fitting, and such as have been employed on other similar occasions. For if God be with us a few will conquer many, and if not, then in vain shall we amass human forces.

Your Majesty will decide.

Valladolid—December, 1601.

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29 Jan. Estado, 840. **714.** REPORT of a COMMITTEE of the COUNCIL OF STATE to the KING on the PAPERS brought from IRELAND by MARTIN DE OLEAGA.

The documents brought are the notes written by the Irish earls to Don Juan del Aguila, and his replies from the 14th to the 19th December.

The substance is that the earls ask him for some Spaniards to join with their own men, with arms, munitions, and biscuits, whilst Don Juan urges them to concentrate, and take up a strong position, so as to present a bold front to the enemy, who are very weak in

* The King's confessor, who was a leading member of the Council.

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consequence of the large number of their losses from sickness and wounds.

He also brings a statement drawn up by Ibarra from the various letters from General Pedro Zubiaur during December and early January, the substance of which is as follows:—

He left Coruña on the 7th December with 10 ships, 800 men, and the arms and munitions stated in other documents. He lost one of his ships going out of port, and missed three others in the bad weather subsequently. He could not make the port he wished, and therefore entered Castlehaven on 11th December, where he learnt that Don Juan del Aguila was surrounded by 10,000 or 12,000 men on land, and blockaded by 20 of the Queen's ships. It was a mercy of God that the bad weather prevented him (Zubiaur) from arriving at the port of Kinsale, as he would certainly have been lost, as happened to one of the three missing ships that made Kinsale. She carried 40 soldiers and a quantity of wheat, arms, and munitions.

There is at Castlehaven a tower, without artillery, and the chief allowed a garrison of Spaniards to be put into it. He also handed to him two other castles, one called Baltimore, with a very good harbour, and the other Bearhaven.* Spanish garrisons were put in all of them by consent of the owners. A thousand excellent Irish troops had joined him, to whom he had given arms. The country people had brought him cattle and other things.

On the 26th the English sent four galleons and three other ships to attack him at Castlehaven. They landed artillery and attacked under cover of their ships, but he stood out, sank the Queen's flagship and greatly damaged, the others. Two of our ships were sunk, but the men on board saved as well their cargoes. We lost 20 men killed, and some wounded. The English then departed.

He had sent 200 Spaniards to the Earls, with six standards as they had requested. He had also sent them 700 Irishmen, whom he had armed.

The Earls had six or seven thousand infantry, and 600 horse, and were gradually nearing Kinsale. The enemy surprised them on 3rd January, when they were divided in five squadrons, and attacked them with 500 foot, and as many horse. They fell upon the weakest of the Irish squadrons, and beat them, whereupon the rest fled without fighting; 140 out of the 200 Spaniards were slain or captured, and three of our standards were taken. The rest fled to Castlehaven, with some of the forces of one of the Earls, whilst

* This was the famous O'Sullivan Beare, chief of Dunboy, Beare, and Bantry. As will be seen in this Calendar, and more at length in Pacata Hibernia, his fortress was handed by him to the Spaniards under Zubiaur after the O'Driscolls had welcomed them in Castlehaven and Baltimore. By the terms of the surrender of Kinsale (2nd January 1602) Don Juan del Aguila agreed to hand the fortresses to the English. Before Dunboy was evacuated by the Spaniards O'Sullivan's vassals gained an entrance and defended the place heroically against the English until the 20th June. The defence is one of the most famous pages in Irish history. O'Sullivan Beare and all his household thenceforward lived in Spain, the chief having been made Count de Birhaben (Bearhaven) by Philip III. The title continued to be borne by his descendents until the end of the last century when it fell into abeyance. The Count founded the still existing Irish college at Salamanca, where a fine portrait of him, taken in 1613 when he was 53, is preserved.

Castlehaven belonged to Donogh O'Driscoll, Baltimore to Sir Finnan O'Driscoll (who had always been regarded as loyal to the English) and Bearhaven to O'Sullivan Beare.

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the other portion took refuge in the mountains. The one who went to Castlehaven, pressed Zubiaur warmly to bring him (to Spain) with him which he did, and he is now at Coruña desiring to come and salute your Majesty. On the same day as the above engagement Don Juan del Aguila attacked the enemy's trenches, which are so deep that ladders were needed to scale them. He killed 500 of their infantry and captured seven standards, and three pieces of artillery, which he brought into Kinsale, spiking three more. The enemy have battered his defences so that they could walk straight in, but they have not dared to make the attempt. Altogether Don Juan has killed 3,000 or 4,000 of their men, and he has now with him 1,800 men capable of bearing arms, 900 sick, and provisions up to the middle of March. He has 500 quintals of powder, but is in want of meat, fish, medicines and delicacies for the sick. He has very little lead and cord. There were in the castles of Bearhaven, Baltimore, and Castlehaven 400 soldiers in garrison, with the arms, munitions, and biscuit, brought by the six ships, but with no money nor necessaries for the sick. The amount spent on the Irish that come in is large. With these castles and harbours the aid that arrives may enter freely. The furthest of these castles from Kinsale is seven leagues over the mountains, so that they cannot bring their artillery to attack them on the land side.

The Council also considered another summary drawn up by Ibarra from letters by Pedro Lopez de Soto to your Majesty of 23rd December to 6th January, which confirms the above intelligence, only adding that if succour be not sent flying through the air, all will be lost. He says the aid should be sent from Coruña and Flanders. Other papers of Pedro Lopez de Soto, request the things he requires, and says where they may be obtained, with great precision. He reiterates the need for speedy assistance in men, munitions, arms, and stores; and recommends 25 vessels being sent under Zubiaur to engage the enemy's fleet.

Oleaga, as an eye-witness, confirms verbally all the above.

The Council having discussed the above, regrets the defeat of the Earls, as success principally depended upon them. The few troops we have there can hardly hold out, and if they fall, the castles occupied by Zubiaur will not be of much use. The owners themselves might surrender them in order to gain the Queen's pardon. The worst of it is that your Majesty's prestige is at stake, and there is no means of sending effective and prompt aid for want of ships, men, arms, etc.; everything here being very scarce and short. The enemy when once they are free of Ireland will seek revenge by every means, and it will be most advantageous to keep that thorn in their flesh. If the time were further advanced, and the preparations more ready, galleys might be sent to rescue Don Juan or take him to a safer place; but that is not now to be thought of, at least until the end of April, and so bad a malady demands a prompt remedy. The Council is therefore of opinion that the succour should be conveyed by the ships that were under orders to take the cavalry, as under the present circumstances cavalry will be of no use. To

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these should be added all the ships that can be got together, orders being also sent to count Caracena and Gaspar de Pereda, Corregidor of the four towns, to gather quickly as many ships as they may. The great difficulty is the troops, which must be raised, for there are none. In Portugal none were left but those absolutely necessary for garrison duty. But a supreme effort must be made. The only way is to order the Estremadura militia to march at once to Portugal, to garrison the country, and send all the present garrisons to Ireland without an hour's delay. In the meanwhile arms, munitions, and stores, should be prepared, and as much powder, biscuits, and lead, as can be obtained, together with cord, clothes, hats, boots, etc., all of which are greatly needed, with medicines for the sick. This should be entrusted to Don Cristobal (de Mora), and a sum of money sent to him for the purpose. Bertondona should be ordered to make ready to go with aid, in all haste. He should be urged not to lose a minute in fitting out the expedition, and promised a knight commandership on his return. Legorreta should also be ordered to make ready to go with the troops.

The cavalry can be sent to Galicia to be handy if wanted.

The five ships from Lisbon can take an additional 4,500 quintals of biscuit for the vessels to be collected in Coruña, and the four towns. The 300 soldiers who put into Galicia through bad weather, and the garrison in Coruña, should be got ready by Zubiaur with all speed, a promise of a knighthood be given to him on his return. He should be paid all his back pay, and he and Bertondona should be told that each has to have command of his own contingent; but when they are together Bertondona, being senior, must have command, whilst both of them are to be subordinate to Don Juan del Aguila. They are to be urgently pressed to endeavour to arrive in Ireland in time to succour Don Juan, and carry out his orders for the war, or else to carry his troops to a safer place, to be chosen by Don Juan.

Your Majesty should appoint some experienced, brave brigadier in place of Don Francisco de Padilla.

Caracena should collect as much biscuit, powder, etc., as possible, as well as clothes, boots, etc., to be distributed in the various ships in case any are lost. Money must be sent him for this. Don Gaspar should see how many troops he can raise from the four towns, money being secretly sent to him also.

Don Diego Brochero should be sent to Lisbon at once to expedite the preparations. Money must be supplied there for him.

Count Punoñrostro should be sent to Biscay to raise all the soldiers and sailors he can, and send them to Coruña.

Don Juan and the garrisons in the castles should be apprised of the aid to be sent, by some person so trustworthy that he will allow himself to be cut to pieces before he divulges his mission to the enemy. But as all these are only palliatives, and not cures for the disease, nor will they prevent any attempt on Spain itself; it is advisable that everything should be put in order of defence here. The galleys of Italy should be made ready, the infantry mustered and as large a number as possible sent to Spain by the end of April.

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All the troops should come paid for two months, and the Viceroys instructed to send as many stores in the ships as can be got together. Large orders for biscuits should be sent to Barcelona and Andalucia.

And as your Majesty has decided that your nephews should come hither this Summer, the duke of Savoy should be told to get ready to embark by the end of April, and come with the galleys. He will sail in the royal galley, which will remain in Spain.

The Viceroy of Naples must be urged to send quickly the powder and firewick ordered. The galleys of Italy must not be told by this post that they are to come hither, but only that they are to fit out speedily.

As our defence depends upon the completion of the militia establishment, Estevan Ibarra should be ordered to write to the Council of State, that your Majesty orders that no slackening of effort must take place until this be completed.

As Antonio Centeno and Francisco de Padilla have set a bad example in leaving their regiments, your Majesty should order them to be incarcerated in fortresses at once.

As earl O'Neil is already here,* your Majesty should give him audience before your return to Valladolid. He can meet you on the road and then return to Coruña.—29th January 1602.

A marginal note, in the handwriting of Philip III., approves of all the foregoing recommendations, and orders them to be carried out forthwith.

30 Jan. Estado, 840. **715.** PHILIP III. to JUAN DEL AGUILA.

By letters from Pedro de Zubiaur and Pedro Lopez de Soto, I learn of the rout of the earls O'Neil and O'Donnell, and I recognise that our only hope now rests upon your bravery and prudence, which I prize highly. I trust that in the midst of so many dangers and trials as those by which you are surrounded, you will be able to keep the army together until help can reach you in the form of ships, arms, and munitions, which are now being prepared here, and will be despatched promptly. I trust with this aid you will be able to take revenge on the enemy. I do not send you any special instructions, as I am convinced of your spirit and experience, and that you will lose no opportunity which the enemy may give you. You, and the army that is with you, shall experience my liberality and thanks. You will assure all your companions of this, and the duke of Lerma will write you on other points. — Mansilla, 30th January 1602.

13 Feb. Estado, 840. **716.** FRANQUESA (Clerk of the Council of State) to the DUKE OF LERMA.

The Council has been sitting from six to ten considering the papers delivered by earl O'Donnell. The Council thinks that his

* This was a mistake, it was O'Donnell and not Tyrone who had arrived in Spain. He had started from Castlehaven with Redmond Burke and Hugh Mostyn in December, after the rout of the Irish, as recounted in this letter.

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zeal and loyalty should be highly praised, and that he should be assured that his Majesty regards the Irish Catholics as his subjects. He should be promised that forces should at once be raised to send to the aid of Don Juan (del Aguila) if he be still able to hold out, whilst if any accident should have happened to him, the aid shall be landed where he (O'Donnell) thinks best.

As this army will have to be gathered in Lisbon and Coruña, it will be well that, in order that he should see its preparation and advise O'Neil of it for his encouragement, he (O'Donnell) should go either to Lisbon or Coruña, and that in either of those places he should be treated accordingly to his rank, and maintained by his Majesty. He should have 1,000 ducats for the journey, including the 500 given to him here. The 500 already handed to the ensign who accompanies him, or what is left of them, with the fresh 500 should he handed to O'Donnell himself to spend, and the ensign relieved of the duty, as he desires, excuses being given to O'Donnell at the same time.

As O'Donnell wishes to see the son of O'Neil, who is studying at Salamanca, a letter should be sent at once by the King's confessor ordering him to be sent hither, where O'Donnell will await him. After the interview he (O'Neil) will return.

The best way to raise 6,000 men rapidly will be to order the strength of the Portuguese brigade to be raised to 3,000 men, and the garrisons at Lisbon be drafted, their places being taken by the troops from Estremadura. These forces, together with the men under orders for Coruña, will bring up the strength to 6,000 who are all to muster by 20th March.

The boats in all parts should be stayed, in order that those which it is considered desirable may be taken.

His Majesty is asked to appoint the commander. Although O'Donnell asks for the command to be given to the Adelantado, and the Council of War think he will do as well as usual, the Council of State thinks that this succour is hardly worthy to be led by so great a soldier.

Your Excellency should decide all this to-night with his Majesty, so that orders may be sent promptly. 13th February 1602.

A marginal note in the handwriting of the duke of Lerma says that his Majesty has considered the above and approves of the Council's recommendations.

16 Feb. Estado, 840. **717.** O'SULLIVAN BEARE to COUNT CARACENA.*

I received on the 11th instant your Lordship's letter of the 4th and am rejoiced to learn that his Catholic Majesty welcomed so kindly the Earl O'Donnell. The news your Lordship kindly sends consoles me somewhat in my troubles, and I am very anxious to serve you in all things, as you are so full of sympathy for my poor country. With all frankness, then, I will tell you the present

* Governor of Galicia whose seat of office was at Corunna. Some of O'Sullivan Beare's letters to him, Philip, and others are printed in Pacata Hibernia, having doubtless been intercepted by the English.

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state of warlike affairs here. All of us who took the part of the King are on the verge of ruin, in consequence of the agreement made by Don Juan del Aguila with the Viceroy, unless some remedy be sent speedily by the King. By this agreement Don Juan not only surrendered Kinsale to the English, but all the forts and harbours held for his Majesty in the province of Munster; together with my own, which of my free unrestrained will I placed in the keeping of General Zubiaur for as long as it might be of service to his Majesty. If this place of mine be surrendered with the rest to the enemy, all of us who are faithful to his Majesty in the province of Munster will be lost, and the spirit of our people broken. I, by God's grace, can serve his Majesty anywhere with a thousand men, armed in our Irish fashion, and will muster them at my own cost from my twenty leagues of well protected coast. But once my castle, the chief stronghold of my land, is surrendered to the enemy, I shall be reduced to such straits, that my people will follow my castles, and the queen of England will get both.

I must take refuge in the woods, there to live miserably amongst the wild beast, until some lure entraps me, and I am led to my death. If his Majesty will prevent this I will hold my lands for his Majesty until succour reaches me. I think your Lordship will be moved with pity when you hear this, as the case is sad enough to move any heart; this handing over of thousands of Christians because they are Catholics, to the mercy of the heretics, their deadly enemies, to lose for ever the faith of their forefathers after sixteen hundred years!

I would go in person to discuss this matter with your Lordship, but that I fear in my absence more evil might happen. As I see the great importance of the business, I have considered it necessary to trouble you with so long a letter, whereby I trust his Majesty may be led to send us succour and consolation. I leave all in your Lordship's hands.—Bearhaven, 16 February 1602.

21 Feb. Estado, 840. **718.** STATEMENT and resolutions of the Council of State on Irish affairs.

Out of the nine ships with which General Zubiaur left Corunna for Ireland on the 6th December last, three were separated from him in a storm. One was wrecked on the coast of Brittany, one returned to Galicia, and one was captured by the enemy. The remaining six vessels arrived in Ireland, and finding the harbour of Kinsale occupied by a large number of the Queen's ships, continued their voyage in search of a place where they might anchor and obtain intelligence. On the 11th December they entered the port of Castlehaven, eight leagues beyond Kinsale to the north, and as the lord of the castle there welcomed them, he being a Catholic and adherent of his Majesty, the fleet anchored there, and 650 soldiers, 8 captains, with artillery, stores, etc. were landed.

Whilst they were there some of the enemy's ships from Kinsale came to attack them, but thanks to the support of the castle, and the artillery they had landed, they (the Spaniards) drove the enemy away from the port.

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Two other castles on the coast further north four leagues distant from each other were then surrendered to the Spaniards. One is called Baltimore and the other Bearhaven and the lords of the places submitted to his Majesty.

Zubiaur learnt that Don Juan del Aguila was surrounded by land and sea, and that the Earls were advancing to relieve him. They requested Zubiaur to give them some men, and he granted them 200 of his soldiers, with three captains. The Earls engaged the enemy, and were defeated. In view of this, and that the earl O'Donnell came to him desirous of passing over to Spain, he, Zubiaur, embarked him on one of the ships, and leaving the 400 or 450 men he had remaining, distributed amongst the aforementioned castles, with the stores, etc., all under command of Pedro Lopez de Soto; Zubiaur himself also sailed for Spain on the 6th January, and arrived in Asturias on the 14th.

The verbal statement of Zubiaur, and the written reports of Pedro Lopez de Soto, agree that Don Juan del Aguila is so closely beleaguered by land and sea that he can only be relieved by a powerful fleet. He is understood to have sufficient victuals to last into March. There were 900 sick men in the place (Kinsale), and it was not a position that could be defended.

Whilst Zubiaur was on his voyage to Spain with the Earl on the 2nd January, the five ships sailed from Lisbon under Captain Vallecilla, with Don Martin de la Cerda and 200 soldiers, 5,000 quintals of biscuit, oil, vinegar, lead, and other stores. Three of these ships put back to Spain in a storm, two to Galicia and one to Santander, where they now are.

Vallecilla himself, with Don Martin arrived off Kinsale, but finding the harbour full of ships, they anchored in the offing, until they could obtain intelligence. Some boats with 11 men approached them which they took, and learnt that the ships in port were enemies. They thereupon set sail again for Spain, where they arrived on the 24th January.

The eleven men above mentioned assert that Don Juan del Aguila had made terms with the Viceroy; but there is, up to the present, no confirmation of this, except that Don Martin says it is true, as they are respectable men, and all tell the same story. They assert that they saw Don Juan dine with the Viceroy,* and had themselves been inside Kinsale after the arrangement had been made.

Two despatch boats have been sent from Coruña to Ireland, at intervals of a week, to obtain information. Their arrival with intelligence is now expected, and in anticipation thereof the following resolutions have been adopted:

That eight vessels of any sort that can be got together in Corunna shall be at once loaded with all the victuals, munitions, etc. brought back by the ships which separated from Vallecilla, and as much more as they will hold, which Count Caracena has been instructed to obtain. There will also embark on these ships all the troops they can carry, with the Maestre de Campo Estreban de Legorreta and some

* This was true. Don Juan actually dined with the Lord Deputy on the day of the surrender, 2nd January.

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officers. The ships will get everything ready to sail, and then await further orders, which will depend upon the intelligence received. The eight ships will be commanded by General Pedro de Zubiaur.

The cavalry, which was under orders to embark in Lisbon for Ireland, is to remain quiet, the hulks which were to take it, and Vallecilla's two ships are to sail at once for Coruña, with all the victuals and munitions they can carry. The ship of Vallecilla's squadron which put into Santander is also to sail for Coruña with all the provisions she has. The "four towns," the province of Guipuzcoa, and the lordship of Biscay, are to send twelve well-armed pinnaces to Coruña. Ten companies of infantry newly raised are also to march thither.

Count de Caracena is to embargo and collect in Coruña all the ships on the coasts of Galicia and Asturias.

The "four towns," Biscay, and Guipuzcoa, are to send to Coruña the smacks, pataches, and other vessels under 200 tons burden which may be on their coasts; and to collect all the men and victuals possible, so that if Zubiaur's ships are successful they should be followed and every possible effort be made to relieve Don Juan, and hold the castles surrendered to Zubiaur. All ships belonging to his Majesty in Audalucia, Lisbon, and Coruña, are to be made ready with the utmost speed, Levies of seamen are to be made on all the coasts of the realm. A regiment of Portuguese infantry is to be raised, and the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo is instructed to use every endeavour to increase it to 3,000 men.

When the 34 companies of infantry now being mustered leave their districts, 40 fresh captains are to be chosen, and as many new standards of infantry raised.

The Andalucian and Portuguese galleons are to be ready by the end of March.

Twenty-five thousand quintals of buscuit are to be manufactured in Andalucia, Lisbon, Coruña, and the coasts of Biscay, and Guipuzcoa. Arms are to be distributed all along the coast, and fresh arms at once provided for the new infantry levies.

The lance contingents of the prelates and nobles have been warned for service. Reports are to be furnished from all parts of the coasts of Spain of the ships and their tonnage. They are to be fitted and made ready with all speed, so that if circumstances should render it necessary, a powerful fleet and force of men should proceed to the assistance of Don Juan del Aguila.—Valladolid, 21st February, 1602.

22 Feb. Estado, 840. **719.** O'SULLIVAN BEARE to COUNT CARACENA.

Since writing to you I have learnt for certain that our lands, harbours, and castles, which out of pure love and affection we voluntarily delivered over to his Majesty's service, have now, without battery or assault, been ignominiously surrendered to the English heretics, our deadly foes, greatly to the dishonour of his Majesty and injury to his royal service, and to the perpetual ruin and destruction of thousands of his faithful servants in these parts. In consequence of the carrying out of the terms agreed upon, I for

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my own part, shall be dispossessed of 2,000 persons who followed my leadership; and I shall barely find 20 who will accompany me to the woods and mountains, there to live like the wolves until the English succeed in trapping us. The fear of this misery forces me, for the safety of the child himself, to entrust my son and heir to the sea, to be delivered to you, and kept for the service of your Lordship, until you may present him at court. I thus desire also to demonstrate my loyalty and steadfastness in the King's service, and all my acts will be directed to this end for the rest of my life. If my harbour and castle remained in my hands, I would venture at my own cost to carry on the war, in his interest, with 1,000 men in the field, besides defending the harbours in my dominions, where a thousand of his Majesty's ships might safely ride. With my son I send another boy* and two men. One of the men I desire to be sent back by the first ship that sails; the other and the boy may remain with my son until we hear further from there.

The Irish chiefs and myself offered to victual Kinsale and the other Irish fortresses until assistance arrived from his Majesty, if they would stand firm and refuse the ignominious terms agreed to by Don Juan del Aguila.† I have not been able to persuade my wife to go to Spain, she is in such great fear of the sea, but I humbly beg your Lordship in your goodness to help us by sending me a little vessel to this or another castle called Ardle, which this pilot knows well, so that in this way, I, my wife, and another son of mine, may escape, and free ourselves from impious butchery by the heretics.—Bearhaven 22nd February, 1602.

12 April. Estado, 840.

720. RELATION of the MISSION of THOMAS JAMES to Spain.

He is an Englishman, who being in Rome last year, met the duke of Sessa who sent him to the Archduke (Albert) and the English Catholics in Flanders to confer with them on the important resolution taken by the king of Spain with regard to English affairs. He found the Archduke well disposed, and the English Catholics anxious to participate in an action so conducive to the interests of the Catholic church. But they were so loyal to the king of Spain that they would take no steps without his orders, and consequently the Archduke sent him to Spain to make the proposals to the King himself. They had told him to assure the King how rejoiced they were at the news, and how humbly they thanked him for choosing such princes (*i.e.*, the Archduke and the Infanta) for their sovereigns.

His suggestions are mainly to the effect, that 1st, the Archduke should make Ireland his point d'appui, and that a large Spanish naval force and arsenals should be established there.

* In February a patache had come from Spain to Castlehaven bringing letters from the King, etc., which letters were intercepted by Carew, and some of them are printed in Pacata Hibernia. The patache went back to Spain carrying thither the son of O'Sullivan Beare, Donnell, son of Sir Finnan O'Driscoll, lord of Baltimore, and a certain Trant, of Dingle, no doubt the man mentioned in this letter.

† The agreement made between Carew and Don Juan is printed in Pacata Hibernia. The O'Sullivans regained the castle of Dunboy before the Spaniards evacuated it, and held it until the 20th June, 1602.

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2. That the King should make a formal transfer of his rights to the Infanta and the Archduke, on paper or parchment.

3. That money should be sent to Flanders to continue to gain adherents in England and Ireland. He names the provincial of the jesuits as the fittest instrument for this purpose.

4. That there should be 16 or 20 galleys in Flanders and 20 or 30 vessels in Dunkirk kept ready for eventualities. They will, he says, turn the tide at the critical moment. Besides the troops they carry, they should have arms for 6,000 or 7,000 additional men.

5. Thirty or 40 other ships should be kept ready in Spain to land another force in England, to second the force from Flanders.

6. He is confident of success, seeing the many friends in England, especially if the seat be vacant, the king of Scots being so unpopular.

7. Even the heretics in office in England, are only anxious to keep their places, and may easily be bought. They will then gradually gain others to our side.

8. The English Catholics (in Flanders) have plenty of good agents, but everything should be directed by his Majesty's representative.

9. That an English Cardinal should be appointed to succeed Dr. Allen.

Thomas James arrived in Madrid, with a letter of introduction from the Archduke, (attached to the above), saying that he had been sent from Rome by the duke of Sessa and Father Persons.

The Council of State considered the matter, and reported to the King. It had been decided previously that 200,000 ducats should be sent to the Ambassador, Baltasar de Zuñiga, to use in forwarding the Infanta's claim to the English crown on the death of the Queen, but as the money could not be spared, it had not been sent. Nothing indeed had been done, although the case was very important. But it will need much force, besides the 200,000 ducats. The Council recommends that the army in Flanders should be re-inforced, so that in an eventuality, troops can be sent from there. It also recommends that the fleet should be mustered, and made ready, but apparently for the protection of Italy and Spain, so as not to arouse suspicion. If money can be found for all this, the blow can be struck at the right moment, and in force sufficient, but if not the Council can only repeat what it has already said when the affair of Scotland was under discussion.

In any case a successor to Cardinal Allen should be appointed to represent the English Catholics in Rome.

15 April. Estado, 840. **721.** O'DONNELL to PHILIP III.

I should greatly fail in my duty as a faithful servant of your Majesty, if I doubted for a moment the fulfilment of the promises repeatedly made to me in your Majesty's name, promises so conducive to your Catholicity and your interests. But as my experience is a long one in the affairs under discussion, and my familiarity with them gives me a better opportunity than another can have of

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judging them, I recognise clearly that promptness is the very essence of success in our object. I see the time going on apace, and as every hour passes, nearer and nearer approaches the knife to the throats of the faithful band of brave, sorely-tried people, whose hope alone is in God's mercy, and your Majesty's pity. I cannot, then, help repeating my sorrowful reminders. From the latest news I have from Ireland received this day, I foresee (and I say it under due sense of my obligation to God, and your Majesty) that if I do not arrive within a month in the north of Ireland, I will not say with 2,000 soldiers, but with 1,500 or 1,000 at least, with victuals, munitions, stores, and money, to raise 5,000 or 6,000 natives and sustain the war, by expelling the enemy from O'Neil's country and my own, I doubt very much whether a large force arriving from your Majesty, even in June, will be in time to find anything there but the blood and ashes of that multitude of faithful believers in your Majesty. For since the affair of Kinsale, the English, suspicious of a stronger force being sent, will hasten to pull up the roots that should bring the fruit we so much desire. I pray your Majesty to resolve upon my going with 2,000 men, if possible during this month, so that I may hold out until the large force arrives.

If anyone persuades your Majesty to the contrary, I beg to be allowed to go post to Court to confront him with reason. If this be not done, the great force your Majesty sends may be as successful as it pleases; but I am quite sure the north will be ruined, and with it the west will be lost, and Ireland submitted to the insufferable yoke of the heretic, with the sacrifice of what Catholic blood be left. Your Majesty's own dominions will suffer by my delay here, whilst my going speedily will settle everything. Although I assert this before God, I nevertheless submit myself in everything to your Majesty's will.—Coruña, 15th April, 1602.

Note.—A statement accompanies the above letter setting forth the plans of O'Donnell for effecting the object he had in view. His intention was to enter and fortify Killibeg, which was to be his base of operations, and thence to proceed to Donegal, Sligo Mouy, etc.

22 April. Estado, 840.

722. COUNT CARACENA to PHILIP III.

I have daily been expecting replies to the despatches I sent your Majesty on the arrival of Don Juan del Aguila from Ireland*, and have been putting off writing, but as the time is going on I think well not to delay further, but to send my opinion as to what should be done.

At the same time as I received orders from your Majesty, dated 3rd instant, to send a patache to the northern ports of Ireland to gain information, Don Juan del Aguila arrived bringing the news. As I was desirous of fulfilling your Majesty's orders I was preparing

* Don Juan del Aguila sailed from Kinsale in March with the Spaniards and a large number of Irish adherents, a list of whose names will be found in Pacata Hibernia.

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the patache, but so much pressure was brought to bear by Earl O'Donnell, Don Juan himself, Pedro Lopez (de Soto), and others to dissuade me from sending it, as being against your Majesty's interests, that I desisted until I heard from your Majesty again. It is true that the arrival of a patache at such a time might discourage them, as they are hourly expecting the arrival of succour. Earl O'Donnell asserts that the enemy will be powerless to prevent the landing of the aid sent to the northern ports, and he is writing to your Majesty. He is urging me very much, as usual, to promote the granting to him of 2,000 men with arms, munitions, and money, so that he may return to Ireland pending the sending of further assistance. He asserts that the whole success of the undertaking depends upon this, as well as the happiness of the Catholics, who look to your Majesty solely for aid, and for so many years have faithfully stood firm, and refused to make peace, in the constant hope that aid would be sent to them from your Majesty or your lamented father. The Earl would now be satisfied with 1,000 men, but warmly as I desire the forwarding of this Irish business, which is the most important of any for the interests of God and your Majesty, I think it would be risking the men, and perhaps, also, a loss of prestige to send such a small force to the northern ports. It is certain that if succour be not sent with the requisite speed the Catholic cause must fall utterly, because the day that they submit to the Queen they must give up that which they cherish most, or else lose their lives. I am therefore of opinion that your Majesty should succour them at once by sending letters to Earl O'Neil with arms, munitions, stores, money, and some soldiers, so that they may hold out until the force arrives. I recommend the same course to be pursued, even more emphatically, with the lord of Bearhaven, who, with his people, has given proofs of faithfulness and zeal. I will send back the brother of Castlehaven* as soon as the money arrives, in accordance with your Majesty's orders.—La Coruña, 22nd April 1602.

24 April. Estado, 840. **723.** COUNT CARACENA to the KING.

Dennis O'Driscoll, brother of the lord of Castlehaven, and Dr. Eugene Egan, have arrived here. If the 20,000 ducats they are to carry back to Ireland had arrived at the same time I would send them off without waiting a single day, seeing how important it is in your Majesty's service. At their request I have had the patache "Santiguillo" made ready to sail, she being so fast a vessel, and they are now only awaiting the money to start. They will take the wine and munitions that can be sent without delaying their departure. Begs for the money to be sent as soon as possible.—Coruña, 24th April, 1602.

25 April. Estado, 840. **724.** O'DONNELL to PHILIP III.

I have on two or three occasions written to your Majesty giving you information as to the peril in which the north of Ireland stands,

* The brother of Donogh O'Driscoll, lord of Castlehaven, was Dennis O'Driscoll, who with others of his family, had accompanied Don Juan del Aguila to Ireland.

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and asking for some troops to succour the Catholics there, pending the arrival of the main army, but I have received no answer to my satisfaction. I am of opinion that if this force had done no more service to your Majesty than to protect the vassals of O'Neil and my own from sacrifice, and to bring to our side those of our vassals who are serving the enemy, it would have been well worth sending. I understand that, if the force I ask be not given to me, it is rather in punishment for our sins than from any want of goodwill on the part of your Majesty to aid us. If my prayers to this end are all unavailing, I beg your Majesty to send me leave to go thither myself to end my life with the rest of the Catholics of the north.—Coruña, 25th April, 1602.

2 May. French Estado, 840.

725. GEORGE CAR to PHILIP III.

Since I went thither (*i.e.* to Madrid) I have several times written to your Majesty, urging you to embrace our business* before any other, and have set forth the arguments which might influence your Majesty in this direction. It has, however, pleased your Majesty to prefer the Irish affair, doubtless for very sufficient reasons. I have heard with great sorrow of the result; which I fear may induce your Majesty to take another course. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to write to your Majesty, humbly to beg you to keep in view the glory of God and your Majesty's honour, and in view of our trouble not to waver in the task to which you have set your hand. Although in the past I have urged that a commencement should be made with our business, I now supplicate your Majesty to the contrary, and that you will persevere in the matter of Ireland, as affairs are not so encouraging as they were; and it touches your Majesty's prestige not to desist from a task already commenced. The earl of Tyrone is still ready to do his duty. The faults of the undertaking hitherto have been a bad supply of provisions, and very small forces. With regard to the former point, I will promise in the name of our people to carry all the victuals and other stores necessary to the fleet in good time, and in addition to this, I will undertake on my own behalf to find means here, under cover of trade, to send plenty of wine and wheat for our people. With regard to forces, we can send cavalry and infantry with the greatest ease; and we could raise our levies the more readily and with less suspicion if your Majesty would consent to our people arriving in Ireland before your Majesty's forces. The most important thing of all is that your Majesty should have some armed ships off the Irish coast; and, in order to demonstrate my devotion to your service, I will promise to have five or six large ships built, with as many small ones, at the price of 10,000 crowns each, with their ordnance; and man them with our sailors. There are, moreover, two ships belonging to your Majesty in Calais, for which I will find a purchaser and will man them with our sailors and send them to Spain.—Bordeaux, 2nd May 1602.

* The plans of the Scottish Catholics.

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The Council of State deliberated on the above letter, and reported as follows. The Council does not know what grounds this gentleman George Car has for his offers, and it is in ignorance as to the course his Majesty will decide upon adopting with regard to Ireland. If, however, the Irish affair is to be prosecuted it will be advantageous to keep up a good understanding with the Scottish Catholics, as they are so near Ireland. It will therefore in such case be advisable to ask George Car to come hither, that we may learn more about it.

7 May. Estado, 840. **726.** REPORT of the Council of State to Philip III. on Ireland.

Count Caracena and earl O'Donnell write letters dated 15th, 22nd, 24th, and 25th April, urging the great importance of sending prompt aid to Ireland, in consequence of the danger they are in.

O'Donnell still presses for the 2,000 men he requests, with arms, munitions, and money, so that he may return and hold out until the main succour arrives. He asserts that this will be the best course. Count Caracena is of an opinion that letters might be sent to earl O'Neil with arms, munitions, and money, and a few unattached soldiers; so that he may be encouraged to hold out, pending the arrival of assistance. Caracena thinks that the same course might be followed with Bearhaven. The brother of Castlehaven will leave Coruña as soon as the 20,000 ducats that he has to take arrive. Earl O'Donnell begs your Majesty, if his request cannot be complied with, to allow him to come to see your Majesty on the subject, or else return to Ireland and end his life with his own people.

The Council reminds your Majesty of its former advice, that no small force should be sent to Ireland, as the risk will be great, as we have seen in the past. This opinion has since been confirmed by the Council of war. The coming of O'Donnell will depend upon your Majesty's decision as to the main question of Ireland. If a sufficient force is to be sent, he can go to Ireland with it, and he should not be allowed to go now. If it be necessary to keep him in hand, Caracena might say that he has orders for the force, and O'Donnell might come hither. If the affair is to be deferred, he ought not to be allowed to come; but could accompany to Ireland the aid it has been decided to send.

13 May. Estado, 840. **727.** REPORT of the Council of State to Philip III. on the invasion of Ireland, or England.

The Council has considered the letters of the Adelantado on the employment of the galleys, etc., this year. He is still of opinion that if all the arms, stores, etc., ordered arrive in time, the Irish affair may be undertaken this year; but he reserves his opinion as to whether they will be ready in time, until his arrival in Lisbon.

If the Irish affair cannot be undertaken, no prestige will be lost in the preparations, as it can be said that they are to guard the coasts of Spain. In his later letters, he relates a conversation with Frederico Spinola, who assures him that with the 6,000 Italians, which will be sent secretly by his brother the marquis Spinola to

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Flanders, he will be able to bring to the place where the galleys may be 11,000 men, including the 5,000 Germans and Walloons, who are being raised there. This being the case he (the Adelantado) thinks it will be best to invade England; as with Frederico's troops he will have all together 25,000 men, which he thinks will be sufficient for the purpose, by God's grace. He proposes that Frederico should post hither about it, and be sent from here at once to Flanders to receive his Italians from his brother, and raise the Germans and Walloons. The eight galleys now under orders to be delivered to him should await the arrival of the rest, and carry out the instructions from here. When they anchor in an English port, he will send 50 galleys to bring over Frederico's troops. When they join his force he will retain one squadron of galleys, and send the rest back to Spain. He calculates that Flanders will provide all that is necessary; and request 2,000,000 ducats as a reserve.

He presses that a large number of men should be raised so that the 14,000 he takes with him may be fully effective. He wishes them to be drawn from the cities and towns of Andalucia, and that old soldiers should be brought from the African garrisons, their places to be taken by recruits. He asks for 500 horsemen from Granada, and the guards, for whom horses will be found there (in England?) and he makes a note of the artillery he will want. He urges forcibly that all should be ready without delay, and if the force is to be sent to Ireland, he asks for a million ducats reserve to carry with him. He sends a statement of the persons he wishes to take with him.

The Council highly appreciates the zeal and patriotism of the Adelantado, and thanks him for his proposal; but they note that he had quite changed his opinion, in consequence of a conversation with Frederico Spinola, and now supposes that with 14,000 men from here, and 11,000 from Spinola, he could invade England. If all could be got together in a time stated, perhaps the Council would agree with him about going to England, which is the source of all the evil; but as Frederico's levies are so uncertain, and the Archduke wants troops badly, it is doubtful if the Adelantado could have them all, even when they arrived in Flanders, or that so many Germans could be raised as he says. It is also questionable whether the stores could be collected in time, and the season is so far advanced that the Council think that, even for Ireland, all things will not be ready, and the succour must be sent off at once without waiting for great forces, or the two millions reserve which the Adelantado wants to take to England, the raising of which would be neither speedy nor easy. It will not be easy, even, to supply the sum he requests for Ireland. Besides this, Frederico in his confidential letter to the duke of Lerma is not so open about the forces he could supply. Indeed he only regrets in all humility that the enterprise should be undertaken by other hands than his, and it would not be prudent to embark on such an enterprise with a man who appears so discontented as Frederico does, although his discontent may originate in zeal; for which opportunities will occur to reward him. For all these and other reasons, the Council is of

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opinion that the invasion of England should be abandoned and that of Ireland undertaken, if the galleys, etc. can be got together in time. The Council therefore approves of the Adelantado's first suggestion, that when all is ready in Lisbon, he should see whether there is time to undertake the Irish enterprise as ordered, as no prestige will be lost by our preparations so far.

The Adelantado should have all the men, provisions, and everything else he asked for, without bating him anything.

Strict orders should be sent to all parts, and couriers sent flying to fulfil his requests.

The Adelantado should be ordered to deliver at once to Frederico the eight galleys, and he will find in Lisbon the 1,000 recruits he is to take. He (Frederico) is to be told that he cannot have the 2,000 Spaniards promised him, but he is to execute his mission, if he thinks he can do so with due safety.

Note in the handwriting of Philip III.—I am glad to see the careful consideration given to this, and approve of the decision, which is wise. As the galleys, etc., from Italy are expected shortly, let no time be lost in making all other arrangements.

20 June. Estado, 840. **728.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on the Lord Admiral of Scotland. *

Last July the Lord Admiral of Scotland wrote to your Majesty asking, amongst other things, that you would deign to employ him whenever he might be useful; and begging for a knight-commandership with a dotation. On the advice of the Council your Majesty replied that if the Lord Admiral would go to Flanders the pension of 250 ducats he now received should be increased to 300. He fell ill, and the matter was again brought before the Council. It was decided to write to him, saying that pending the recovery of his health to serve your Majesty he should enjoy the said pension. His illness was long and severe, but he is now quite well again, and it is desired to remind your Majesty of him, as his stay here can only result in the inconvenience that usually arises out of idleness; and if he be sent to Flanders he may be of some use in exchange for his pension.

1 Oct. Estado, 840. **729.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on Irish affairs.

On the 25th August the Council of State represented to your Majesty how advisable it was that some succour should be promptly to the Irish Catholics, who are exposing their lives for their faith and their devotion to your Majesty. This was needful, we said, not only in fulfilment of your Majesty's promises, but also as the best way of harassing the queen of England. Your Majesty replied a few days ago, requesting the Council to advise what could be done in this matter at present.

* Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell.

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It has been again considered, and the Council is of opinion that it is more needful now than ever that O'Neill and the rest should be encouraged and consoled, since earl O'Donnell's death.*

As the state of affairs will not allow of our sending men at present, and as the news comes from London that 2,000 Scotsmen have joined them (*i.e.*, the Catholics) it will be advisable for your Majesty to send them 20,000 ducats out of the 50,000 promised for next March, and a quantity of munitions. The rest of the aid might be sent them in two further instalments, and good hopes given to them for the future.

2 Nov. Estado, 840.

730. REPORT of the Council of State to Philip III. on England and Ireland.

Your Majesty has ordered us through the duke of Lerma to discuss what had better be done in Ireland in the present state of affairs, since the death of Earl O'Donnell. We have duly considered the matter, and record that in answer to our report upon it of 22nd instant your Majesty was pleased to reply that the correspondence should be continued with the Earl of Tyrone, as it is he that has kept the spark glowing; and that for the present the Catholics should be encouraged by money, arms, and munitions, and the 30,000 ducats your Majesty ordered should be sent to them, 10,000 ducats per month being sent also from the beginning of next year. Tyrone was to be written to to this effect, that he might understand the solicitude your Majesty feels for the Catholics.

The Commendador of Leon was of opinion that as men could not at present be sent, the money, munitions, etc., ordered should be dispatched at once, accompanied by some trustworthy person to see to the distribution, and to take to the Catholics word of your Majesty's bounty of 10,000 a month from the beginning of the year, so that they might keep their forces in the field until the main succour could be sent, which would be as soon as possible. The person sent should be instructed to learn as minutely as possible the present state of the country, both of friends and enemies, for your Majesty's information. With the first 10,000 ducats, a person of rank should be sent to reside there, and see that the money is applied to the maintenance of troops, either Irish or Scotch, and he hopes with this assistance they will be able to keep afoot, as they have done for many years past.

Fray Gaspar de Cordova remarked that he heard from the Irish in this court (Madrid) that Earl O'Neil can hold out until the spring, if he be assured that the main succour will reach him then, but otherwise they are in doubt about him, as he is reduced to great straits, particularly now that Earl O'Donnell has died, which will greatly discourage them. He is nevertheless of opinion that the money, arms, etc. should be sent as previously ordered. They should be taken by Don Martin de la Cerda, who

* The O'Donnell after much importunity had obtained permission to go to Court and press his suit personally upon the King. But on his way thither worn out with grief and anxiety, he died at Simancas.

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has been there before, and is known to them, and will be able to learn the true state of affairs for your Majesty's information.

The Constable greatly doubted, seeing the present state of affairs, whether it was possible to deal with this matter effectually, or that the Catholics could hold out with the aid it was now proposed to send them, and that promised for the future. But he nevertheless agrees that Don Martin de la Cerda should be sent with the money, arms etc., and bring back an account of matters.

The Marquis of Poza acknowledges the obligation and need for helping these Catholics, and if the main succour could be sent in the spring, he would be glad. In the meanwhile, the 10,000 crowns should go as proposed, as otherwise the main expedition will be of no use. But in case the succour cannot be sent, he is of opinion that it will be better to undeceive these people in time, so that they may make what arrangements they can.

Count de Olivares was of opinion that the matter should not be abandoned, but that the person mentioned or some other, be sent with the arms, money, etc. with orders to encourage the Catholics, without deceiving them, by telling them that the main succour will be sent in the spring; and to assure them that your Majesty sympathises with them and strives for their welfare. That your Majesty will do your best to send them the assistance desired. He should return promptly with a detailed report of affairs. He thinks that the best ship that Count de Caracena has should be sent on this service, in order to obtain prompt intelligence.

5 Dec. Estado, 840.

731. REPORT of the Council of State to Philip III. on the letters from Father Creswell.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders, the Council has considered the papers sent by Father Creswell on the 28th November. He points out the great age of the queen of England, and the advisability of your Majesty's taking the country before a male heir with new connections and friends succeeds. He recommends that as many galleys as possible should be sent to Flanders, to transport all the troops that can be got together to England when the Queen dies, so that your Majesty will be ready to succour the Catholics. He recommends that stores, etc. should at once be collected, under cover of war with the Turk, and that the Spanish fleet should be mustered in Italy, foreign ships being freighted. He says as there are many claimants to the crown, with varying chances, if they be supported by your Majesty; and the question should be well deliberated in time in all its bearings, and the eligibility of the various candidates considered; so that in any eventuality the Catholics may know whom to support.

The Council is of opinion that Father Cresswell should be thanked for reminding your Majesty of the papers he sent last year, but it is difficult to know what to say about them, as they recommend the taking up of the English enterprise, and things here are in such a condition as to make this impossible. The Council has already given its opinion on the question of the succession.

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Count de Olivares on this occasion repeated his former remark, namely, that as the bringing forward of the Infanta and the Archduke now offered so many difficulties, it would be best to support the Catholic English claimant most in favour with the party there, so as to oppose the King of Scots.

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13 Jan. Estado, 840.

732. MEMORIAL from FRIAR FLORENCE CONROY to PHILIP III.

F. Florence Conroy, late Confessor to Earl O'Donnell, now deceased, submits to your Majesty that since June last, he has followed the Court at the Escorial, first endeavouring to obtain your Majesty's permission for Earl O'Donnell to come to Court, to negotiate certain matters appertaining to the kingdom of Ireland; and, since the death of that noble Earl at Simancas, urging that your Majesty should be pleased to send some succour to the Irish Catholics, in order to encourage them, and prevent them giving way to despair at the news of the Earl's death, as the Earl himself petitioned your Majesty in his will. The Earl's holy death, your Majesty's clemency, and Almighty God's will, caused the Council of State to decide, a month after the Earl's death, that succour should be sent to Ireland. We then gave hearty thanks to God, because we thought that we had been dispatched and that the business was settled. But for my sins, and those of Ireland and Spain, the succour has not gone, and we are still all here; for when the resolution had been adopted, the ministers replied to us that another report had to be submitted to your Majesty, and another the following week, and still another a month after that, and a month subsequent still one more. And so seven months have passed before the business was finally referred to the president of finance. But after all we are still being delayed in such a way, that we are now less hopeful than we were on the first day. Those of us who are pressing this business—myself and the Earl's secretary—have spent all that your Majesty has given us, but even if we had much more money than we have, we are so utterly tired out and desperate that we are resolved to say no more about the business.

The Catholics are still afield, and have even gained considerable victories, as will be confirmed from many quarters. God be praised, they do not believe in the Earl's death, as the news only reaches them through enemies. But they are, nevertheless, in extreme need, and for every week that we are delayed here some of their vassals go over to the other side out of sheer despair; and the English set fresh traps to catch us on the way. We therefore beseech your Majesty by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, to turn to those poor Catholics who have placed themselves in their present straits in order to serve your Majesty, and who battle against such affliction for the profit and honour of Spain. Things became somewhat quieter in Ireland last year, and we beseech your Majesty that, if orders are given for our despatch speedily, or even if for our sins this cannot be, your Majesty will please inform those poor afflicted Catholics, so that they may be able to make the best terms they can. Your Majesty will thus do a signal service to God, and to His

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defenceless Catholic servants, so loyal to your Majesty. This will be an act of mercy.

REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE on the above MEMORIAL.

It was decided on the 3rd March last year that his Majesty should send 50,000 ducats, with arms and munitions. It was afterwards, on 2nd November, ordered that the amount should be 30,000 ducats at once and 20,000 (10,000?) ducats a month from the beginning of this year; and earl O'Neil was to be advised of this. His Majesty ordered the president of finance to provide the 30,000 ducats, so that the money might be sent with Don Martin de la Cerda, in two vessels which were prepared in Coruña for the purpose, and great pressure has been exerted on the president of finance to this effect. He has not, however, yet fulfilled the order, and the consequence is that the Irish are still detained here, and have been obliged to spend in their stay the money that was given to them for the voyage. The season is now so far advanced that if the expedition be delayed any longer Don Martin de la Cerda and his succour, with the Irishmen who accompany him, will be exposed to great peril.

In addition to this, earl O'Neil and the Catholics who follow him will be completely ruined, as they have refused all offers of settlement, confiding in the promises of his Majesty. In this event the enemy will be relieved from the heavy expense of the war, and be able the more easily to attack his Majesty, thus producing irreparable injury. The damage done by the delay has already been great, for the Irish conclude that his Majesty has altered his mind, and is protracting the business with some object which they do not understand, as they do not attribute it to lack of money. As it is agreed that it will not be desirable for his Majesty to abandon the cause of God and his own interests, the Council is of opinion that, the 30,000 ducats should be provided immediately from any available source, so that they may be sent at once by Don Martin. If this cannot be done the Council thinks that these people should be undeceived, so that they may be enabled to make the best terms they can, bad as the consequences might be, and such as his Majesty should never allow.—13th January 1603.

1 Feb. Estado, 840. **733.** REPORT of the Council of State to Philip III. on the English succession.

At a meeting of the Council held on the 5th December last, to consider some documents from Father Creswell with regard to the English succession, which your Majesty had referred to them, count de Olivares said that the introduction of the Infanta and the Archduke involved so many manifestly grave difficulties that it would be better to promote the cause of one of the native claimants. who was a Catholic and might be pitted against the king of Scotland. This would be the easiest way, and if the Catholic claimant were established under the protection of your Majesty, he would be bound and pledged to your interests, which would gain for us the object aimed at; namely that the country should return to

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the church. It may be concluded that the Pope would aid to this end, and that the king of France would put up with it.

Your Majesty thereupon ordered the Council to take into full consideration in all its aspects the suggestion of count de Olivares, and after due discussion to report to your Majesty.

The Council, in addition to the above-mentioned documents, and others sent by your Majesty, had before it letters and advices received by Father Creswell from the persons through whom he corresponds with the English Catholics, begging him to urge your Majesty to arrive at a decision in the matter, and either to make due preparations for aiding them in the event of the Queen's death, which may happen at any hour, or to relieve them from their pledge to take up the cause of the Infanta or other nominee of your Majesty. In this case they would be enabled, before it was too late, to adopt the course most advantageous for them; but if they wait until they are confronted with an actual vacancy, it is indubitable that the king of Scotland, having a strong party amongst the heretics, and the support of the king of France, the rebels, etc., will succeed in his object. The help of your Majesty, upon which the Catholics have founded all their hopes, will thus have only brought about their final ruin, to the irreparable injury of your Majesty and your dominions. On the other hand, they say, if your Majesty actively helps them, as they consider you ought to do—both as Catholic defender of the faith and for your own sake, as well as in recompense for their unswerving devotion to your Majesty through intolerable troubles for so many years—they will carry out their pledges with their last breath. If, however, your Majesty cannot continue to protect them, they will consider it a great favour if you will undeceive them at once, so that, whilst circumstances render it possible, they may do the best they can for themselves. They will in any case retain the same good-will and affection as hitherto towards your Majesty's service, although they will not be able to do so much as if they succeeded in their main object, which is to reduce the country to submission to the apostolic see, and to dependence upon your Majesty's greatness. The Council had before it also despatches of the ambassador Don Baltasar de Zuñiga to your Majesty, in which the suggestion of the king of France is set forth to the effect that your Majesty and he (Henry IV.) should agree to nominate a neutral Catholic king (of England); but that if your Majesty attempted to nominate the Infanta or any other person wholly dependent upon you, he (Henry IV.) would assist the king of Scotland with all his strength.

The afore-mentioned documents were discussed with the care and fulness demanded by the importance of the subject, and it was decided that the following report should be sent to your Majesty:—

The Catholics of England through Father Persons represented to your Majesty in the year 1600 that as your Majesty would not take England for yourself, they proposed for the succession, in the first place the Infanta Isabel, as the late king (Philip II.) had desired.

In the second place they proposed the duke of Savoy, who, being a widower, might marry Arabella (Stuart) or the daughter of the

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earl of Derby, the latter match being preferable as the lady was a Catholic and had a larger following.

In the third place they suggested the duke of Parma, or his brother, Cardinal Farnese.

In the fourth place they proposed the son of the earl of Worcester, a Catholic of very good parts, who, although he had no rights to the crown, might marry the daughter of the earl of Derby. As, however, this candidature might encounter the opposition of the other nobles they (the Catholics) were more inclined to favour the first proposals, and especially that of the Infanta, as they thought that the aid from Flanders and Spain would be the most available. Your Majesty was thereupon pleased to approve of the nomination of her Highness.

With regard to your Majesty's own succession to the English throne, the Council need say nothing, as your Majesty approved of the arguments and reasons submitted by the Council for the abandonment of your claims.

There is no doubt that the nomination of the Infanta would have been the most advantageous, and the Council reported to this effect to your Majesty, after its deliberations of the 11th July, 1600; always on condition that we had the resources at our disposal necessary to carry the enterprise to a successful issue; and in the hope that then existed that the Infanta would have children, and that the Archduke would undertake the matter with the necessary energy. The Council also dwelt upon the advisability, in the event of their Highnesses obtaining the English crown, of the States of Flanders again becoming incorporated in the Spanish realm. Up to the present time, however, there is no sign of their Highnesses having descendants, and the Archduke has not actively taken up the proposal, which he looks upon as impossible of execution. The Catholics, therefore, do not now look upon the selection of their Highnesses so favourably as formerly; and they consider the recognised lack of issue to the new English monarchs as a very grave objection, as they are of opinion that sooner or later their former and present perils will again recur in such case. They will, however, overlook this point if your Majesty wishes the nomination of the Infanta to be carried forward.

The Council cannot refrain from agreeing with the view that a change of attitude will be desirable. The present state of your Majesty and your realm is such that there appears to be no means of facing, much less surmounting, the difficulties, or rather impossibilities, which present themselves to the establishment of their Highnesses on the throne of England, in opposition to the king of France and the whole heretic strength of Germany and the north, which will certainly strain every nerve to prevent it.

The Council is therefore of opinion that some more suitable person should be selected, in order to carry out the object of raising a Catholic to the throne, who would depend upon your Majesty.

Such a King would be entirely bound to your Majesty if he owed his elevation to your Majesty's patronage and support, and you transferred to him your own rights to the crown, which are stronger

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than those of any other claimant, the king of Scotland being excluded as a heretic.

The candidature of the duke of Savoy offers similar difficulties to that of the Infanta; and if, therefore, one of the foreign claimants has to be selected, it would appear that the duke of Parma would be most suitable, having regard to the aid which the Pope might be expected to give him. The objection to him is that he might, when he saw himself king of England, raise his claim to the crown of Portugal,* but count de Miranda believes that this point could be arranged in a way that would banish any misgiving. But there are other great objections to this candidature, such as the doubt as to whether the Pope would care to face so large an expenditure, and also that the king of France is not so well disposed towards your Majesty as to be ready to please you by accepting a person so closely allied to you as the duke of Parma. This is proved by the fact that notwithstanding the marriage of his (Henry IV.) sister into the House of Lorraine,† he is favouring the succession of a heretic son of the marquis of Brandenburg against Cardinal Lorraine; and it is obvious that all the sectarian Princes will exert their utmost influence against the duke of Parma, to a greater extent even than against the Infanta, as the Duke is allied to the Pope, whom they hate more than any other Christian Prince. To this must be added the fact that the Duke is married; besides which the English, both Catholics and heretics, would prefer a native to a foreign King. These and other reasons lead us to exclude the candidatures of the duke of Parma and Cardinal Farnese.

On no account will it be advisable for your Majesty to abandon the cause of the Catholics, which you have upheld for so many years at such heavy cost to your royal patrimony and to the Spanish nation. The perseverance of the English Catholics in the faith has deserved the help which has fittingly come from one so devout as your Majesty. The Council is therefore of opinion that they should be informed that, as your Majesty's main object is, and always has been, to bring England to submit to the apostolic see, and regain its ancient standing and prosperity, your Majesty does not regard your own interests or those of your kin; and although at the request of the English Catholics your Majesty had at first approved of the nomination of the Infanta, you are willing, if they think it better for the end in view, for them to propose a person from amongst themselves. If they will do this and inform your Majesty thereof, the person chosen being a Catholic and possessing the necessary parts, your Majesty will cede your rights to him on fair terms of reciprocity, and will aid him with all your forces to obtain and hold the crown of England against all pretenders. For this purpose your Majesty will at once begin to make preparations; and in due time will exert your influence with his Holiness to induce him to aid so holy a cause. Your Majesty enjoins them (the English

* The duke of Parma, son of Alexander Farnese and Maria, princess of Portugal, had unquestionably a better right than Philip to the Portuguese throne.

† Catharine de Bourbon had been married, sorely against her will, on the 29th January, 1599, to the duc de Bar, heir presumptive to Charles III., duke of Lorraine.

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Catholics) first to pray to God for help and guidance, and then to proceed to adopt a resolution, which you trust will be such as befits their zeal.

In the meanwhile your Majesty awaits their decision with great interest.

The Council is of opinion that by this means the end desired may be the more easily and surely attained, whilst the king of France will have reason to be satisfied, and to refrain from helping the king of Scotland, as it cannot suit him for Scotland and England to be united. With this object the Council considers that the building and fitting out of high ships should be continued with all speed, and also that the efforts already recommended to be made in Flanders should proceed. Even if they be unnecessary for this particular purpose, they are so urgently demanded by circumstances there that their omission will expose everything to the utmost peril.

The knot of the succession question will thus be cut, and by one expenditure your Majesty will provide against two eventualities of the highest importance, without the risk of the expenditure being wasted, as might be the case if the English matter only were in view, seeing that the Queen may live a short or a long time. It will be necessary, therefore, for your Majesty to order that not an hour be lost in devising some means of meeting present and future demands, so that want of foresight and money shall not stand in the way of carrying through what is desired, to the advantage of God and your Majesty and the benefit of Christendom at large.

When your Majesty has decided what will be best, the Infanta and the Archduke should be informed thereof, through the ambassador, Don Baltasar de Zuñiga; together with the reasons which have moved your Majesty, the principal of which is that their Highnesses themselves considered your Majesty's plans in their favour to be impracticable.

The above was agreed to by counts de Chinchon, Miranda, and Alba, F. Gaspar de Cordoba, the Constable, and the marquis de Poza. Count de Miranda added that under the present circumstances great difficulties occurred, no matter what resolution was adopted; and, in order that we should not pledge ourselves to undertakings which we could not carry through, we ought first to examine what resources exist or can be obtained, and then proceed accordingly. If nothing else can be done we might devise some expedient by which, without helping the king of Scotland, we might avoid offending him, for reasons which were submitted to your Majesty on a former occasion.

F. Gaspar de Cordoba said that, in his opinion, the matter of the English succession might be proceeded with, even in the present condition of the treasury, if his Majesty entrusted the entire management of the affairs to three or four persons. By this means the reinforcements for Ireland, the building of high ships, and the collection of money for the undertaking, were now being facilitated; whereas so long as they went through the ordinary channel they were looked upon as impossible.

The marquis de Poza added that if we could not manage to place a Catholic monarch on the English throne it would be better to have any heretic there rather than the king of Scotland, who is so

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pertinacious and badly intentioned in his heresy; because of the power which the united kingdoms would possess if held by so evil a person.

Count de Olivares said that in this and all similar affairs his opinion was, and always had been, that the greatness and maintenance of your Majesty's empire did not depend upon the further extension of your dominions, but upon there being no other power capable of obstructing your saintly intentions. With this view he (Count de Olivares), when he was in Rome and the matter of France was under discussion, begged the late King (Philip II.) to put aside his claims and those of the Infanta, and to advocate the cause of a native King, preferably one of the House of Bourbon, to be chosen by the Guises, as being most likely to serve their party.* His Majesty's neglect to adopt this advice had resulted in the events we now witness, notwithstanding all the expense we have incurred. With this example before him, he (Olivares) thanks God that your Majesty regards the English affair in the way which may be presumed by the proposal you have submitted to the Council. Before he declared his opinion as to the best course your Majesty can adopt, he would, however, proceed to state what he thinks you should avoid.

The ancient and deeply rooted enmity of the French and English nations, and other causes, making the king of France an impossible competitor for the English crown, he may be left out of consideration; and the worst solution of the question for us may be regarded as the succession of the king of Scotland. He is not only personally to be distrusted, but the union of two kingdoms, and above all the increment of England in her present position, and with the naval forces she possesses, would be a standing danger to your Majesty in a vital point, namely, the navigation to both Indies. To this must be added the hatred which always existed between the crowns of Spain and Scotland, and the old friendship of the latter with France, even before there was any difference of religion, which has accentuated the ill-feeling. The king of Scotland, moreover, has been badly reared amongst heretics, and, apart from his heresy, has exhibited in all his actions a false and shifty inclination. There is, indeed, a strong belief that he consented to the killing of his mother, and at least he manifested no sorrow nor resentment at it. Whilst feigning a desire to be a Catholic, he raises difficulties in the performance of mass in the house of the French ambassador. On the other hand, not a single good quality appears to counterbalance the evil known of him.

He (Olivares) is of opinion that the proposal made in Rome, although ostensibly originated by another, really comes from a disciple of Cardinal Mondovi, whose prevailing idea was (God knows with what object) the conversion of the king of Scotland in the same way as the present king of France was converted. He (Mondovi) made great efforts to this end with the same Carthusian bishop with whom they are now dealing and whom the Count

* On the death of Cardinal de Bourbon, the so-called Charles X., Philip was inclined to press the claims of his daughter, the Infanta Isabel, to the crown of France, or at least to the duchy of Brittany, by right of her mother, Elizabeth de Valois, eldest daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici.

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(Olivares) knew well as a good, but simple and credulous man. He must now be too old for it, and this doubtless is the reason why the duke of Savoy's ambassador has been employed as the intermediary, as Mondovi always made use of him in all his plans. He (Olivares) is the more suspicious of this intrigue as it was not brought forward here, but in Rome, where they try to conceal it from the Pope—a very poor sign of conversion.

The aid requested by the king of Scotland is in the form of cash. His offers in return are, first his conversion, which cannot be expected from a person so badly brought up as he has been; and secondly, the surrender of his son as security. With regard to the latter, it is not natural that anyone should wish his son to be of a different religion to that which he himself professes, and the consequence would be that he (James VI.) would after all refuse to deliver his son, on the pretext that the country would not permit it. It might happen, indeed, that the country would really not allow it, notwithstanding the King, to judge from its behaviour on other occasions.

But withal, he (Olivares) would not entirely shut the door against him (James VI.) whilst taking every precaution to leave us a free hand. This negotiation (*i.e.*, in Rome) should not any longer be concealed from the representatives of the English Catholics, because if they learn it from any other quarter they may lose confidence and take an evil course, such as entering into negotiation with him (James); because if your Majesty decided that the business should be taken in hand sincerely, the first step would be to make arrangements with the English Catholics, and see that their interests were well secured.

In the second place, he (Olivares) is of opinion that it is unadvisable to claim the English crown for the Infanta and her husband. This solution is surrounded with difficulties which should be avoided, particularly as success is very doubtful, and the risk out of all proportion to the advantage to be gained, as the latter may be attained by the other course proposed.

The first difficulty is the pronounced opposition of France, with whom your Majesty's other enemies would unite to divert you, and they would be joined by all those who envy and hate your greatness for reasons of religion or state. We should thus be confronted, not by declared enemies alone, but by many of those who pose as friends.

The universal desire of all men to have a King of their own nation, ruling them alone, and living amongst them, will present a great obstacle to the Infanta's candidature, since the first two desiderata will be lacking in her case, and the third will be difficult to fulfil entirely.

This candidature is also weakened by the lukewarmness of the Archduke towards it—or rather his opposition to it—which has rendered him unpopular with the English, whose dislike of him he reciprocates. This is an important point, especially as the English seem to be forewarned by the late King's (Philip II.) attitude towards them, and afterwards towards Portugal.

From this it might be deduced that your Majesty should take the whole affair upon your own shoulders as if for yourself. But

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apart from the lack of money for so many undertakings, we have not enough soldiers, or capable men to command them; and above all there is no time to provide and prepare with the necessary punctuality for affairs in all parts, and to satisfy people of various nations who are demanding aid. The opposition to be encountered in this business would call for the employment of resources, forces, and attention entirely free from other claims; whereas experience shows how difficult it is for us to attend in time to the present numerous demands upon us.

The objections (to the Infanta's candidature) are increased by the fact that their Highnesses have no issue, which prevents them from taking the necessary interest and trouble in the matter, and causes the English to look upon them with less esteem, as they would only be a temporary solution. The English, who wish for a resident monarch, will consider this candidature to be a death-blow to their hopes, and as a means for bringing the country into the hands of Spain, which will cause them to join the enemies of your Majesty's greatness, and there will be as much opposition from them to the Archduke as if your Majesty claimed the crown for yourself.

The difficulties in the way of the duke of Savoy's candidature are very great, because France would be more strongly against him than against the Archduke. In addition to personal hatred, increased by fresh suspicion, the king of France will probably believe that the Duke would hand over Piedmont and Savoy to your Majesty. This candidature, moreover, would cost your Majesty as much money as that of the Archduke, and other objections might be raised to it. It would also encourage your Majesty's rivals to attack and harass you—perhaps successfully—if they saw you burdened with so great an undertaking in addition to those you have already in hand.

The Count (de Olivares) is of opinion that the best course, in the interests of God, your Majesty, the English nation, and even of their Highnesses, would be to influence the English Catholics to select an Englishman of their own faith, possessing, if possible, some claims to the crown, who would be strengthened by your Majesty's renunciation of your rights in his favour, and whom your Majesty would help as much as you could. In the interests of the success of the affair, the person chosen should not be very shy of the heretics, and should grant them toleration. If the said King were a true Catholic, depending upon your Majesty's support for future aid in consolidating his position, and defending himself against the Scots, he might easily re-establish the religion entirely in the country, seeing how readily in the past the latter has changed its faith for that of its Princes. This will be the more confidently anticipated by those who witnessed the conversion of 1553.

Success in this direction will be probable if timely preparations are made in all quarters, so that they (the English) may fix upon a Catholic person whom the heretics will accept, and who can overcome the difficulty of making his equals take him for a superior. The Catholic party is understood to be very large, and would be larger but for fear of the Queen, and it may be supposed that most of the

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heretics are politicians* who would soon be reconciled. A common ground of agreement between them might be found in their hatred of the Scottish domination, and the wish of the nobility, especially, to obtain a resident and native King. The greatest aid to success, and to the consolidation of the person selected, will be, however, the liberal promises he should make both to Catholics and heretics, almost without distinction, particularly to some other claimants and their principal supporters, who should be given estates, incomes, offices, grants, privileges, and exemptions, almost, indeed, sharing the Crown amongst them. By this means their dislike to submitting themselves to an equal may be mitigated, and each one personally interested in upholding the King. In order that they may put up with his being a Catholic, it will be very important that it should be known that the Catholics of England enjoy the open support of your Majesty, who could do much; whereas if the king of France intervened at all it would be much more feebly and in support of a weaker candidate, the king of Scotland. But when once he (the king of France) is safe from your Majesty, the Infanta, and the duke of Savoy, he will not waste his money or forces, in promoting a thing so greatly against his own interests as a union of England and Scotland, nor will he declare himself against a Catholic candidature in favour of a heretic. He will, moreover, not care to risk making an enemy of the candidate selected by the Catholics, or pledging his prestige in so doubtful an enterprise.

In order to justify the exclusion of the king of Scotland from the English succession and satisfy his opponents, Catholics and heretics, on the point, in addition to your Majesty's renunciation in favour of the other candidate, it may be pointed out that there is a law of Parliament which would exclude the Archduke and the duke of Savoy, as well as the king of Scotland, by which any person born out of the kingdom is rendered ineligible to succeed to the throne. Besides this there is the crime of his (*i.e.*, James') presumed consent to his mother's death.

The Catholics consider him illegitimate, because there was no dispensation given for the marriage of his father and mother, who were closely related;† the son (James ?) is also by many considered illegitimate, for reasons which would be difficult to sustain in a court of justice. This contention about the dispensation could only be used by a Catholic, as also could that which depends upon the King's heresy. Both of these points are so important in upsetting the king of Scotland's claim, that he (Olivares) looks upon them as the principal instrument for inducing heretics and politicians to admit that, for the advantage of everyone, it will be advisable to accept a Catholic, who will afford full toleration to them.

When once the fear is banished that, for the reasons set forth, a heretic may be chosen, it may happen that there are different Catholic candidates. This would be their ruin, because the king of Scotland would slip in between them. But in addition to the

* The word was used in the sixteenth century in the sense of "Opportunist."

† Mary's father, James V., and Darnley's mother, Margaret, countess of Lennox, were, of course, half-brother and sister.

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precautions that may be taken to avoid such a danger, the fact of your Majesty's leaving the selection freely to the Catholics will have a very good effect; because as your Majesty will not have expressed yourself against any candidate you will be free to give great additional weight to the one you prefer, by the cession to him of your claims and the promise of help. The other will then clearly see that he has everything to lose, and will probably submit at once with proper recompense. He (Olivares) therefore does not greatly fear these objections, the worst aspect of the case being the present absence of preparation and the perplexity in which the matter now is.

The cost to your Majesty would be incomparably less, and the anxiety in the preparations in proportion. There would be less need for the employment of your forces, and less risk of loss of prestige; the motive on the one hand being this greed for new dominions, even for the Infanta, and on the other magnanimity.

If it be possible to reconcile the Catholics with those who are not Catholics, or with the Queen's ministers (which in his, Olivares', opinion, should be the object aimed at, as the arrangement will be for after her death), they, being sure that they will not be injured, would at once endeavour to bring about peace with your Majesty; and as a consequence of this it might be possible to make some arrangement for the recovery of the ports held by the Queen in the islands (Zeeland, &c.).

If your Majesty approves of this course the utmost celerity should be exercised in taking the preliminary steps, and considering the best time and manner of making the proposal to the Catholics, who are so anxiously pressing for a decision. This will be necessary, in order that the evil-minded may not be able to attribute our action to weakness but rather to generosity, and that we may, under necessary conditions, make the offers of aid when the time arrives. It will also be well to consider whether we should claim gratitude at once for your Majesty's renunciation and promised aid, as others do; and whether it will be advisable to enter into a formal arrangement with the Pope on such conditions as will not frighten them (*i.e.*, the English). Other subjects will also have to be discussed and settled, such as what answer should be given to them if they broach the subject of marriage, as they have done before; how the proposal should be made to the Pope, so as to impress him with your Majesty's generosity (in making the renunciation) solely for the sake of religion; if it would be advisable that the Pope should represent the matter to the king of France as a favour he had obtained, or was trying to obtain from your Majesty, so as to bridle the king of France and lull his suspicions as much as possible. It will have to be decided what had better be done about the king of France's present offer to co-operate in favour of some neutral candidate; whether he is to be trusted or whether he only seeks to join us for the purpose of upsetting your Majesty's plans. All these and other points will have to be dealt with instantly, as the great danger arises from delay, in case of the death of the Queen before we are fully prepared. If this should happen we should not only

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be confronted with the evils already set forth, but the Catholics, who have placed their trust in your Majesty, will be handed over to the hangman and religion will receive its death-blow, whilst Flanders' affairs would suffer proportionately.

It is true that some of these matters are not pressing, and time and circumstances may change, but still it is in the highest degree important that the whole plan, in all its details, should be settled beforehand, even if in some respects it may subsequently become necessary to vary it.

To judge from what Don Baltasar de Zuñiga has written recently there will be no longer any need to ask the Archduke his opinion upon the matter; and if your Majesty decides to adopt the course now recommended, you might even inform the Archduke that your Majesty was principally moved thereto by his views.

27 Feb. Estado, 840. **734.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. respecting the (gold) chains and swords for Ireland.

When Don Juan del Aguila went to Ireland with your Majesty's expedition his paymaster was entrusted with a gold chain of the value of 2,000 ducats; and ten swords, which Don Juan was to distribute amongst the Catholic leaders. As events did not allow of his doing this, the chain and swords were brought back to Coruña, and it has occurred to the Council, in view of the going of Don Martin de la Cerda to Ireland, to suggest to your Majesty that count de Caracena might be requested to deliver the chain and swords to Don Martin, so that they might be distributed as your Majesty ordered, instructions being also sent to Don Martin to be guided in their distribution by the recommendations of the earls O'Neil and O'Donnell.

Note.—A long correspondence on the above subject, and on the present whereabouts of the chain and swords, precedes the aforegoing report. The King approved of the recommendation, and the presents were handed to Don Martin de la Cerda in accordance therewith.

2 March. Estado, 840. **735.** REPORT of the COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III. on the English Succession.

In his vote on the question of the English succession count de Olivares submitted the following fresh points.*

1. The manner in which it is to be proposed to the English Catholics that they should choose one of themselves for King; so that evil-minded persons may not attribute our action to weakness, but rather to generosity.

2. The manner in which it should be broached to the Pope, in order that he may be impressed with your Majesty's generosity for the sake of religion.

3. Whether it will be advisable for the Pope to represent the matter to the king of France as a favour obtained—or sought—from your Majesty, so as to bridle him (the king of France) and lull his suspicions as much as possible.

* See the latter portion of the document dated 1st February, 1603, page 728.

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4. What should be done about the present offer of the king of France to co-operate in favour of some neutral candidate; whether he is to be trusted, or whether he only seeks to join us for the purpose of discovering and upsetting your Majesty's plans.

5. The necessary conditions and offers of aid when the time arrives.

6. Whether it will be advisable to touch at once upon the question of return and gratitude to your Majesty for your renunciation and promised aid, as others do; and whether it will be well to come to a formal arrangement with the Pope or not, on terms which will not frighten them (the English), but will only have the appearance of asking for concessions which they may reasonably grant.

7. What answer should be given if they broach the subject of marriage, as they have done before.

Your Majesty was pleased to desire the opinion of the Council on the above points, and as count de Olivares was the author of them, he was desired to state his views prior to the discussion. He observed that he did not see so much difficulty in the substance of the points themselves, as in the manner and time for carrying them into effect, there being so many antagonistic elements to conciliate. We have to endeavour to preserve our prestige and make a necessity appear a virtue. Whilst the fear that the Queen may die makes haste of the greatest importance, it is equally necessary that the affair should be managed in a circuitous way. The haste, necessary as it is, must not be overdone, at least in declaring the choice of the future King. It might produce great difficulties, as has happened before in England, but as the danger would be still greater if no preparations or arrangements had been made at the time of the Queen's death, and confusion and discontent would prevail amongst the Catholics if they were kept in suspense without any decision as to their proposals, it will be advisable, so far as possible, to assure the principal point, whilst proceeding to anticipate and arrange the questions arising out of it.

Points 1, 2, 3, and 4 are linked one with another, and may be considered together. He (Olivares) is of opinion that, in order to avoid the appearance of the change of front having originated with your Majesty, advantage should be taken of what the duke of Sessa recently wrote, to the effect that the Pope had suggested that your Majesty and the king of France might agree as to who should be king of England. His Holiness did not say that the suggestion came from the king of France, or that the duke of Sessa was to convey it to your Majesty. It was simply said by way of discourse; but as Secretary Villeroy's message to Hugh Owen, by his brother, the canon of Humières (?) is so extremely slender a thread to seize upon, it will be better in every respect to make use of the Pope's suggestion. He (Olivares) therefore thinks that your Majesty should order the duke of Sessa to say to the Pope, as if in reply to his observation, that he had conveyed to your Majesty what his Holiness had proposed (thus stretching a point to call it a proposal, which, strictly speaking, it was not), and your Majesty had replied praising his (the Pope's) holy zeal, and thanking him for the

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goodwill which moved him. Your Majesty regarded the Pope's opinion with the highest respect in all things, and you could assure him that neither your Majesty nor your father had ever had the intention of joining the crown of England to that of Spain.

All the expense you have incurred had had no other object than zeal for the service of God, a desire to convert England to the Faith, and to place on the throne a person who would uphold it. If sometimes you had fixed your eyes on persons of your own blood for the purpose, it was because you believed that in no other hands would the Faith be more secure, and because the English themselves had constantly urged you thereto for the same reason. They (the English) also believed that such a person would enjoy greater prestige, and would have the advantage of a renunciation of your Majesty's own rights, which are stronger than any, even if the king of Scotland were not ineligible for illegitimacy and heresy. This has been the opinion, moreover, of his Holiness and his predecessors, especially in respect to the Infanta and the Archduke; but as their Highnesses are a long while without having children it appears that their candidature has become less desirable. As his Holiness now thought that at the present time some other solution might be adopted, and in order that some assurance should be given to the king of France that no person should be chosen whom he would oppose, your Majesty would be greatly influenced by the opinion of his Holiness, whom you respect as a father. His Holiness is, however, prayed to bear in mind the influence your Majesty will naturally desire to exercise as to the approval of the person selected, and the gratitude you will expect from him in return for the renunciation of your rights, and the assistance you will have to give him. The king of France should be satisfied with the assurance that your Majesty does not desire the crown for yourself or your sister, and leave the matter in the hands of his Holiness and your Majesty. He should also be gratified that the crown of England, which has been so inimical to that of France, a large part of which country it claims, should not be joined to that of Scotland. The Duke should not go beyond this by way of reply to the Pope.

The Duke might be instructed that in order to avoid delay, which may be dangerous, he should arrange in his next audience that the Pope should summon him to discuss the matter, which in the meanwhile they will both have considered; and in the second interview, after listening to what the Pope has to say, he, the Duke, should observe that he has been thinking over the matter, and, although he is perhaps exceeding his duty in saying it, he is of opinion that it will be difficult for the two Kings to agree upon a person whom both will trust, and the attempt to do so might breed further discord between them, as in these evil times the friend of one is nearly sure to be the enemy of the other, and whilst they are quibbling as to whom should be chosen, the Queen might die.

The Duke will hear what the Pope has to say to this, and will then try to move his Holiness to exert his influence with the king of France, pointing out in such terms as God's inspiration, and his own wisdom will dictate, the difficulties in the way, and persuading him

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to consent to the person chosen being an Englishman, selected by the English Catholics without dictation from anyone. He (the Pope) should also be moved to point out to the king of France, that the persons elected will naturally and justly show gratitude to your Majesty. In order to avoid obstacles, it will be better not to try to finally settle the matter at once, but only to come to an understanding with the Pope with regard to future action, it being intimated that your Majesty acts thus generously out of respect for his Holiness, knowing that this generosity is necessary for the attainment of the object in view. As all this is so entirely in accordance with what the Popes usually desire, the Duke will have no difficulty about it. The Count (Olivares) considers the above the best course to pursue to preserve our prestige.

The Duke (of Sessa) may also be requested to consider whether it would not be better for the second step in the above proceedings to be entrusted to Father Persons, who might be primed in the matter by the Duke, after the first interview of the latter with the Pope, and prior to the second audience; so that Persons might speak to the Pope at the proper time. It will also be advisable that the Duke, as if of his own accord, should warn the Pope to be cautious, lest the king of France should make a bad use of his Holiness' condescension, and either make unreasonable demands, or divulge the negotiation to the Queen so as to embroil matters. The Pope should accordingly proceed warily with him from the first, so as to keep him within bounds, and prevent him from making excessive demands. He (the king of France) should, moreover, not be informed of the whole plan or he might divulge it.

The Duke may also be instructed to lay down firmly and resolutely as if on his own accord, in the course of the conference, the principle that no other armed forces but those of your Majesty can be allowed to enter England, in order to avoid the troubles which usually arise from the employment of both (French and Spanish) together. Your Majesty has, however, no wish to introduce more troops than may be requested by the King (of England) himself, and only for so long a time, and of the nationalities that he may desire, as your Majesty has no end in view but the welfare of others. Father Persons may be employed to say this, as if the idea originated with him. He could enforce it by pointing out the mutual hatred of the French and English, and the danger that the French might fall out with your Majesty's troops, the discord thus arising giving an opportunity for the king of Scotland to slip in between them. These and other arguments would come better from Persons than from the Duke.

The Duke should be warned that although the principle of the matter should be adopted with all speed, in case the Queen should die, much care must be taken not to signify the person until the proper time, in order to avoid the danger above mentioned. When the (English) Catholics consider a fitting season has arrived for announcing their choice, it should be concealed from the king of France more than from anyone. Even amongst the English Catholics themselves no definite selection of their candidate should

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be made prematurely, both on account of the danger already indicated, and because circumstances might subsequently make another person preferable, or the jealousy of the rest of them frustrate the design. The Duke will have to discuss all this fully with Persons. The cry they (the English Catholics) will have to raise in order to keep the matter afoot until the time for action arrives (as they themselves will understand, and arrange better than anyone) is that as good Englishmen they want a native King, and no foreigner or subjection to the king of Scotland. This language will attract to them many heretics and "politicians." There would be no need for this cry to come to the Queen's ears, unless she were so moribund as to inspire no fear, or wished to adopt some unfit successor (of which she has hitherto shown no indication), or, again, unless the king of Scotland raised an army for an appeal to arms; and even in this case the Catholics would be the first to offer to defend themselves (*i.e.*, their country).

If the Pope shall have made any further advance in the matter since the Duke wrote the letter referred to, or any pressure shall have been brought to bear by the king of France, the Duke had better make the later action a basis for his proceeding, even at the cost of delaying the reply for a few days. The Duke should also arrange with the Pope for the business to pass through the hands of the French Ambassador in Rome, and when his Holiness addresses the Duke about it officially he should also take the same step with the French Ambassador, enjoining upon him the utmost secrecy. The Nuncios for the present should not be employed in the business, as the less people admitted into the secret the better. The introduction of Persons into it will be a commencement to the giving of a reply to the English Catholics. The Duke will give him to understand as much as possible that our action has been prompted by the Pope, or else by the delay in the birth of children to the Infanta and the Archduke, upon whom they (the English Catholics) had fixed. He might be told also that it would be better that they should have a native King, chosen by themselves, and that your Majesty was anxious as they for their success, and would assist the person they might select as effectually as one of your own blood. You would look upon him as such, and, indeed, he would be so, for he would succeed to your Majesty's rights.

A few days after these despatches had been sent to Rome, Creswell might be told that his Holiness had opened certain negotiations in the matter, and a reply had been sent to him at once; we only awaited his answer before arriving at a decision. Shortly afterwards Creswell could be informed of the proposal and reply, and his opinion upon the matter requested. If he is very urgent, in consequence of the Queen's age, or if news comes of her illness before a reply can reach us from Rome, Creswell may be told what is being settled speedily; and that the Archduke and the Ambassador in Flanders have all necessary instructions as to what they are to do if the event happens suddenly.

If the course here recommended be followed, it would be advisable to send at once appropriate instructions and authority,

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with a sum of money to be held available for the commencement of the business, as it may be considered very probable that the event may occur at any time, and much confusion and evil might arise if due preparation had not been made.

When matters are more advanced, it might be arranged for Persons to go to Flanders, where he could unite with the Archduke and the Ambassador in adopting the measures that might be necessary to carry out your Majesty's object. There would be no need for him to come hither, and when the proper time arrived his Holiness might strengthen him with a Cardinal's hat, of which he would be worthy, whether he went to England or not. All this might be carried out at the time that he (Persons) considered advisable for the success of the cause, except the matter of the Cardinalate, which of his own accord he will never say is desirable.

With regard to the fifth point, when the matter is clearly explained to Persons and Creswell, they may be told in general terms that your Majesty will do all you can, as if the person selected were your own son, which indeed you will consider him to be. Although it may be somewhat premature, the Count (Olivares) thinks that the aid your Majesty could afford them, without much difficulty or expense, would be to land from the galleys in the port indicated by the person selected a good large body of men, or if he desired it, they might be sent up the Thames to London. These men must, of course, be taken from the troops we are obliged to keep in Flanders, and the lack of them there will not do so much harm as the occupation of England will do good to Flemish affairs. If the person elected have a following there will be no risk. With the ships now in preparation, and those that, in any case, we must have at sea, we could at any time enter quickly into St. George's Channel, and land our men in an English port, as near to the Scottish border as possible, devoted to the new King. The whole of the troops on board might be landed, because, the Queen being dead, we should not have to fear that the English fleet would impede our return. We should not have to land any victuals, as the King-elect would see to them, and we should only need some warlike stores and money to enable us to hold our own for a time, and avoid having to ask for anything immediately. These two expeditions sent promptly to points so far apart, together with the forces which it may be concluded the King-elect will have, should suffice to win the game. The forces which would be insufficient for an undertaking on our own account, will be more than enough to help a native ruler, particularly if France can be prevented from interfering.

With regard to the sixth point, this should be lightly touched upon from the first with the Pope, in the manner already suggested, and also similarly with Persons and Creswell, as representatives of the Catholics; so that when the matter has to be dealt with it may not come upon them as a surprise. It may then be left until the time for action arrives. The Count (Olivares) thinks that the best opportunity for pressing and settling this point would be shortly

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after the election of the King (of England). He (Olivares) thinks that, in addition to repaying your Majesty your expenses within a convenient period of years, they should make no difficulty in ceding to your Majesty the Isle of Wight, and your Majesty should be satisfied with this. He (Olivares) does not anticipate so much advantage from the possession of the island, as does Purser Antonio Gutierrez; but there will be a very good pretext for demanding it from the first for the purpose of harbouring the fleet, and subsequently as a convenient point from which to relieve Flanders, and to keep England (and even France) in subjection; though in both cases this must be done with dissimulation. He (Olivares) is of opinion that we ought not to ask for a port in England itself, so that it may not appear so evident that we want to keep our foot on the neck of the King and his country, which would offend everyone in England, and in France as well. The latter country even—with however little reason—might make a similar demand for herself if she met with any encouragement. In addition to this, we should have to incur a great expense and trouble in fortifying such a port; besides which in time the king of England might go to war with us and spoil all the friendship for the purpose of putting an end to so obvious a subjection. If we possess the Isle of Wight we shall have all we need, without so much ruffling their feelings. So strongly is the Count (Olivares) of this opinion that he thinks, even in the event of the English offering a port, it should not be accepted.

In order to avoid other similar dangers the Count thinks that it would be unwise to attempt (or even to consent thereto if they should offer it) to make the new King simply the representative of your Majesty, in respect of your rights to the crown; or in any way to make England a feudatory state. It is certain that after the first need had passed, so important a monarch (as the king of England) would resent the position, and instead of making England a dependency, we should only make her and other countries our enemies. Besides this, it would appear a very overbearing act; and your Majesty has a good example as to the amount of loyalty exhibited by feudatory rulers in the case of Siena.

He (Olivares) would take no heed of Ireland, which is a noisy business, and more trouble than advantage for your Majesty. At the Isle of Wight we might stand on the alert, in case any schism should occur amongst them (the English) during the election, which should render an invasion of England necessary to stop it. This step would, moreover, be agreeable to France and even to the Pope.

There are two other islands in the Channel (Jersey and Guernsey) belonging to the crown of England, but they are not so commodious nor have they so good a port as the Isle of Wight. They are nearer the mouth of the Channel, and being quite close to the French coast, their possession by your Majesty would arouse jealousy on the part of the king of France. We should therefore avoid mention of them, or they may want to give them to us instead of the Isle of Wight. Indeed, if need should arise for making some concession to the French, the islands might be given to them, unreasonable as this would be.

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On the seventh point, inasmuch as France would be just as jealous that the queen of England (*i.e.*, the Queen-Consort) should be of your Majesty's kin, as if the King were; and as such a marriage would additionally pledge your Majesty's prestige in the success of the undertaking, and it might be of advantage to the Catholics to have the disposal of both positions, which might enable them to reconcile difficulties and silence discontent, the Count thinks that your Majesty should reply to any fresh proposals for marriage from the Catholics to the following effect. That your Majesty would be very glad to form this fresh bond of union with them, but you are moved to place their advantage before any interests of your own, and think best to leave them absolute freedom of action in this particular. Your Majesty thinks that they would thus be enabled to conciliate more than one person, and the matter would be proportionately facilitated. As for support and aid, that shall not fail them in any case. If, however, time and circumstances should render another course necessary to them, (which your Majesty would regret), there would be no difficulty in granting their request, and the choice of the person in such case should be left to them. To this might be added, that God was blessing your Majesty with offspring, and even if the present opportunity should be passed over, another might occur for renewing the close bonds of ancient kinship between the two crowns, which would afford your Majesty great pleasure.

The Council is of opinion that count de Olivares has very discreetly set forth the whole subject, and approves generally of the methods proposed, with the following additional observations; taking each point seriatim. With regard to the first point, the commendador mayor of Leon said that he had not been present at the discussion of the question of the English succession, and is of opinion that the negotiations with the Pope and the English Catholics should not assume the form of proposals on our side, but rather that of replies to their proposals; as in that case our prestige is the better safeguarded, and our action cannot be attributed to weakness, but only to your Majesty's ardent desire to see England brought to obey the apostolic see and to her ancient condition.

With regard to the manner proposed for carrying out the second point, he approves of the recommendations adopted with regard to the replies and negotiations to be entrusted to the duke of Sessa and Father Persons, but he is of opinion that nothing should be said at present about the cession of your Majesty's rights, but would rather hold this back to be used as a dowry in a marriage, or in case of a war with France. The Catholics might be assisted in all other respects in their selection of a candidate.

The count de Chinchon agreed with the Commendador Mayor with regard to his first suggestion; but he saw no objection to the Pope being informed that the country (England) rightly belonged to your Majesty, and that in justice you should endeavour to obtain it for the Infanta; but if for the service of God and the welfare of religion it should be better for the English to choose a native monarch, and the person chosen possessed the fitting qualities, your

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Majesty would disregard your own advantage in the matter, and would willingly cede your rights, on just and reasonable conditions, to the King selected.

The counts de Miranda and Alba, F. Gaspar de Cordoba, the Constable, and the marquis de Poza confirmed the decision already arrived at with regard to these two points; and it was unanimously agreed that in any case, whether your Majesty's rights to the English crown were to be used by yourself or transferred to another, your Majesty should be fully prepared and armed; as otherwise we shall not succeed in our object, and your Majesty's generosity in ceding your rights will not be properly appreciated.

The count de Olivares' third point was agreed to by the Council.

With regard to the fourth point it was thought that the duke of Sessa, when he opened the negotiations with the Pope, might ask his Holiness what his feeling was respecting the person to be selected for the English throne; whether the new King should be a native of the country, and whether the Pope had thought of any person who would suit, and who could be implicitly trusted by his Holiness and your Majesty. The object of this would be to prove to the Pope that your Majesty has no wish to take the selection entirely on your own shoulders, and to associate him with your Majesty in the matter, so as to ensure his support. There would be no objection to the Duke's being informed that, if the king of France is desirous of agreeing to a neutral person, your Majesty will be pleased to come to a friendly understanding with him.

With regard to the fifth and sixth points, the Council is of opinion that the consideration may be deferred for the present, as they depend upon the success of other prior points.

As to the seventh point, when the (English) Catholics mention marriage they may be told that your Majesty will always act as will be best for them. This will be to show them that your Majesty's sole object is their welfare, rather than any advantage of your own.—2nd March 1603.

3 March. **736.** COUNT DE CARACENA to the KING.

Estado, 840.

Don Cornelius O'Driscoll, lord of Baltimore, has handed to me the enclosed memorials, begging leave to go to Ireland and help the other Catholics there, in whose name, he says, he came to give your Majesty an account of affairs. Your Majesty will see the reasons he gives for his request, and for supplies in kind being sent instead of money, as well as the urgent need for promptness.

I beg your Majesty to have a speedy resolution adopted, as O'Driscoll's great anxiety is that he should not break his promise to return with the assistance your Majesty might grant, which promise he ought, he thinks, to have fulfilled long ago. If these pataches are to go to Ireland, he might be allowed to go with the succour which is sent in them.

As the season is so far advanced I beg for prompt instructions.—La Coruña, 3rd March 1603.

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3 March. Estado, 840. **737.** CORNELIUS O'DRISCOLL to COUNT DE CARACENA.

Don Cornelius O'Driscoll, lord of Baltimore, begs your Excellency to obtain permission for him to go to his own country, in order to fulfil his word to the Catholic gentlemen, and do his duty to the King and his country. He assures your Excellency that there are very few who can do as much as he can, and it appears that the Catholics are even now feeling the want of him for so long. He has certain gentlemen who follow and serve him, and in view of his long absence they were in despair, as were also his wife and vassals. If your Excellency does not remedy this he believes that the Catholic cause will greatly suffer by his absence. He is so unhappy that he knows no rest night or day at the thought that he is not in a place where he may be of use to your Majesty and the Catholics; and there is nothing in the world that will do him good, except to go and strive for his native land.

In good truth he assures your Excellency that if he be not allowed to do this speedily all the (Catholic) gentlemen will come to Spain and serve his Majesty elsewhere. If they are not soon helped to struggle for the faith of Christ in their own land, the supplicant and the rest of the Catholic gentlemen will have but little confidence. He therefore earnestly begs and beseeches your Excellency, for the sake of God's cause, if only to write a letter endeavouring to obtain permission for him to go soon, before the gentlemen are reduced to despair; as the presence of a person of such good service (as himself) will encourage them to hold out.

3 March (?). Estado, 840. **738.** CORNELIUS O'DRISCOLL to COUNT DE CARACENA.

If his Majesty intends to send any stores to the Catholics, who are in arms in the province of Munster, they should be sent in kind, and not in money, which cannot be laid out in any part of Ireland, and is of no use unless they (the Catholics) come to Spain. If it be decided to send them aid, and any delay is to occur, it would be well to grant them a dispatch boat to carry to them at once such supplies ar are needed to relieve their pressing wants. As he knows no person but your Excellency to aid him in this important matter, he pleads for your intercession. He offers to risk his own person in the voyage in the dispatch boat, as he knows the coast better than anyone. He also thinks that it would be advisable that some person should be appointed by his Majesty to distribute what is sent, even though he take with him but a hundred soldiers, and the Irishmen who are here (*i.e.*, Coruña). This person would efficiently rule them pending the arrival of further aid, and the ignorant people would obey him. The supplies his Majesty might send would be placed in safety and always at his disposal.

They (the Catholics) are so hardly pressed by the heretics that they cannot sow their fields, and have no food. For God's sake let the above matter be dispatched speedily, for otherwise the Catholics will be utterly unable to help one another.

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March. Estado, 840. **739.** COUNCIL OF STATE to PHILIP III.

Count de Caracena, in his letter of the 3rd instant, encloses two memorials handed to him by Don Cornelius O'Driscoll, lord of Baltimore. One of these sets forth that if your Majesty pleases to send aid to the Catholics who are holding out in the province of Munster, it should take the form of provisions, as it is impossible to lay out money there, and it is useless to them unless they come to Spain. He therefore begs your Majesty to grant a dispatch-boat (patache) to the said Catholics for the purpose of carrying to them what they urgently require, thus enabling them to be always ready for the enemy. He (O'Driscoll) offers, in his own person, to risk the voyage in the dispatch-boat, as he knows the coast well; but he considers that it would be advisable for some person representing your Majesty to go also, for the purpose of handing over the above-mentioned assistance, even though he takes with him no more than a hundred soldiers and the Irishmen now in Coruña. He craves your Majesty's permission to go and aid the other Catholics in Ireland, on whose behalf he came hither to give your Majesty an account of their condition. Not only is he greatly wanted there for your Majesty's service, but he also gave his pledge to his associates that he would return speedily, and he is apprehensive of the distrust that his delay may breed amongst the Catholics. He is quite inconsolable about this, and he earnestly begs your Majesty to be pleased to come to a speedy resolution on it, and in the matter of sending a person in the dispatch-boats to represent your Majesty, as the season is already far advanced.

The Council is of opinion that it would be very desirable to provide three or four thousand ducats for count de Caracena to employ in the purchase of such stores as may seem needful to O'Driscoll, and send them with him to Ireland in the charge of some person who will distribute them according to the Count's order.*

18 March. Estado, 840. **740.** FATHER JOSEPH CRESWELL to (the DUKE OF LERMA ?).

I have not been to the palace when your Excellency commanded me, in order not to occupy your time, and because I hoped to obtain the necessary replies through other channels. As, however, a longer delay has occurred than I expected, I decided yesterday to bring to your Excellency's notice the critical state of these affairs. On the one hand I am being pressed so urgently from England to send them a reply, either yes or no, to the proposals submitted, and on the other hand I experience so much difficulty in obtaining it, that in order to get out of the dilemma, before the whole business bursts, I thought well to come to a clear understanding with the Father Confessor, as your Excellency will see by the two documents I have given to Don Rodrigo to read to you and return to me. The fact is, that unless a decision be adopted before Easter in the matters proposed, I can devise no other means of justifying my long silence

* A decree is appended to count de Caracena's letter, embodying the above recommendations.

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than to send to England the same documents that are now in possession of Don Rodrigo; advising at the same time that I have sent copies thereof to his Majesty since they were handed to the Father Confessor. This is the last action I can take in the matter. I should like to say one word to your Excellency before Holy Week, but as none of the days mentioned for an audience is before that week, I will not act contrary to your Excellency's orders without permission.—18th March 1603. Signed, JOSEPH CRESUELO.

March? Estado, 840.

741. FATHER JOSEPH CRESWELL to PHILIP III.

I beg your Majesty to be pleased to give an answer to the Catholics of England, with regard to the proposals they have submitted and your Majesty has referred to the Council of State, with regard to the succession to the crown of England, as great difficulties arise from the delay that is taking place.—S.D. Signed, JOSEPH CRESUELO.

March? Estado, 840.

742. FATHER JOSEPH CRESWELL to PHILIP III.

For the very grave reasons that have been already submitted to your Majesty, and others which are now occurring,* it is necessary that your Majesty should have a very trustworthy person in the Flemish ports, authorised to act when needful, and keep in hand affairs that demand mature consideration and a reply from here. In fact, the person in question should be one to whom we may entrust the most secret and important of the correspondence with the English Catholics. Some of your Majesty's Ministers think that Frederico Spinola would be a fit person. Your Majesty will know best whether he is to be trusted in the matter of secresy. If so, there seems to be no objection to him, as he may have means of communication through his countrymen, and by virtue of the office he holds under your Majesty..

Either with him, or with some other person, the recent proposals and the business of the ports, etc., will have to be discussed immediately. There is danger in delay.—JOSEPH CRESUELO.

March? Estado, 840.

743. FATHER JOSEPH CRESWELL to PHILIP III.

In accordance with the decision your Majesty may adopt with regard to the English succession, it will be necessary to draw up the edict and have it re-printed, with the same secresy as was previously observed. A number of copies will have to be sent to Flanders, to the charge of the person who is to manage the correspondence. If this step be taken in due time, it will be worth 10,000 men when the opportunity arrives, as was seen by the example of Queen Mary, who, by taking a similar step, gained the crown of England.—JOSEPH CRESUELO.

* It was known by this time that Elizabeth could not recover. This explains the urgent insistence of Father Creswell for immediate action to be taken. The Queen died on the 24th March 1603.

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March ? **744.** FATHER JOSEPH CRESWELL to PHILIP III.
Estado, 840. With regard to the 100,000 ducats to be paid by Ambrosio Spinola, I pray your Majesty will give orders to the Father Confessor, either that the resolution should be promptly carried out, or that I should have permission to undeceive the persons to whom the promise was made. They have spent, and are spending, money on the public service, trusting on the pledge given to their messenger at San Lorenzo by count de Miranda, and the delay in the matter looks very bad. They are, moreover, persons of so much importance that the whole success of the affair depends upon keeping them, and this can only be done by straightforward and punctual dealing.—JOSEPH CRESUELO.

26 March. **745.** EARL OF BOTHWELL to (the DUKE OF LERMA ?).
Estado, 840. I discussed with your Excellency last year the matters which I now again submit in somewhat different terms. You enjoined me not to communicate these points to any member of the Council, and I therefore set forth certain heads which his Majesty may lay before the Council, whilst the present document, which is of greater importance, I deliver into your Excellency's own hand to be dealt with as you think best. I would, however, beg your Excellency to remember the great difference that exists between negotiating in Scotland in its present state and negotiating here. If matters there are not concluded at once the opportunity is lost; and if the following proposals are entertained, I would beg that the affair should be dispatched immediately, so that all necessary preparations may be made before October.

As no answer had been received to the letters and advices from the Scottish Catholics which I handed to your Excellency, I concluded that his Majesty was disinclined to listen to them; and I therefore wrote to certain friends and kinsmen of mine—men of great experience—urging them to find some easier and surer means of establishing the faith and forwarding his Majesty's interests.

They reply acceding to the first part of the proposals; namely, the undertaking of the Catholics to hand over to me for my security the four fortresses mentioned. With regard to the second point, they have made such arrangements as will force the King to raise a guard of 600 men—200 cavalry and 400 infantry—under the command of Viscount Ochiltree, a kinsman and vassal of my own, and a brother-in-law of Baron Fernihurst, who has come hither with this mission. The difficulty, however, which arises on this point is that the King and Court are on bad terms with the nobles and gentry, who are unwilling to contribute in any way to the cost of the guard, as they consider that it is being raised only at the instance of the courtiers, and not from any real need for it on the part of the King. For this reason they (the Catholics) request me, since the opportunity is at hand and everything ready, to beg his Majesty to assist them with the necessary funds to raise the guard, and to pay what they have arranged to the said Earl (Viscount ?), who undertakes to deliver into my hands the King and all his

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children, and on my arrival there to receive 600 Spanish soldiers as a guard. The Viscount undertakes also to resign the captaincy of the guard to me the moment I arrive. For this purpose they (the Catholics) request that a sum of 50,000 ducats should be lodged with any person whom his Majesty may choose in Antwerp; and as security we pledge ourselves to carry the plan into effect or die in the attempt. We also agree to place in his Majesty's hands as hostages our sons and heirs—I, the Viscount, and Baron Fernihurst—the son of the latter being now here. When these three hostages are handed over, we request that the sum of 50,000 ducats should be at once paid to us for the purpose above-mentioned, and for the pay of the guard until fresh reinforcements can be sent by his Majesty, if necessary. The Catholics on their side pray for the assurance which from so Christian a monarch may be expected by those who are ready to risk their lives, estates, and children in the execution of so signal a service.

In order to prove to your Excellency how anxious they are to serve his Majesty, and to establish a perpetual friendship between the two countries, they promise to deliver to me the person of the Prince, so that his Majesty may have him married or do as he likes with him. As these proposals appear to me to be both easy and safe of execution, I beg to lay them before his Majesty and your Excellency; and I would urge that all that is suggested is so greatly to the advantage of his Majesty, and the injury of his enemies, that an answer as to his Majesty's intentions is greatly to be desired. I have been especially enjoined to declare to his Majesty that the success of the business depends largely upon energetic action. I am also requested to confer with various persons from Scotland, some of whom will come to France or Flanders to meet me; but with others I shall have to correspond by means of trustworthy couriers. I am without sufficient resources for this purpose, and I beg his Majesty to grant me a sum of 2,000 crowns here, and 4,000 crowns in France or Antwerp, to pay couriers, and entertain the gentlemen who may come over. If any difficulty presents itself to your Excellency I beg you will be good enough to summon me, and I will give you the fullest possible satisfaction, or else that you will refer the business to two members of his Majesty's Council, one of State and the other of War. Time is so short that I earnestly beg that I may be dispatched as soon as possible.

26 March. Estado, 840.

746. MEMORIAL from the EARL OF BOTHWELL to PHILIP III.

Francis Stuart, earl of Bothwell, admiral of Scotland, submitted to your Majesty last year a memorial on behalf of the Catholics of Scotland, setting forth their great desire to establish the Catholic faith there. No decision having been arrived at in the matter, they have now sent hither Andrew Ker, Baron Fernihurst, to beg your Majesty to give a reply to the proposals contained in the said memorial, and also to the new offers now submitted to your Majesty. He therefore humbly begs your Majesty to be pleased to despatch the said Baron as speedily as possible with the condescension which

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your Majesty usually extends to those who serve the Catholic faith, and that your Majesty will accept the proposals made by the Catholics, as follows: First, the Catholics offer in the service of God and your Majesty to establish the faith in Scotland, to reinforce Ireland with troops and stores, and hamper the queen of England from the west coast of Scotland. In order to hold Ireland, and oppose the said re-inforcements, she will be obliged to maintain an extremely powerful fleet in those seas, as well as a double force to hold the passage from Dover to Calais. In addition to this, she must keep another force on the Scottish border to prevent the Scots from entering England. All this will involve so excessive an outlay that the Queen will be compelled to abandon the fleets she is fitting out, or intends to fit out, against your Majesty.

As a security for the fulfilment of these promises the Catholics bind themselves to surrender for your Majesty's use to the earl of Bothwell four of the principal fortresses in Scotland, one of which, Dumbarton, is impregnable and forms the key of the provinces, standing, as it does, in a position which commands the confluence of the three rivers which divide the said provinces, the entrance to which it completely dominates. The fortress is so well armed with cannon that it will be impossible to blockade it, and your Majesty will be able to reinforce it at any time, as the Queen could not impede it unless she had a force in each of the four provinces.

Another of the fortresses is called Broughty, on the east coast, at the mouth of the Tay. This fortress entirely commands one of the principal countries and cities in Scotland, where the greater part of the shipping of the country is owned.

The third fortress is Blackness, an extremely important position, dominating the entrance to the Forth, and provides a landing-place of four leagues in extent in the principal county of Scotland.

The last of the four is the castle of Hermitage, which is an impregnable place on the English border. For seven leagues round the country is impracticable for battery-artillery, and the castle is garrisoned by the bravest and noted fighting men in Scotland. It is, moreover, well supplied with cannon and stores of all kinds.

In all assurance, the Catholics beg your Majesty to send some trustworthy person to Scotland to examine these fortresses. Baron Fernihurst will guarantee his safety, and, as a hostage therefor, will leave his eldest son here, he having brought him hither for that purpose.

The Catholics undertake to arrange everything as set forth above, with your Majesty's aid and protection; and request with this object 4,000 soldiers maintained at your Majesty's cost; and in the event of your Majesty desiring to prosecute the war against England they will provide for your Majesty's service 26,000 Scotsmen, to be paid by your Majesty for the duration of the war. In security for this they will leave their sons in your Majesty's hands as hostages; and in order that your Majesty may be recouped for the expenses of the war the Catholics undertake, when the faith is established in Scotland, to pay to your Majesty the third part of the ecclesiastical revenues, until the whole cost shall have been reimbursed.

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In addition to the above, Baron Fernihurst also brings proposals for a reconciliation between the Earl (Bothwell) and the king of Scotland on the following terms. First, that his eldest son shall marry the marquis of Huntly's daughter without a dower; secondly, that he shall surrender the possession of the viscounty of Coldingham (?) to Viscount Hume, who holds it since the Earl was banished from Scotland; and thirdly, that he shall forgive all his enemies and forego all claims of any sort against them. The Earl, however, cannot, either for reasons of state, or as a matter of equity, accept these conditions, unless it be for your Majesty's advantage. In the first place, he has no will in the matter apart from your Majesty s wishes, and in addition to this he cannot be expected to marry his son without a dower, after so much trouble, loss of friends and relatives, and the total ruin of his own estate. His other children, moreover, would thus be plundered, and unable to maintain themselves as befits their quality, in consequence of the decrease of revenue and the surrender of the viscounty. His loss of income would be 10,000 crowns a year, and to surrender this would be indirectly to admit that he was culpable of the offences with which the King charges him, although he has been acquitted by the Scottish Parliament. This would be a great stain upon the honour and reputation of himself and his house; and in addition to all this he is in great doubt as to whether the King would keep his word, he having broken it so often, and being desirous that he (the Earl) should promise to forgive all his enemies.

The above memorial embodies the Catholic proposals, and the Earl humbly begs your Majesty to have them considered, keeping in view the zeal for the service of God and your Majesty which prompts them.

A note is appended to the aforegoing documents in which the duke of Lerma, by order of the King, refers them to the Council of State.—Valladolid, 26th March 1603.

The report of the Council of State is to the effect that the earl of Bothwell's proposals are so important that, in order that they may be thoroughly sifted and considered, it will be well to accede to his wish and refer the whole matter for investigation to two members of the Council to be nominated by his Majesty.

With regard to the proposed reconciliation between Bothwell and the king of Scotland, the Council is of opinion that the king of Spain should not intervene in any way, but let Bothwell do the best he can, because otherwise the king of Spain would render himself liable to recompense Bothwell for what he surrendered at his (the King's) request. This would be a large sum and any such liability should be avoided, as no countervailing advantage would be gained by it.

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These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V.–VII. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. Vol. VIII. *Edited by* GEORGE F. WARNER, M.A., of the Department of MSS., British Museum. 1861–1891.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable for the anecdotes which they contain. The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland, the first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188, and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ;* and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh. Vol. VIII. contains the Treatise *De Principum Instructione*, and an Index to Vols. I.-IV. and VIII.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND, Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography,

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GARDINER. 1861–1863.

The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III., correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. *(Out of Print.)* Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^mo^ FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406 and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans,
793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle probably of John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.
The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. CHRONICON ABBATIÆ EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIÆ ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from about 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

30. RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ. Vol. I, 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

Richard of Cirencester's history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. It gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3.

31. YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THE FIRST AND EDWARD THE THIRD. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Barrister-at-Law Years 12–13, 13–14, 14, 14–15, 15 and 16 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1896.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1863.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, F.S.A., Membre Correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1863.

In the *De Naturis Rerum* are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I.–III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A. 1864–1866.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.;—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection embraces chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432.

87. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work is valuable, not only as a biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.

88. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.
The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

89. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV., 1431–1447. Vol. V., 1447–1471. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1884–1891.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 668. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. (Translations of the preceding Vols. I., II., and III.) *Edited and translated by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1864–1891.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.–IX. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This chronicle begins with the creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.
The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treaties are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians. Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonised French.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406, Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERICK MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. 1866–1869.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited by* EDWARD EDWARDS. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde

Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements which, in substance, he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM; A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the earliest times to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing the events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1866.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an ancient original. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the REV. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and late Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds to some extent with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49). From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1871.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES, Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited by* the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

58. MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

60. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873-1877.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873–1878.

63. MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

64. CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

65. THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by* M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

66. RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.

67. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, LL.D. 1885.

The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogues, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

68. RADULFI DE DICETO DECANI LUNDONIENSIS OPERA HISTORICA. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF MASTER RALPH DE DICETO, DEAN OF LONDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The abbreviationes Chronicorum extend to 1147 and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

69. ROLL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE KING'S COUNCIL IN IRELAND, FOR A PORTION OF THE 16TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. 1392–93. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES GRAVES, A.B. 1877.

70. HENRICI DE BRACTON DE LEGIBUS ET CONSUETUDINIBUS ANGLIÆ LIBRI QUINQUE IN VARIOS TRACTATUS DISTINCTI. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1878–1883.

71. THE HISTORIANS OF THE CHURCH OF YORK, AND ITS ARCHBISHOPS. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* the REV. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1879-1894.

72. REGISTRUM MALMESBURIENSE. THE REGISTER OF MALMESBURY ABBEY, PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield; *and* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A. 1879–1880.

73. HISTORICAL WORKS OF GERVASE OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1879, 1880.

74. HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM. THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH, BY HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. 1879.

75. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF SYMEON OF DURHAM. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. 1882–1885.

76. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1882, 1883.

The first volume of these Chronicles contains the *Annales Londonienses* and the *Annales Paulini*: the second, I.—*Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu magni Regis Edwardi.* II.—*Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi.* III.—*Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita Edwardi II.* IV.—*Vita et Mors Edward II., conscripta a Thoma de la Moore.*

77. REGISTRUM EPISTOLARUM FRATRIS JOHANNIS PECKHAM, ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A., 1882–1886.

78. REGISTER OF S. OSMUND. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon. 1883, 1884.

This Register derives its name from containing the statutes, rules, and orders made or compiled by S. Osmund, to be observed in the Cathedral and diocese of Salisbury.

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